



# UKRANIAN CENTRAL RADA

AGENDA ITEM:  
OPEN AGENDA

UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL:  
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ACADEMIC ASSISTANT:  
EGEMEN KAYA

*"It's all begins in the Sky"*

<b>1. Letter from the Secretaries-General.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>2. Letter from the Under Secretary General.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>3. Letter from the Academic Assistant.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>4. Introduction the Committee.....</b>	<b>7</b>
4.1. Structure of the Committee.....	7
4.2. Directives and Types of Directives.....	8
4.3. What is a Universal?.....	11
<b>5. Historical Background.....</b>	<b>14</b>
5.1. Territorial Overview of Ukraine in 1917.....	14
5.2. The February Revolution and the Collapse of Imperial Authority.....	15
5.3. The Birth of the Ukrainian Central Rada Foundation and Early Structure.....	16
5.4. The Rise of National Consciousness and Calls for Autonomy.....	17
<b>6. Political Landscape of 1917 Ukraine.....</b>	<b>17</b>
6.1. Internal Organization and Factions within the Rada.....	17
Moderates and Liberals.....	19
Social Democrats.....	19
Social Revolutionaries.....	19
Minority Parties and Opposition.....	19
6.2. Relations with the Russian Provisional Government.....	20
6.3. From Autonomy to Independence: The Evolution of Ukrainian Self-Governance.....	20
<b>7. Agenda Items.....</b>	<b>24</b>
7.1. The Struggle for Ukrainian Independence.....	24
7.2. Agrarian and Land Reforms amid Social Upheaval.....	25
7.3. The Makhno-led Anarchist Movement and Peasant Resistance.....	27
7.4. Bolshevik and ForeignSuppressions of Ukrainian Sovereignty.....	28
7.5. Political Fragmentation and Ideological Divides within the Rada.....	29
<b>8. Key Figures and Political Blocs.....</b>	<b>30</b>
8.1. Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Intellectual Foundations of the Rada.....	31
8.2. Symon Petliura and the Military Question.....	32
8.3. Nestor Makhno and the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army.....	33
8.4. Bolshevik Agents and External Influences on Ukrainian Affairs.....	34
<b>9. Maps and Reference Documents.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>10. Figures of the Committee.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>11. Bibliography.....</b>	<b>44</b>

# 1. Letter from the Secretaries General

*Honourable participants of ÇAĞDAŞMUN'25,*

*As the secretary generals of ÇAĞDAŞMUN'25, taking place from November 14th to November 16th, we would like to extend our warm welcome to all participants of this prestigious conference.*

*Model United Nations conferences are more than just a simple event, it is a torch that shines its light upon a variety of great opportunities, guiding the youth to the future through the brightness it radiates. It grants the opportunity to be in the minds of diplomats and decision makers allowing the participants to learn the ways of decision making and debating, at the same time giving the chance to apply the learnings in real time debates. When organised with utmost care and responsibility, one conference can shape hundreds of individuals into leaders of the future.*

*In the first official edition of ÇAĞDAŞMUN, our mission is to achieve what most struggle to do: committees with a wide grasp of the past, present and the future, a marvelous organisation team to be in our most perfect form and most importantly, a mission to create space for bright minds to shine the most powerful, hidden gems to come to light for the greatest jewelries and disregarded souls to prove themselves as unignorable leaders.*

*It all begins in the sky.*

*With our warmest regards,*

*Secretary Generals of ÇAĞDAŞMUN'25,*

*Mustafa Aslan and Kuzey Karlık.*

## 2. Letter from the Under Secretary General

Dear participants,

It is my utmost pleasure to serve in this conference with a committee I've always dreamed of myself. I welcome each and every one of you to the 1917 Ukrainian Central Rada, at Çağdaş Model United Nations Conference 2025.

Imagine yourself at the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917, a country torn by social upheaval and desperate to secure its independence. Amidst this turbulent backdrop, the struggle for Ukrainian sovereignty is fierce, challenged not only by Bolshevik and foreign suppressions but also by deep political fragmentation and ideological divides within the Rada itself. Agrarian and land reforms are urgent priorities, aiming to satisfy the demands of peasants and calm unrest. However, the Makhno-led anarchist movement poses a unique challenge, as their peasant resistance fights for radical change and challenges centralized authority, forcing the Rada to carefully navigate both negotiation and control to maintain stability and unity.

Without boring you more just by reading this letter, this committee needs specific attention to the study guide from the delegates and well-done research whilst preparing. This is because you as the delegates will be involved in your personal matters as the members of the Rada and your own plans are not to be planned by the committee, it is your will, your plan, and you will be the one to suffer the consequences.

In addition, I would like to take some attention for the wonderful academic assistant, one of my dearest friends, Egemen, on his first experience as one, for his dedication and hard work. More thanks are in order to the executive staff of the ÇağdaşMUN conference. I am certain they are all doing their absolute best to exceed expectations.

I hope and expect to see you all well prepared for the conference.

Sincerely, Güney Deniz Ala

Under Secretary General of 1917 Ukrainian Central rada

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### **3. Letter from the Academic Assistant**

Dear Delegates,

First of all, I welcome all of you to our committee.

In this committee, your goal is deciding on the future of Ukraine. At the date of 1917, Ukraine had a complex political atmosphere, Bolsheviks attacking from the east of the country, starvation, political struggles and more. We expect you to debate and write directives to come to a common decision about the future of Ukraine. During the conference, we expect you to write Universals just like Ukraine's Universals which were published back in 1917 and 1918 to state your decisions about the matter of Ukraine. Regardless of the decisions you will make, I am sure that we will have efficient and amusing days during the conference.

I would like to thank my friend Güney for his invitation and efforts for this committee. Secondly I would like to thank the secretariat for giving me a chance to take part in the conference. I and my dear friend Güney will be here to help you during your preparation process about any problem that you might face. Feel free to contact me via my email or my phone number if you have any questions about our committee.

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## **4. Introduction the Committee**

### **4.1. Structure of the Committee**

Before we begin, this may be the most important section of the entirety of this study guide so we kindly request all delegates to pay attention to the words that lie below.

There might be questions about whether or not this committee is a crisis, and it is, but with a little twist. The committee will follow a special procedure unique for itself. It will be a crisis cabinet that also releases and publishes certain documents such as Universals which are explained further on. As the delegates, you will need to take part in small debates within the Rada in order to publish a Universal of your cabinet decisions every 1-3 months, whilst also dealing with the anarchist movements and pursuing your own plans with your directives. The committee's debate structure will be accomplished by calling upon a Rada meeting with a semi-moderated caucus' procedure being used for the debate within the Council. The Rada meetings are to be called by any and all members of the Rada, which will later on be voted upon if not an emergency. For writing directives, delegates will not need to propose an unmoderated caucus because this already is a crisis committee, as it will be the majority of the session. The time outside of the Rada meetings will be in unmoderated caucus' and the Rada meetings will be in semi-moderated caucus'. The Rada meetings will go on for as long as it has to until the agenda item that was brought up when asking for the meeting has been entertained to its entirety. To propose a semi-moderated caucus (the Rada meeting), there will not be motions entertained but it will be requested with a directive. If approved within the Rada the semi moderated caucus will take place for the time being. When we put the debate and the directives aside, there is one last goal of the committee, which is to publish Universals every 1-3 months depending on the situation of the committee. There will be multiple Universals because of the committee being dynamic with time meaning that the time will pass as the committee progresses and more and more Universals will be published accordingly. Nonetheless, everything lies in the hands of you, the delegates, whether the result is catastrophic or in means of a savior for Ukraine. Your directives, debate and Universals will shape the history. The directives after being sent to the crisis

team will be read and updated accordingly which also makes this committee dynamic, since the debate will also be shaped by the results of directives.

## 4.2. Directives and Types of Directives

### What is a Directive?

Crisis' are in order for specialized committees that replicate decision-making during a crisis. Individual delegates or members inside the committee provide directives to guide their actions and responses to the crisis. Delegates use directives to propose specific courses of action, tactics, or policies to handle the situation. Depending on the committee structure, and the course of actions currently happening in the committee, these directives can take many forms, such as **Individual, Joint, Committee, Intelligence, Top Secret Directive, and Press Release**.

### ***Individual Directive:***

When an action is within your character's authority or is achievable due to their abilities, you write personal commands To begin, there is a format for writing directives; so, you must state who is sending the directive and to whom it is being sent (from, to). Followed by the time and current date of the committee. Finally, the format of your directive and its title. That's all there is to it; this is the only format you need to know to write a directive. The only thing left is the content of your directive, and the way through which you compose it is fairly simple; You write it by answering the what, why, when, who, where, and, most crucially, how questions. You write the action you want to take by answering the WH questions and then elaborating and discussing it as much as possible to make your plan as thorough as feasible. Also, whenever possible, employ the future tense. On paper, a directive looks like this:

From: Menelaus

Personal Directive

Date: 1192BC May 3

To: Related Authorities

Capturing Tiryns

Time: 12.34

(Spartan Cabinet)

**What:** I will capture Tiryns with my 5,000 agoge men stationed on the Tiryns frontline. My soldiers will kill and destroy any enemy forces they come across, as well as any enemy military bases. Women and children in the city will not be murdered unless they attack the soldiers.

To reduce noise, the 5,000 agoge soldiers will be divided into 50 groups, with 200 soldiers per group. Each group will have a commander, and the commanders will be the best warriors among their groups. They will be well-armed with their hoplons, xiphos, and dorus (Spartan agoge soldiers' shields, spearheads, and small swords). Each group will apply the doctrine properly to face the fewest casualties. If needed, 3 soldiers from each group will bring supplies to their own group from the frontlines, and these 3 soldiers will be picked randomly from the commanders. They will use the safest route and avoid the enemy. Our men will take the safe paths suggested by our spies.

**Why:** Tiryns plays a crucial role in the war, and it must be captured in order to cut the enemy's supply lines.

**When:** Soldiers will charge at 02.00 a.m. to catch the enemy off guard.

**Who:** I will be operating this attack, and if I fall during the war, my right-hand man, Analus, will take over. 5,000 agoge soldiers will assault the enemy.

**Where:** 2,500 of my soldiers will charge from the southeast frontline, and the other 2,500 will charge from the west to capture Tiryns.

**How\*:** Soldiers will check and control their weapons before charging. They will pray, remember how brave they are, and then honour their nation and gods by demolishing the enemy. They will not disobey their commander's orders and apply the doctrine as they say. To avoid being affected by attrition, our soldiers will study their geographical situation as well as the enemy's to use in their favour. Soldiers will use an offensive phalanx formation when I order them to charge, and they will slaughter each enemy troop they face. They will use the offensive formation until they face a larger enemy force to quickly capture as many critical areas as possible. If they face a larger enemy force, to be exact, 1.5 times larger than them, they will quickly change to a defensive phalanx formation and wait for recruitment whilst defending themselves. Their priority will be killing the enemy rather than cutting supply lines. In mountain areas, they will use the highlands in their favour and quickly oppress the enemy to finish them. Once they reach the city, their priority will be killing the cabinet members of Tiryns. If possible, they will defenestrate them to entertain themselves. After the military bases and the city are captured,

soldiers will go to the possible conflict areas to recruit other soldiers. Even though we sent spies before, our soldiers will be vigilant for any kind of trap. Their main objective is to capture the city, and for that purpose, they will sacrifice themselves without hesitation.

### **Joint Directive:**

Directives written by more than one individual are considered joint directives. You write joint directives when you can only achieve your purpose in the directive by utilizing the authority of other cabinet members. Assume you are the commander of the army, and you want to take Warsaw. Yet you understand that conquering it without air superiority would be impossible, so you write a joint directive with the general of the air force. So it makes the "from:" part your name and the general of the air forces' name, and instead of a personal directive you write a Joint Directive. Everything else is the same.

### **Committee Directive:**

A committee directive is written when you wish to use everyone's authority or when you are about to deliver your final directive (in most cases). Delegates frequently ask me, "How are we meant to write a committee directive with the other cabinet?" But that's just a common misunderstanding. You write the committee directive with your cabinet; the formal name is "Committee Directive," but it is basically a cabinet directive. So, simply writing a Committee Directive to the "from:" part will do.

### **Intelligence Directive:**

You write intelligence directives when you want to acquire the necessary information about you or your country/cabinet. The format is exactly the same, except for the "WH Questions" part. For example:

From: Winston Churchill  
1942 May 3

Intelligence Directive

Date:

To: Crisis Team

Our Troop Counts

Time: 16.21

(The Great Britain Cabinet)



How many troops does our country have? Do we possess any nuclear weapons? How many of our military factories are assigned to manufacture infantry weapons, and what kind of weapons are they producing?

### **Top Secret:**

Top Secret directives are those that your chair is not allowed to read. You hand over your Top Secret directive to the admin. They are written precisely the same, but you must fold your paper and write "TOP SECRET" on the back side of it. The major reason for writing a Top Secret Directive is treason, a diabolical strategy to crash one's own cabinet or to switch sides. For instance, if a person secretly kills his cabinet members and becomes the dictator, the winning condition changes and only that person wins, whereas the cabinet loses. But I don't recommend writing Top Secret Directives unless you're planning on writing a brilliant 10-page long directive, because failing to do so will backfire much worse. You will earn your cabinet's distrust, and you may die and be given an insignificant character. Furthermore, updates to the Top Secret Directives are only sent to the person who sent them, unless they directly affect the other cabinet members.

**Semi-moderated Caucus:** Unlike moderated caucuses, delegates in a semi-moderated caucus are allowed to speak without the chair's permission, as long as they do not interrupt other cabinet members and treat each other with respect.

**Unmoderated Caucus:** In an unmoderated caucus, delegates are free to draft any kind of paper they want to achieve their goals, and support others.

**Moderated Caucus:** In a moderated caucus, delegates who wish to speak upon the topic raise their placards and they are chosen and moderated by the chairboard.

## **4.3. What is a Universal?**

In the context of the Ukrainian Central Rada, a Universal was an official proclamation or a legislative declaration issued by the Rada in order to communicate its decisions, political stance, or new laws to the people of Ukraine and the world.

It can be thought upon as the Ukrainian equivalent of a constitution or national manifesto, a public statement that marked major turning points in Ukraine's move from autonomy within Russia toward complete independence and sovereignty.

In 1917–18 the Ukrainian Central Rada adopted four edicts with the importance of fundamental laws and reflecting the evolution of the Ukrainian state from autonomy within Russia to independence. Like the edicts of the 17th- and 18th-century Hetman state, they were called universals. The universals were published in the official organ, *Visty z Ukraïns'koï Tsentral'noi Rady*, and most newspapers and broadcasts by radio, posted throughout Ukraine on placards printed in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, and Yiddish. The First Universal was declared at the Second All-Ukrainian Military Congress; the Second, at a CR (Central Rada) session. The Third and Fourth universals were voted on as bills and passed at sessions of the Little Rada.

In the First Universal (23 June 1917), the CR proclaimed Ukraine's autonomy ("from this day forward, we will shape our own existence"). Noting the unfriendly response of the Russian Provisional Government to the requests made by the CR delegation in Petrograd, it declared, 'without separating from all of Russia ... allow the Ukrainian populace to control its own affairs on its territory,' and urged the establishment of a democratically elected assembly representing all Ukrainians, which would hold the exclusive authority to formulate laws that would subsequently be ratified by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. It called upon national minorities for assistance and collaboration and established a unique public tax as the foundation of the CR treasury. Five days later, the initial government of autonomous Ukraine, the Central Rada's General Secretariat, was established.

The Second Universal (16 July 1917) represented the outcomes of the negotiations that took place on 12–13 July between representatives of the General Secretariat and the Provisional Government in Kyiv. Directed to the 'inhabitants of the Ukrainian territory' rather than, as noted in the First Universal, 'the Ukrainian populace,' it declared that the CR would be broadened to encompass representatives from national minorities, thus transforming into 'the sole highest authority of revolutionary democracy in Ukraine.' A newly appointed General Secretariat would be 'subject to approval by the Provisional Government as the representative of the highest regional authority of the Provisional Government in Ukraine.' The CR would "create drafts of laws for Ukraine's autonomous framework," would present them for approval to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, and would refrain from initiating any actions to establish Ukrainian autonomy

until the assembly was convened. The creation of distinct Ukrainian military units would require the authorization of the Russian minister of war.

The Third Universal (20 November 1917) was released following the Bolshevik takeover in Petrograd. Addressed to "the people of Ukraine and all the nations of Ukraine," it announced the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic within a federated Russia of equal and free nations. The Central Rada and its General Secretariat would administer the Ukrainian National Republic until the Constituent Assembly of Ukraine convenes. The universal abolished the death penalty and the ownership of land by non-tillers; proclaimed all land as belonging to the working populace without compensation to previous owners; established an eight-hour workday and state oversight of all production; asserted that the Central Rada would 'employ determined measures to compel ... both allies and adversaries to commence peace talks immediately'; provided full amnesty to all political detainees and national-personal autonomy for Ukraine's ethnic minorities; instructed the General Secretariat to enhance and expand local self-governance rights; upheld the freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, and association, the right to strike, and the inviolability of individuals and residences; urged all citizens to 'combat resolutely against all chaos and destruction' (i.e., the Bolsheviks); and designated 9 January 1918 for the election of the Constituent Assembly of Ukraine and 22 January for its convocation.

The Fourth Universal (22 January 1918) was promulgated following the onset of the Ukrainian-Soviet War, 1917–21. Condemning the Bolshevik hostility and voicing the aspiration for peace, it declared the Ukrainian National Republic an 'autonomous, not subordinate to anyone, liberated, sovereign nation of the Ukrainian people.' The universal changed the General Secretariat to the Council of National Ministers of the Ukrainian National Republic, instructed it to pursue an independent peace agreement with the Central Powers, urged it to 'steadfastly combat all counterrevolutionary forces,' and appealed to all citizens to protect their well-being and freedom while expelling the Bolsheviks. It declared an immediate cessation of hostilities and assured that the military would be succeeded by a people's militia following the peace treaty's ratification; mandated new elections for rural-district, county, and urban councils; stated that a land law would soon be enacted and that all land would be transitioned from the land committees to the populace prior to spring planting; nationalized all natural resources and key commercial sectors; instructed the Council of National Ministers to promptly shift industry to peacetime production, enhance state industry, address unemployment, and guarantee assistance for the disabled; implemented

state oversight of imports, exports, and monopolies to avert speculation and excessive profits by the bourgeois class; established state regulation over banks to ensure that loans would ‘primarily ... benefit the working populace and the economic progress of the Ukrainian National Republic’; and reaffirmed all democratic liberties and national-personal autonomy. Even though the universal was dated before the day the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly was supposed to meet but failed to do so, it was actually adopted by the Little Rada on 25 January 1918.

## **5. Historical Background**

### **5.1. Territorial Overview of Ukraine in 1917**

In 1917, Ukraine was both a land and an idea. Its people shared a common language, culture, and memory, but its borders were uncertain and contested. The territory that the Central Rada sought to govern stretched across vast plains, rivers, and mountains — from the Carpathians in the west to the Donbas mines in the east, from the forests of Polissia to the shores of the Black Sea.

Historically, these territories were partitioned among empires. The central, eastern, and southern territories — Kyiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Odesa — were governed by the Russian Empire, whereas Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia fell under Austro-Hungary's control. This division produced two distinct types of Ukrainians: one influenced by Russian autocracy and Orthodox customs, the other by Austrian administrative practices and engagement with Western politics.

Culturally, the nation was multifaceted and rich. Ukrainians constituted the majority, yet cities such as Kyiv and Odesa were diverse with populations of Russians, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Tatars, and Germans. Every group

contributed its unique traditions and allegiances, complicating governance further. The Crimean Tatars were establishing their own assemblies; the Donbas miners were more connected to Russian industry than to Ukrainian nationalism. The Rada needed to devise a method to bring them together under a single banner while engaging in conflicts on various fronts.

From an economic perspective, Ukraine was essential. Its dark soil rendered it one of the most productive areas on the planet, and its mines powered a significant portion of Eastern Europe's industry. These resources captured the interest of every major power — which partly accounts for why none wished to see a genuinely independent Ukraine develop.

By late 1917, the Rada asserted control over nine provinces, though its effective dominance fluctuated weekly. Certain regions declared loyalty, while others were seized by Bolsheviks or Germans, and additional areas were led by peasant councils that disregarded any central authority. Maps from this era resemble the changing tides of a storm rather than fixed boundaries.

Amid all this unpredictability, one element remained unchanged: the concept of Ukraine. After centuries, it was no longer merely a region but a nation equipped with its own parliament, leaders, and official language. The borders were uncertain, but the identity was not. That, perhaps, was the Rada's greatest achievement — giving shape to a nation before the world was ready to recognize it.

## **5.2. The February Revolution and the Collapse of Imperial Authority**

The February Revolution took place on 8 March and established a new republic. By late February 1917, Russia's Great empire was shaken by severe political and



economic matters, the loss of Russo-Japanese war and continuous military failures at the WW1, The army had lost faith in the government, which had failed them to supply them with enough ammunition and food. The collapse wasn't planned by anyone it happened by piled up many problems in Empire. Factories in the Petrograd were striking down, workers were on the street, people were waiting in long shopping queues. This wave of people transformed into a more protesting manner, streets were full of slogans such as, "Down with the Autocracy", "Down with War". Two days later, Emperor Nicholas II ordered the military governor to fire on protestors but soldiers refused to use their rifle, unit by unit they went to the workers' side. The Duma (a legislative organ similar to parliament) created a new provisional government. The monarch was overthrown and replaced by a provisional Government. This new provisional government aimed to create a stable political atmosphere in Soviet Russia however, it did not work as it expected. It consisted of many liberal ministers who had served Tsar's assembly, there were unstable coalitions and many problems such as: Its inability to address the war, economic hardship and especially due to its insistence on continuing the war. This following sequence of events led to the Bolsheviks and October Revolution.

### **5.3. The Birth of the Ukrainian Central Rada Foundation and Early Structure**

The Ukrainian Central Rada was founded in Kyiv on 17 March 1917 on the initiative of the Society of Ukrainian Progressives with the participation of other political parties. Rada was composed of 150 members, elected from Ukrainian political parties, professional and cultural organizations. To take care of current matters, Rada chose an executive committee, which consisted of members of the presidium, secretaries of the Rada, and two representatives from each political party. Important issues were firstly discussed in Little Rada, later the proposals were approved by the general assembly of Central Rada. During its existence the Rada held nine plenary sessions.

## **5.4. The Rise of National Consciousness and Calls for Autonomy**

The outbreak of World War I had immediate repercussions for Ukraine. Ukrainian publications and cultural organizations were directly suppressed, and prominent figures were arrested or exiled. As Russian forces advanced into Galicia in September, the retreating Austrian forces executed thousands for suspected pro-Russian sympathies. After occupying Galicia, tsarist authorities showed no respect for the local population. They prohibited the Ukrainian language, closed down institutions, and planned to abolish the Greek Catholic Church. Although the Russification campaign was cut short by the Austrian reconquest in spring 1915, Western Ukraine continued to be a theatre of military operations and suffered extensive damage. As a result of these events, the people increasingly desired separation from Russia and demanded autonomy, which laid the foundation of Ukraine and independence in the end.

## **6. Political Landscape of 1917 Ukraine**

### **6.1. Internal Organization and Factions within the Rada**

Back in the early days of 1917 shortly after the February Revolution and collapse of the tsarist regime, Rada was experiencing its brightest area in history. Rada was formed by the liberal moderates, led by Evhen Chykalenko, Serhii Efremov, and Dmytro Doroshenko, together with the Social Democrats headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Symon Petliura. A few weeks later, the new, progressing Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary party, represented by Mykola Kovalevsky, Pavlo Khrystiuk, and Mykyta Shapoval, also joined the Central Rada. The well-known and highly respected Hrushevsky, who was in exile before, was elected president of the Central Rada. Within the following months Rada had gathered an unexpected support among Ukrainian citizens from various economic, educational, military, and welfare organizations, it formally elected 150 representatives to the Central Rada and reaffirmed Hrushevsky's leadership. On 18 May, when over 700 delegates of Ukrainians serving in the army met in Kiev, they instructed their representatives to join the Central Rada. About a month later, close to 1000 delegates at the Ukrainian Congress of Peasants did likewise. Afterwards, the Congress of Workers also joined the Central Rada.

However there were also a group of people which weren't enthusiastic about Central Rada, Russian conservatives were concerned that the growing Ukrainian political presence might lead to the disintegration of "one and indivisible Russia." Russian radicals, for their part, suspected that the Ukrainian national movement might break up the "unity of the working class." And Jews, many of whom identified with Russian culture and were active in Russian socialist parties, also looked unfavorably at the Central Rada. Within a series of congresses around Ukraine, Rada gained more supporters and In April, the All-Ukrainian National Congress elected 150 representatives to the Rada. The Military Congress in May, the Peasant Congress in June, and the Workers Congress in July delegated representatives to join the Rada, which as a result grew to a body of 600 and had to create the Small Rada to administer everyday business. As of now, Central Rada was functioning as a revolutionary parliament of Ukraine.

At that point, the representatives of Ukraine's national minorities, who had been apprehensive observers of the struggle between Kyiv and Petrograd, finally agreed to join the Central Rada after the Russian Provisional Government's unsuccessful struggles at the debate. The delegates of Russian, Polish, and Jewish political organizations took 202 of 822 seats in the Central Rada and 18 of 58 in the Small Rada. Balance was gradually changing, yet as the July elections to the city councils showed, the Ukrainian parties had a weak following in the politically crucial urban centers. In towns with a population under 50,000, they won 12.6 percent of the votes, and in cities with a population over 50,000, only 9.5 percent. In Kyiv, the Ukrainian parties received only 25 percent, and in Kharkiv, 13 percent. The peasantry thus remained the Ukrainian movement's main support base, but the Central Rada did not satisfy the peasants' principal demand which was the redistribution of land. To protest the postponement of land reform, in September the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries refused to join the new General Secretariat. By the early fall of 1917, the peasants took matters into their own hands and began mass seizures of land belonging to the nobility or the crown. The Ukrainian Government was losing both trust and control over the countryside.

When the Provisional Government attempted to back away from its recognition of Ukrainian autonomy, the Central Rada wasted its time in endless debates about the extent of its authority. Neglecting the problems, law and order, the provisioning of the cities, and the functioning of the railroads. It also failed to address effectively the bleeding issue of land redistribution. Consequently, the initial unity that the Ukrainians had exhibited earlier soon broke down and the political and

ideological conflicts between the dominant Social Democrats and the numerous Socialist Revolutionaries in the Central Rada became intense. Conflict between the countryside and city was increasing. Central Rada members lost the contact with the masses that had been established briefly by means of the various congresses. Each locality now took care of its own affairs as best it could. Moreover, ideological narrowness of the young, inexperienced Ukrainian politicians, most of whom were in their 20s and 30s, took thoughtless actions. In conclusion conflicts in the Rada grew gradually and led to dissolution in the end.

### ***Moderates and Liberals***

Led by Evhen Chykalenko and Dmytro Doroshenko, the moderates represented Ukraine's educated and property-owning classes. They aimed for cultural autonomy and gradual political reform within a federative Russia, avoiding any radical social change.

### ***Social Democrats***

Headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Symon Petliura, this group advocated for social equality and workers' rights while still supporting Ukrainian autonomy. They became the most influential faction within the Rada in 1917.

### ***Social Revolutionaries***

Represented by Mykola Kovalevsky and Mykyta Shapoval, they focused on agrarian reform and peasant rights, calling for the redistribution of land from large estates to the peasantry.

### ***Minority Parties and Opposition***

Russian, Jewish, and Polish parties initially joined the Rada on the promise of cultural autonomy, but they often resisted deeper political reforms. Russian conservatives and radicals alike feared that Ukraine's growing independence would threaten the unity of Russia.

## **6.2. Relations with the Russian Provisional Government**

Rada's main concern was defining its relationship with the Provisional Government. To deal with the issue, Rada sent commissioners to the areas in order to negotiate with the Russian Provisional Government. Both the left wingers and the moderates in the Central Rada dreamed of autonomous Ukraine in a federation with Russia, but the Provisional Government at first refused any compromises to the nationalities. With its proposals for autonomy rejected, on June 23 the Central Rada issued its First Universal, proclaiming autonomy unilaterally. The Rada also formed a Ukrainian cabinet of ministers, known as the "General Secretariat" and headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko. The Russian Provisional Government was deeply disturbed by the recent developments and sent a delegation to Kyiv. As Germany and Austria-Hungary had just inflicted major defeats on the Russian armies, Petrograd obliged to make a compromise. Without acknowledging the Central Rada itself, it recognized the authority of the General Secretariat in five of the nine provinces where ethnic Ukrainians constituted the majority: Kyiv, Chernihiv, Poltava, Podolia, and Volhynia. However, as the Provisional Government continued to delay real reforms, the Rada's patience became thinner, and its focus gradually shifted from autonomy to full independence. However, the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917 drastically altered the balance of power, forcing the Rada to redefine its goals once again.

## **6.3. From Autonomy to Independence: The Evolution of Ukrainian Self-Governance**

After the announcement of First Universal and debates with the Provisional Government's delegate which was sent to Kyiv, Russians were forced to recognize the



General Secretariat as the administration of five Ukrainian provinces (Kiev, Poltava, Podilia, Volhynia, and Chernihiv). This recognition marked the high point of the Central Rada's influence and authority. On July 16, the Central Rada issued its Second Universal, reaching a compromise with the Russian Provisional Government. While the Rada agreed that the final decision on Ukraine's autonomy would be made by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Government, in turn, recognized the Rada and its General Secretariat as legitimate authorities in Ukraine. This temporary compromise, however, displeased many Ukrainian radicals, who accused the Rada of betraying national interests.

After the Central Rada gained more power over governing Ukraine after these occasions, On the promise of far-ranging cultural autonomy, Russian and Jewish parties in Ukraine unintentionally agreed to join the Central Rada. At this point, the Central Rada consisted of 822 seats, about one-fourth of which were held by Russian, Jewish, Polish, and other non-Ukrainian parties. Ideologically, it leaned heavily to the left. With an agreement reached with both the Provisional Government and the minorities, the Central Rada was now free to take on the task of governing.

However there were some problems in rada. Peasants weren't satisfied with the land redistribution issue, which wasn't solved properly in Rada's management, later led to peasants taking lands of crown and growing complicity of the issue. Local soviets in the cities and self-defense bodies in the countryside paid less and less attention to the proclamations issued from Kyiv. Connections between the Provisional Government and Central Rada were escalating gradually. After the Bolsheviks in Petrograd overthrew Kerensky's government on November 7, 1917 (November Revolution), the Central Rada's troops supported the Kyivan Bolsheviks in their fight against the loyalist units of the Kyiv Military District. Following the victory, however, the Rada claimed supreme authority over the nine Ukrainian provinces: Kyiv, Podolia, Volhynia, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, and Taurida (without the Crimea). The Rada's Third Universal (November 20) announced the creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic as an autonomous unit in the future democratic federation of Russia's nationalities that was to emerge after the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Although the Bolsheviks seemed temperate at first, they had no intention of accepting separation of Ukraine, which included major agricultural and industrial cities of the former Russian Empire. In December, they organized the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in Kyiv that was to overthrow the Central Rada, but the Ukrainian parties managed to overtake the Bolsheviks with a mass of peasant delegates.

The Bolshevik faction then moved to Kharkiv, where on December 25 another Congress of Soviets proclaimed the Soviet Ukrainian Republic. Bolshevik detachments were on their way. Firstly arriving from Russia together with local Red Guards and then began advancing on Kyiv.

The war against the Bolsheviks was an absolute calamity for Ukrainian republic. Around 300.000 Soldiers which, pledged loyalty to the Central Rada, were deployed at the Eastern Front had returned to their villages. The remaining Ukrainian army under Minister of War Symon Petliura consisted of 15,000 irregular "Free Cossacks" and volunteers. In what was in fact a civil war, morale mattered more than numbers, and the overall combat performance The Ukrainian troops were disappointing. Although Bolsheviks counted up nearly only 8.000 at the front at the beginning, Bolshevik troops were more organized and disciplined. In the end the campaign was won by Bolshevik's persuasion rather than by force. The Central Rada also failed to build support among the workers. Workers Congress was the hardest to organize during Central Rada's Congress, when it finally convened, the most critical of the government. Attempts by the authorities to control trade unions or establish separate Ukrainian ones failed. Later on the Red Army advanced from the north and staged many successful uprisings among Ukraine. As a result of Bolshevik supremacy over the country, they forced the Ukrainian Government to abandon the city .

As a result Ukraine could not bear more pressure from Russia, sought help from Germany and Austria-Hungary. As only a fully independent state could conclude an international treaty, on January 25,1918, the Central Rada issued its Fourth Universal, proclaiming the independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Austria-Hungary and Germany did not want one major Russia in the area and supported Ukraine with soldiers and weapons in exchange for food trading. (Brest Litowsk Agreement). With the help of the German and Austria-Hungarian forces, Ukraine easily managed to retrieve the lost positions and ensured major supremacy over the Russians. A German and Austrian army of 450,000 bayonets forced them to flee, and by April, all nine Ukrainian provinces were cleared of Bolsheviks. Displaced to Russia, the Ukrainian Bolshevik leaders began preparing for a long struggle for Ukraine that they could not win without Russian backing. One of their first steps was to create the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, which was, however, completely under the control of its Russian big sister.

However the great victory of Ukraine would be short lived and overshadowed by political realities.

After the victory against the Bolsheviks with the help of Germany and Austria-Hungary, Ukraine's atmosphere was shaky. Many people were demanding rights over lands, well-to-do peasants, junior entrepreneurs and businessmen, factory owners and large landholders and the upper levels of bureaucracy. At the same time, Germans and Austrians were forcing Ukraine to get their promised amount of livestock which Ukraine accepted to give them in exchange for fighting with them. Ukraine hindered the flow of livestock and then Germans secretly gathered to abolish the Rada and assign their own Government. They had meetings with Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky and he accepted the offer and then, on April 29, 1918, the congress of the Ukrainian Union of Landowners proclaimed Pavlo Skoropadsky Hetman of Ukraine. The new state rested on an unusual mixture of monarchical, republican, and, most notably, dictatorial features. Hetman's process of changing and assigning his own personnel to management in the provinces wasn't that hard. There were old pro-Tsarist factions and they put themselves easily to Hetman's service. In the end most of the staff was emptied and filled with pro-Russian officials. The Hetman Government aimed to create a fine relationship with peasants, which were the basis of Ukraine. They tried to turn the peasants to pillars of his regime by establishing "Cossack" but the approach to peasantry did not work as intended. German economic exploits and relations with large land owners lowered the trust to the government among peasants and countryside. The Government had also struggled to create a coalition because none of the Ukrainian political parties agreed to the invitation. The government had also struggled to form a military. Germans discouraged the creation of a large military force that might challenge their overwhelming influence. A police force, which like the army, attracted many former tsarist officers, was soon operating (for better or worse) at full tilt. Although Hetman's management was not a failure in all areas, foreign ministry succeeded in establishing diplomatic relations and exchanging ambassadors with the Central Powers, neighboring countries, and some neutral states, such as Switzerland and Sweden. A total of eleven foreign missions opened up in Kyiv. It managed to reconstruct the education in Ukraine surprisingly positively. Several million textbooks were prepared and many schools and universities were established. But while they could achieve permanent achievements, they were burdened with political handicaps. With the end of World War 1 Germany and Austrians were defeated so the support line going to Hetman was cut off. Soon there was a revolt in order to overthrow the Hetman Government. The revolution succeeded and the Hetman Government was overthrown and replaced by the Directorate with the leadership of Symon Petliura and Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Pavlo Skoropadsky (Hetman) made several desperate attempts

to find another power base, however they did not work and he left Ukraine with the remaining German forces.

Yet Ukraine had no political power nor military and Bolshevik threat was rising again which would eventually lead to war again.

## **7. Agenda Items**

Though the agenda items are not official, these will be the main agenda topics of debate which the committee will later on publish Universals.

The agenda items for the universals are to be below (other than the consequence of directives);

### **7.1. The Struggle for Ukrainian Independence**

The Ukrainian struggle for independence in 1917 was not a sudden eruption, but the culmination of centuries of cultural revival, intellectual resistance, and political aspiration. For generations, Ukraine's lands had been divided among empires — chiefly the Russian Empire in the east and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the west. Under tsarist rule, the Ukrainian language and national consciousness were suppressed through policies such as the Valuev Circular (1863) and Ems Ukaz (1876), which prohibited Ukrainian-language publications and education. Nonetheless, Ukrainian identity endured through the persistence of folk culture, underground education, and the academic work of historians such as Mykhailo Hrushevsky, whose writings framed the Ukrainian nation as an ancient and continuous entity distinct from Russia.

When the February Revolution of 1917 toppled Tsar Nicholas II and brought about the Russian Provisional Government, Ukrainian activists saw an unprecedented opportunity to assert autonomy. In March 1917, representatives from political, cultural, and social organizations convened in Kyiv to form the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council), a national assembly that aimed to represent the will of the Ukrainian people. The Rada, initially chaired by Hrushevsky, presented itself not as a separatist body but as a legitimate regional authority within a democratic Russia. Its First

Universal (June 1917) declared Ukraine's right to autonomy and the establishment of a national government, while still recognizing the Provisional Government in Petrograd.

However, relations between Kyiv and Petrograd quickly deteriorated. The Provisional Government, led by Alexander Kerensky, refused to acknowledge the Rada's authority, fearing it might spark other nationalist movements in the empire's peripheries. This denial radicalized many within the Ukrainian movement. By the Third Universal (November 1917), following the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd, the Rada proclaimed the creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) — still nominally part of a federated Russia, but with clear aspirations for sovereignty. When the Bolsheviks refused to recognize it and invaded Ukraine, the Fourth Universal (January 22, 1918) boldly declared full independence.

The struggle for Ukrainian independence was far more than a political declaration; it was a multidimensional battle for legitimacy, identity, and survival. The Rada sought to build the institutions of a modern state — an army, an educational system, and a bureaucracy — amid war, social revolution, and economic collapse. It faced the impossible task of uniting nationalists, socialists, and federalists under one flag, while simultaneously resisting foreign armies and internal revolts. Despite its eventual overthrow, the Rada's brief existence laid the ideological foundation for all later Ukrainian statehood movements, including the independence achieved in 1991. Its legacy remains that of a democratic experiment born in the most turbulent moment of modern Eastern European history.

## **7.2. Agrarian and Land Reforms amid Social Upheaval**



The agrarian question lay at the heart of the Ukrainian Revolution. In 1917, nearly 80% of Ukraine's population were peasants, and land ownership was grotesquely unequal. Vast estates remained in the hands of landlords, nobles, and the church, while millions of peasants tilled small plots or worked as laborers on estates they did not own. The collapse of the tsarist regime ignited long-suppressed anger and unleashed a wave of spontaneous land seizures across the countryside.

The Central Rada was immediately confronted with this social explosion. Peasants began forming local land committees, often under the influence of socialist and anarchist agitators, to confiscate estates, divide land, and redistribute livestock and tools. Initially, the Rada attempted to harness this energy by introducing an orderly legal framework for reform. The Third Universal proclaimed that all land was to become "the property of the entire working people," and that the ownership of private estates would be abolished without compensation. However, the law's implementation was slow and inconsistent, hindered by the absence of an effective state apparatus and the chaos of war.

The Rada's moderate socialist leadership — especially the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries (UPSR) — envisioned an agrarian reform that was gradual and based on democratic procedures. They feared that endorsing spontaneous seizures would erode state authority and plunge the country into anarchy. Yet, their cautious approach alienated the very peasant masses whose support they depended upon. In the villages, radicalized peasants were unwilling to wait for bureaucratic reform and instead enacted their own form of social justice. The Rada found itself trapped between revolutionary impatience from below and the geopolitical threats from above.

By mid-1918, the situation deteriorated further when the Rada, under pressure from the Central Powers (especially Germany and Austria-Hungary), agreed to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in exchange for military protection against the Bolsheviks. German occupation authorities, however, prioritized grain requisitioning and the restoration of large estates to meet wartime supply needs. This betrayal of peasant hopes discredited the Rada and paved the way for Pavlo Skoropadsky's Hetmanate, which reversed many of the agrarian reforms. The failure to resolve the land question thus undermined the social foundations of Ukrainian statehood. It revealed that national liberation without social transformation could not sustain the loyalty of the peasantry, who were the backbone of the revolution.

### **7.3. The Makhno-led Anarchist Movement and Peasant Resistance**

While the Central Rada sought to establish a parliamentary republic, the Makhno movement represented the grassroots, radical, and distinctly anarchist alternative that emerged from Ukraine's rural heartlands. Its leader, Nestor Makhno, was a former peasant from the southern region of Huliaipole, deeply influenced by anarchist theory and the harsh realities of peasant exploitation. During the revolutionary years, he organized local self-defense units that evolved into the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine (RIAU) — a massive and mobile force that at its peak numbered tens of thousands of fighters.

Makhno's vision was profoundly anti-authoritarian. He rejected both the nationalist goals of the Central Rada and the centralist ambitions of the Bolsheviks. Instead, his movement sought to create a "free territory" (*volnaya territoriya*) — a network of peasant communes governed by councils and assemblies, without political parties or state coercion. In these territories, land was redistributed according to need, factories were run collectively, and decisions were made through direct democracy. The Makhnovists defended these ideals with remarkable resilience, defeating German occupation forces, White monarchist armies, and even the Red Army on multiple occasions.

For many peasants, Makhno symbolized authentic revolution — a champion who embodied their desire for both social equality and freedom from external domination. Yet, his movement also reflected the tragic fragmentation of the Ukrainian revolution. The Rada viewed the Makhnovshchina as an obstacle to centralized governance, while the Bolsheviks branded it as counterrevolutionary anarchy. Despite several tactical alliances with the Red Army, Makhno was ultimately betrayed by the Bolsheviks in 1921, when his forces were crushed and driven into exile.

The significance of the Makhno-led anarchist movement lies not only in its military achievements but in its ideological challenge to both nationalism and communism. It demonstrated that Ukraine's revolution was not a simple struggle for statehood, but a broader contest over what kind of social order should emerge from the ruins of empire. Makhno's legacy continues to intrigue historians and political theorists as an early experiment in libertarian socialism — one born from the blood and soil of revolutionary Ukraine.

## **7.4. Bolshevik and Foreign Suppressions of Ukrainian Sovereignty**

The greatest obstacle to the Central Rada's independence was the convergence of Bolshevik hostility and foreign intervention. From the outset, Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership viewed Ukrainian nationalism as a bourgeois diversion from the international socialist revolution. When the Rada refused to recognize the authority of the new Soviet government after October 1917, the Bolsheviks moved swiftly to establish an alternative power base. In December 1917, they convened a rival Soviet congress in Kharkiv, proclaiming a Ukrainian Soviet Republic and declaring war on the Rada. This marked the beginning of a brutal and complex civil war on Ukrainian soil.

The Rada, militarily weak and politically divided, appealed for international assistance. The Bolshevik offensive soon reached Kyiv, forcing the Rada into exile in January 1918. Desperate, the Ukrainian delegation sought help from the Central Powers at the ongoing Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations. The resulting Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (February 9, 1918) granted Ukraine formal recognition as an independent state and promised military aid in exchange for vast grain deliveries to Germany and Austria-Hungary. With German support, the Rada returned to Kyiv, and Bolshevik forces retreated.

However, this victory came at a heavy price. The presence of German troops effectively turned Ukraine into an occupied protectorate. When the Rada failed to meet grain quotas, the German military administration, seeking greater control and stability, overthrew it in April 1918 and installed Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, a conservative figure supported by landowners and the old elite. Skoropadsky's government reversed many of the Rada's democratic reforms, suppressed socialist organizations, and aligned closely with Berlin. Thus, the very powers that had preserved Ukrainian independence simultaneously strangled its revolutionary spirit.

After Germany's defeat in World War I, Skoropadsky's regime collapsed, and power briefly returned to the Directory, a coalition led by Symon Petliura and Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Yet by then, the Red Army had regrouped and launched a renewed invasion. By 1920, most of Ukraine was under Soviet control. The suppression of Ukrainian sovereignty — first by foreign armies and later by the Bolsheviks — illustrated the near-impossibility of national self-determination in a region caught between imperial ambitions and ideological warfare. The Rada's downfall was not only the result of internal weakness but of being geopolitically trapped between rival empires at war.

## **7.5. Political Fragmentation and Ideological Divides within the Rada**

Internally, the Central Rada's downfall was accelerated by its own ideological contradictions. Conceived as a unifying body representing "the entire Ukrainian people," the Rada was in practice dominated by left-leaning intellectuals, teachers, and moderate socialists. The largest factions were the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party (UPSR) and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (USDLP), which advocated a mixture of agrarian socialism and national autonomy. While these groups shared a general commitment to democracy and social reform, they differed sharply on timing, methods, and the extent of independence.

At one extreme stood federalists like Hrushevsky, who initially envisioned Ukraine as an autonomous republic within a democratic, federated Russia. At the other were radicals such as Petliura and Vynnychenko, who came to believe that full separation was the only path forward. These divisions deepened with every crisis: the Bolshevik invasion, the peasant uprisings, and the German occupation all forced the Rada to choose between competing priorities — national survival or social justice, independence or stability.

Compounding these ideological rifts were structural weaknesses. The Rada lacked a disciplined army, an effective bureaucracy, and stable finances. Its decrees often went unenforced beyond Kyiv, as local soviets, peasant committees, and military detachments acted autonomously. Urban workers were often sympathetic to the Bolsheviks, while rural peasants grew impatient with the slow pace of reform. The Rada's democratic pluralism, though admirable in principle, became a liability in the face of ruthless and centralized adversaries.

By the spring of 1918, the Rada had lost its popular base, military capability, and foreign support. Yet, despite its failure as a state-building project, it remains a crucial chapter in Ukraine's modern history. The Rada symbolized a genuine attempt to create a parliamentary, democratic, and inclusive political system — one that might have succeeded under more favorable conditions. Its ideological diversity reflected both the richness and the tragedy of Ukraine's revolution: a nation divided not only by external forces, but also by the conflicting dreams of its own people.

## **8. Key Figures and Political Blocs**

The Ukrainian Central Rada wasn't a monolithic government. In fact it was a fragile coalition of competing ideals, personalities and social backgrounds. It represented the spirit of 1917. It was like the old world had collapsed and people were trying to imagine what a new one might look like. Inside the Rada, teachers sat beside peasants, socialist workers sat beside landowners and poets sat beside soldiers. The only thing that really united them was a belief that Ukraine should govern itself.

The Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party (UPSR), the largest political power in the rada, had its strength from the countryside. They were the voice of the poor, millions of Ukrainians who worked the land but owned none. Their vision of freedom was that land to those who farm it and justice in the villages. The revolution wasn't about theory for them. It was survival and dignity.

The Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party(USDLP) spoke for a different constituency. The urban intelligentsia, factory workers and educated middle class. They saw Western Europe and wanted to build a modern democratic society with its foundation being civil rights and progressive reforms. They often clashed with the UPSR regarding how the revolution should be.

During all this, the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists (UPSF) and the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP) took more moderate stances. They hoped Ukraine could have autonomy peacefully within a reformed federal Russia. These people valued stability and gradual change more than radical upheaval, nonetheless as the situation in Petrograd deteriorated, even their patience began to wear thin.

During this ideological whirlwind, the Rada served both as a parliament and also a moral symbol. Its debates were heated but sincere; its members believed in democracy (though few had experience in governing). Nonetheless, this diversity was Rada's greatest power. It was also its undoing. In times of crisis, unity shattered. The revolution needed to be decisive but the Rada remained cautious and idealistic. What was the beginning of a hopeful experiment in self-government slowly turned into a challenge to keep the dream of Ukraine alive no matter war or betrayal.

## **8.1. Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Intellectual Foundations of the Rada**

If the Central Rada possessed a conscience, it was embodied by Mykhailo Hrushevsky. As a historian instead of a politician, he added intellectual depth to the Ukrainian national concept. His monumental work, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, was more than an academic endeavor — it was a subtle act of defiance. During a period when the Russian Empire insisted that Ukraine had never been a genuine nation, Hrushevsky meticulously recorded a millennium of Ukrainian governance, spanning from Kyivan Rus' to the Cossack Hetmanate. Throughout history, he assured his people that they had always been present.

When the February Revolution began, Hrushevsky came back from exile to Kyiv and swiftly emerged as the moral leader of the national movement. Chosen as chairman of the Central Rada, he carried with him a serene, academic presence that generated confidence. His addresses were rich in logic instead of flashy language; his outlook for Ukraine was democratic, embracing, and profoundly humanistic.

Hrushevsky envisioned a federal Russia in which Ukraine would possess its own parliament, educational institutions, and military — while still being connected to a democratic core. He thought that the era of empires had ended and that a new realm of collaborative nations could emerge from the remnants of conflict. However, this faith in conversation and incremental change was unable to cope with the harshness of revolutionary politics.

When the Bolsheviks seized control and dispatched their forces to the south, Hrushevsky's realm of logical discussion crumbled. Even among the Rada, more extreme individuals started to run out of patience. As Hrushevsky persisted in advocating for democracy and education, others called for rapid military mobilization and immediate independence.

His leadership eventually diminished, yet his intellectual legacy persisted. Hrushevsky's true accomplishment was not in military or political realms — it was in the spiritual domain. He provided Ukrainians with a narrative about their identity, a vision of a

contemporary nation rooted not in warfare or aggression, but in culture, education, and remembrance.

Even today, his portrait hangs in Kyiv not because he ruled, but because he taught — and through teaching, he helped Ukraine remember who it was.

## **8.2. Symon Petliura and the Military Question**

While Hrushevsky represented patience and intellect, Symon Petliura symbolized urgency and conflict. As a revolutionary who was once a journalist, Petliura possessed the charisma and practicality that frequently determined the line between survival and downfall in chaotic times. He thought that independence couldn't be protected with statements — only with troops.

As Secretary of Military Affairs in the Rada, Petliura advocated for the establishment of a trained Ukrainian military. He cautioned that without it, all discussions of freedom were merely that — discussions. However, the socialist majority in the Rada held significant skepticism towards standing armies, perceiving them as remnants of imperial oppression. They preferred volunteer militias and spirited revolution. Petliura attempted to gather them, but it was difficult to enforce discipline when soldiers were more devoted to their village than to the government.

The outcomes were disastrous and anticipated. As the Bolsheviks initiated their initial invasion of Ukraine in late 1917, the disorganized forces of the Rada collapsed. Petliura's annoyance intensified as he observed political hesitance jeopardizing the independence they had proclaimed. Following the collapse of the Rada, he persisted in the struggle under the Directory, eventually becoming the leader of the Ukrainian People's Republic during its final, urgent years.

Petliura's command was both valiant and troubled. He formed partnerships with anyone ready to oppose Bolshevik control — including Poland — yet these practical decisions undermined his support at home. His administration faced shortages, internal turmoil, and violent anti-Jewish pogroms conducted by unruly troops, which he was unable to adequately stop.

In spite of this grim legacy, Petliura continues to be one of the most intricate personalities in Ukraine's contemporary history. For some, he was an imperfect patriot who sacrificed everything for a doomed mission. To many, he was the first genuinely modern Ukrainian leader who recognized that independence, once proclaimed, must be safeguarded every day.

### **8.3. Nestor Makhno and the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army**

While the Central Rada embodied the political aspirations of the nation, Nestor Makhno epitomized its rebellious spirit. Born in the little southern town of Huliaipole, Makhno was raised in hardship, serving as a shepherd and eventually as a factory worker. In his early twenties, he had already been incarcerated for anarchist actions, and his time in the Butyrka prison in Moscow transformed him into a revolutionary intellectual.

After the tsar's overthrow in 1917, Makhno went back to his homeland and started forming self-defense units among the peasants. What began as a local militia eventually transformed into one of the most notable movements of the Russian Civil War — the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine, commonly referred to as the Makhnovshchina.



Makhno's army represented more than a combat unit; it embodied a social revolution in progress. His soldiers resided with the farmers, not apart from them. Estates owned by landlords were seized, land was redistributed, and local councils managed communities via open assemblies. Makhno dismissed all types of central authority, be it Bolshevik or nationalist. He envisioned a Ukraine managed by workers and peasants — autonomous, equal, and independent.

The Makhnovists were recognized for their tactical genius. Employing swiftly moving horse-drawn carts equipped with machine guns — the famous tachanki — they attacked foes rapidly, frequently overcoming significantly larger groups. However, their autonomy turned them into foes of almost everyone: the Germans, the Whites, the Rada, and eventually the Bolsheviks as well.

For a short time, it appeared that Makhno had established a genuinely free area — a section of land in southern Ukraine where individuals ruled themselves without overlords. Yet history was unyielding. The Bolsheviks, having momentarily partnered with him against the Whites, betrayed him once their triumph was secured. By 1921, his troops were defeated, and he escaped to France, where he later died in poverty.

Still, Makhno's story is more than a footnote. It reminds us that Ukraine's revolution was not only about borders and governments — it was also about how ordinary people dreamed of justice, equality, and freedom, even when the entire world seemed set against them.

#### **8.4. Bolshevik Agents and External Influences on Ukrainian Affairs**

Ukraine's revolution occurred not in a vacuum but amidst a geopolitical tempest. The nation's fertile land, advantageous location, and youthful revolutionary vigor rendered it both an asset and a danger to neighboring authorities. Every foreign military that invaded

Ukraine asserted it was freeing the nation — however, each departure resulted in greater division and weariness.

The Bolsheviks, under Lenin's leadership, regarded the Ukrainian Central Rada with skepticism from the beginning. They perceived it not as a revolution for the people but as a bourgeois nationalist endeavor hindering international socialism. When the Rada declined to acknowledge the new Soviet regime in Petrograd, Lenin dispatched both troops and propagandists to the south. Bolshevik leaders like Vladimir Antonov-Ovseenko and Christian Rakovsky established local soviets in eastern cities such as Kharkiv, forming an opposing Ukrainian Soviet Republic in December 1917.

This duality — two administrations asserting to represent the same populace — ignited a violent civil war. As the Bolsheviks promoted the idea of worker unity, their forces operated with ruthless intent, seeking to dominate Ukraine's grain, industries, and harbors. Their push into Kyiv in early 1918 compelled the Rada to ask for assistance from Germany and Austria-Hungary.

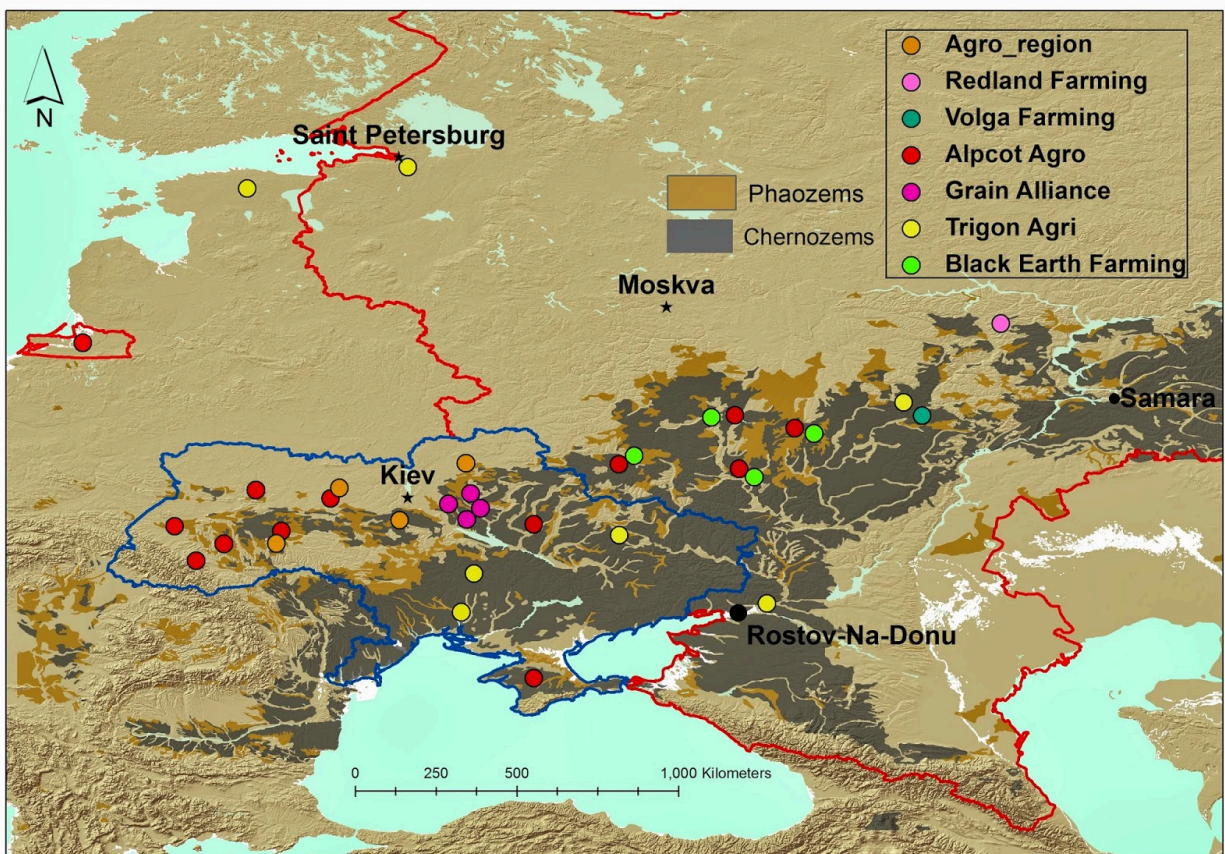
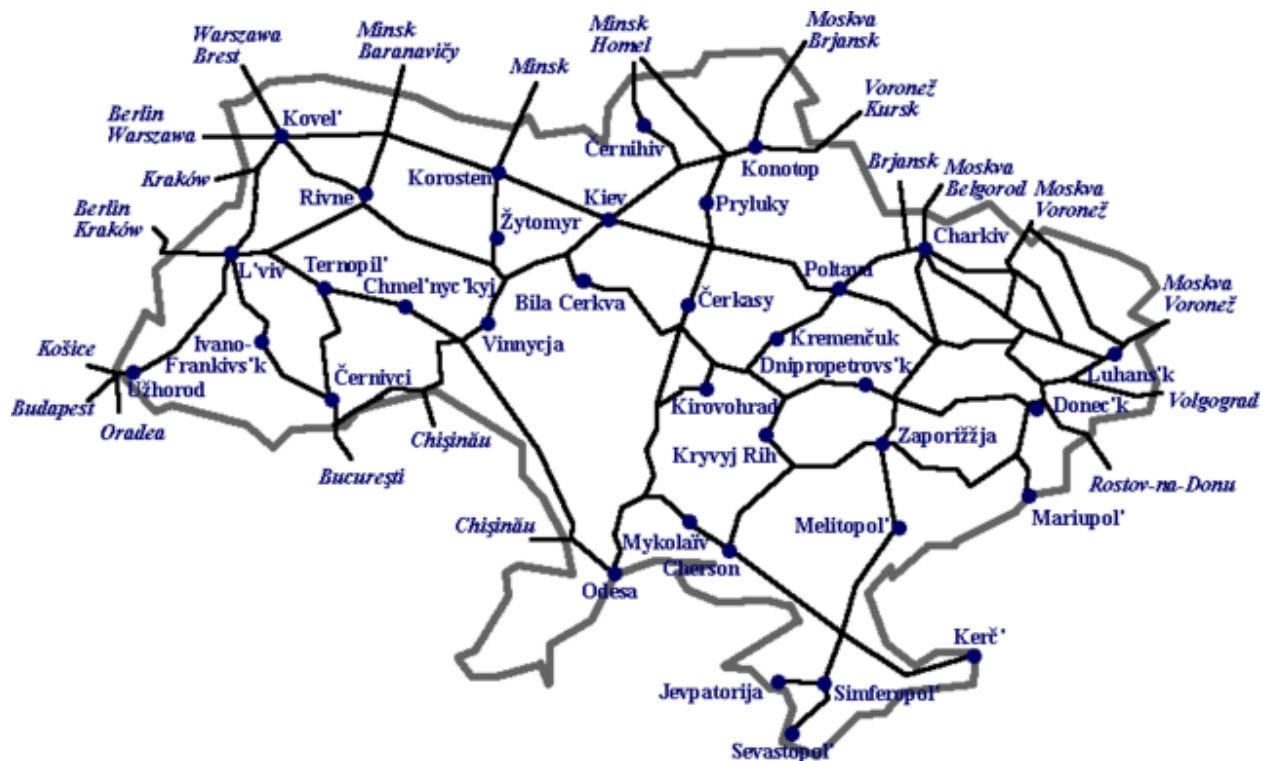
The Brest-Litovsk Treaty that ensued provided Ukraine with temporary relief but at a significant cost. German occupying forces regarded the nation as a colony, seizing its food and resources. Subsequently, after the conclusion of World War I, various elements emerged — Polish forces, White royalists, and the Allies — each enforcing their distinct objectives.

In the midst of all this, the aspiration for an independent Ukraine grew increasingly difficult to maintain. By 1920, the Red Army had taken control of the majority of the territory, incorporating it into the recently established Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic — a republic in title, yet closely monitored by Moscow.

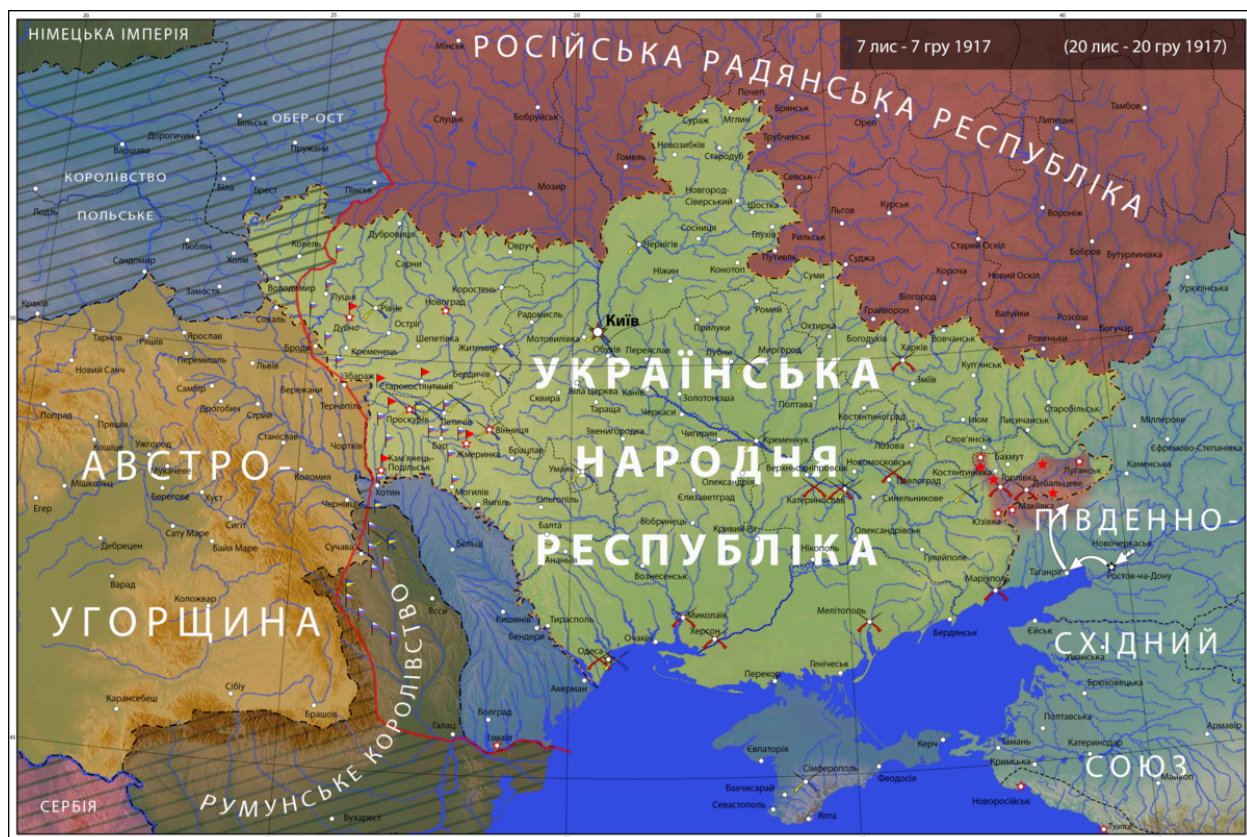
The tragedy of Ukraine in those years lies not only in foreign invasion but in the constant betrayal of its people's hopes. Every external power claimed to act for liberty or order, but in truth, they all underestimated the one thing that endured: Ukraine's stubborn refusal to vanish.

## 9. Maps and Reference Documents









Розташування військових частин: ▲ - українських ▲ - російських ▲ - більшовицьких

Місця формування військових частин: ✕ - українських ✕ - червоногвардійських

Рух військ: ➡ - українських ➡ - більшовицьких ➡ - білих

★ Міста де більшовики захопили владу  
 ★ Провальні виступи більшовиків  
 ★ Міста де влада більшовиків була повалена



## 10. Figures of the Committee

These figures are to be studied by delegates because personal plans will be a major occupation for everyone.

Name	Political Bloc / Party	General Ideological Stance	Policy Focus / Key Interest
<b>Serhiy Yefremov</b>	Federalist / Moderate	Autonomy within Russian Federation	Legal reform, gradualism, constitutional law
<b>Dmytro Doroshenko</b>	Federalist / Moderate	Ukrainian autonomy, anti-Bolshevik	Foreign relations, civil service
<b>Ivan Steshenko</b>	Federalist / Moderate	Cultural autonomy	Education, Ukrainian language policy
<b>Fedir Matushevsky</b>	Federalist / Moderate	Cultural rights, anti-extremist	Civic institutions
<b>Pavlo Khrystiuk</b>	Socialist Revolutionary (UPSR)	Agrarian socialism	Land reform, rural self-governance
<b>Mykola Kovalevsky</b>	Socialist Revolutionary (UPSR)	Peasant representation	Redistribution, cooperatives
<b>Panasyuk Panas</b>	Socialist Revolutionary (UPSR)	Radical peasant socialist	Abolition of landlordism
<b>Mykhailo Tkachenko</b>	Socialist Revolutionary (UPSR)	Left-agrarian	Land to the peasants, anti-feudal
<b>Vsevolod Holubovych</b>	Socialist Revolutionary (UPSR)	Socialist populism	Prime Minister under Rada; land & transport

<b>Mykola Shrah</b>	Social Democrat (USDLP)	Laborist, moderate socialist	Trade unions, labor law
<b>Borys Martos</b>	Social Democrat (USDLP)	Cooperative socialism	Economy, finance, education
<b>Yevhen Neronovych</b>	Social Democrat (USDLP)	Radical socialist	Workers' control, industrial policy
<b>Dmytro Antonovych</b>	Social Democrat (USDLP)	National-socialist synthesis	Culture, history, national consciousness
<b>Andriy Nikovsky</b>	Social Democrat (USDLP)	Center-left, pragmatic	Education, local administration
<b>Oleksandr Shulhyn</b>	Federalist / Moderate	Gradualist, pro-diplomacy	Foreign policy, League of Nations ties
<b>Serhiy Shelukhin</b>	Federalist / Moderate	Legalist, constitutional	Judiciary, civil administration
<b>Volodymyr Naumenko</b>	Liberal / Cultural Nationalist	Non-socialist autonomy advocate	Education, cultural revival
<b>Ivan Kraskovsky</b>	Ukrainian Peasant Union	Agrarian democracy	Village councils, cooperatives
<b>Kyrylo Stetsenko</b>	Cultural / National Bloc	Ukrainian Orthodox reformer	National church, cultural autonomy
<b>Stepan Siropolko</b>	Liberal / Educationist	Humanitarian reform	Public education, literacy programs
<b>Dmytro Doroshenko</b>	Federalist / Moderate	Historical conservative	Diplomacy, foreign relations



<b>Isaak Mazepa</b>	Socialist Revolutionary (UPSR)	Peasant socialism, later PM	Land redistribution, taxation
<b>Mykhailo Lozynsky</b>	Independe nt Socialist	Self-determi nation	Civil rights, minority protection
<b>Mykhailo Hrushevsky Jr. (Oleksandr Hrushevsky)</b>	Socialist Federalist	National autonomy	Education, gradual federal reform
<b>Volodymyr Vynnyk</b>	Military / National Defense	National guard	Mobilization, supply, discipline
<b>Yuriy Kolard</b>	Military / National Defense	Army modernization	Command reform, recruitment
<b>Oleh Sevriuk</b>	Ukrainian Nationalist (right wing)	Independen ce first	Territorial sovereignty, propaganda
<b>Mykhailo Lozynsky</b>	Ukrainian National Democrat	Moderate independence	State institutions, civic order
<b>Mykhailo Omelianovych-Pavlenko</b>	Military / National Defense	Army building	Ukrainian army, frontier control
<b>Andriy Livytskyi</b>	Socialist Revolutionary (UPSR)	Peasant-ori ented socialism	Land redistribution, justice
<b>Ivan Lyzohub</b>	Conservati ve / Landed	Moderate autonomy	Protecting landowners' rights
<b>Yevhen Chykalenko</b>	Liberal / Nationalist	Patron of Ukrainian culture	Press freedom, cultural revival
<b>Mykhailo Poloz</b>	Left Socialist (Ukrainian SR Left)	Radical socialist	Social equality, anti-bourgeois policy
<b>Mykhailo Sadovsky</b>	Socialist Federalist	Civil society reform	Education, judiciary

<b>Vasyl Prokopovych</b>	Independent Moderate	Pragmatist	Bureaucracy reform, administrative order
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