

The **UKRAINIAN** **REVIEW**



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Map of Ukraine, 10th-13th centuries

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UKRAINE-RUS AND WESTERN EUROPE IN 10th-13th CENTURIES

by

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Ukrainian Free University

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Dr. R. MALASHCHUK

PROCLAMATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

The twenty-second of January 1918, on which the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed, and 22nd January 1919, the day on which the union of all Ukrainian provinces in one state came into being, are without a doubt the most famous dates in recent Ukrainian history and especially in the history of the Ukrainian national revolution (1917-21). This was the first time since the destruction of the Ukrainian state which had been re-established by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648 and the first time since the struggle which Hetman Mazepa led at the beginning of the 18th century that the Ukrainian people had declared its intention in the words of the fourth Universal to be independent. It said this fervently and openly before all the Ukrainian people and before the whole world, that it wanted to be master in its own house and intended to take its destiny into its own hands and master it with its own will and its own powers. For that is its divine natural right. All peoples of the world have the right to freedom, to a free independent existence on their own territory. The Ukrainian people too have this right.

The words of the Proclamation were as follows:

"People of Ukraine! Through your efforts, will and word, a FREE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC has been established on Ukrainian soil... As from today the Ukrainian National Republic becomes an independent, free and sovereign State of the Ukrainian People..."

The twenty-second of January 1918 was an epoch-making turning-point. It closed the era of subjugation and began the era of independent statehood and struggle for the state, a struggle which was hard but fought tenaciously and ceaselessly by the Ukrainian people. This date proved the vitality and continuity of the Ukrainian people, proved that no hostile power could destroy it. Ukraine is like a phoenix which time and time again rises out of smouldering ashes and smoking débris to a free existence.

From the first day of the Revolution of 1917 onwards the whole of Ukraine was inspired by only one desire: to be free. On 8th March 1917 it was the Ukrainian regiments (Tsarist, composed of Ukrainian soldiers) who were the first to hoist the flag of the Revolution in Petrograd, a foreign town far from their native land. Two weeks later 20,000 Ukrainians together with these soldiers demonstrated in the same town under the blue and gold flag. Under these colours and with the words "Long live free Ukraine!" Ukrainians demonstrat-

ed in Kyïv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Katerynoslav (now Dnipropetrovsk — Ed.) and other Ukrainian towns and beyond the frontiers of Ukraine. Out of the flames of the Revolution the voice of the people arose declaring that they wanted to shake off the foreign yoke and were determined to free themselves from the iron grip of the enemy's claws. The Ukrainian people, oppressed by foreigners for decades, scorned and outlawed, erased from the maps, struck out of the history books, banned from literature, and even deprived of their self-confidence, reawoke, broke the iron chains and fought again for their rights and freedom.

In spite of the various tricks and ruses of the enemy and against all the hesitant timidity and faults of individuals, the people strove with all their might for statehood and fulfilled Shevchenko's call: "Arise, break your chains!" This aspiration of the people was expressed in the Fourth Universal which was proclaimed in the Ukrainian capital Kyïv on 22nd January 1918. The Fourth Universal stated clearly and unmistakably that the Revolution had been carried through. The Ukrainian state should be built with its own resources. That was the only right way, for not many days after this proclamation Moscow threw away the mask of the friendly neighbour and started an open attack against the Ukrainian state to get Ukraine back into its power. Moscow always remains true to itself; whether Tsarist, Bolshevik, or "pink-democratic", it is always the enemy of Ukraine and tries to keep it in its power.

When the hostile invasion from the north swept over Ukraine, Ukrainian youths opposed it in the battle at Kruty railway-station on 29th January 1918. Three hundred students could not stop the enemy army which was many times stronger. The Ukrainian youth were unable to defend the young Ukrainian state at the gates of Kyïv. All fell and as in the old times gave their lives like the knights of the Kyïv State.

Ukraine then took up arms against Moscow and thus began the first open battle between Ukraine and Russia since the Battle of Poltava in 1709. At Kruty the Ukrainian youth signed the Fourth Universal with their blood. They paid for the independence of Ukraine with their lives. The blood which was spilt for the sake of freedom cannot be washed away by any enemy power, nor will it fade with the passage of time. The Battle of Kruty is the Rubicon of the Ukrainian national revolution. Ukraine crossed its Rubicon and followed the only right path, the struggle against Moscow. understands and respects only the clash of arms.

On this path which the Ukrainian people entered on 22nd January 1918 lay another date, 22nd January 1919, the day on which the members of Ukraine, — Galicia, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine, and Central Ukraine that had been separated from one another for centuries, were united in one great Ukrainian State.

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people right up to the present day has been fought under the ideals of these two dates, the ideals of independence and unity.

The declaration of the Union in 1919 had been well prepared by the act of 1st November 1918 and the Proclamation of Independence of Western Ukraine. At that time, not only the Ukrainians of the Dnister but also those of the Dnipro were fighting against the Polish invaders. This was the Gonta battalion commanded by General Dolud. High-ranking officers from the army of the Ukrainian state were in command of the Galician Army — Gen. Mykhaylo Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, Gen. M. Hrekiv and others. In the Army of the Ukrainian Republic the Ukrainians from the Western Region, for example Col. E. Konovalets with his corps of Sitch Riflemen fought on the other front, against the Russian invaders.

Inspired with the desire for union, the united Ukrainian Armies with the Ukrainian Army from Galicia marched on Kyiv and Odessa in August 1919. They were co-ordinated under the leadership of Simon Petlura, with Generals M. Yunakiv and V. Kurmanovych as Chiefs-of-Staff. The combined effort succeeded in taking the capital city of Kyiv on 31st August 1919. Ukrainians from all parts of the country lost their lives in the battles of Kruty, Bazar and countless other places. They fought shoulder to shoulder in the Ukrainian Army, in the regular units, in the campaigns which were fought deep into the hinterland of the enemy and in the winter campaigns of 1919-21.

The fact that the liberation struggles of the Ukrainian people between 1917 and 1921 proved fruitless for Ukraine and that its enemies were victorious has not forced Ukraine to its knees. The struggle for the freedom and independence of Ukraine has not ceased. It has merely taken other forms and methods.

For the ideals of independence and unity for Ukraine, Ukrainian freedom-fighters fought during and after the first world war: the members of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the members of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), the brave soldiers of the Carpathian Sitch. Similarly, the members of the OUN, the soldiers of the Insurgent Army (UPA), who are covered with immortal fame, and thousands upon thousands of known and unknown soldiers of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground, fought during and after the second world war and are still fighting today.

In the name of this ideal the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine was proclaimed in Khust on 15th March 1939 and on 30th June 1941 the Ukrainian state was revived in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine. A stream of blood has been shed for these ideals and even

today the struggle costs great sacrifices. The Ukrainian people are not deterred by any obstacles and no sacrifice is too great for them.

The Ukrainians have been defeated more than once in open battles but they have not laid down their arms and have not surrendered to the Muscovite oppressors. The Ukrainian nation faithfully follows the way shown by Hetman Vyhovsky and the great Hetman Mazepa. The enemy has from time to time put the Ukrainian people into a position in which it only existed as an ethnic mass; but it has always re-emerged as a proud nation, fully conscious of its importance, its power and its historic past and all the tasks and duties arising from this status.

The Ukrainian people know that they can only attain their aims through struggle.

The enemy can neither annihilate nor shake this consciousness, this conviction, this determination and this belief with propaganda, nor by underhand assaults in the form of terror, cunning and subversion.

The Ukrainian people have never come to terms with the Muscovite colonial system, the so-called Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. The Ukrainian people will never come to terms with the substitution of the song of praise to the "elder brother" for the Ukrainian national anthem, "Shche ne vmerla Ukraïna" much less with the red rag in place of the blue and yellow flag and the Bolshevik star and hammer and sickle in place of the golden trident of Saint Prince Volodymyr.

The struggle in Ukraine against the Muscovite occupation force is carried on in all forms and varying intensity in all facets of life. It is ever-increasing in all provinces of the red prison. For Ukraine there is not a better or a worse Moscow; it always remains the enemy with whom the Ukrainian people must fight till victory. Moscow knows this very well and tries with all its might, with cunning, lies, treachery and terror to carry out attacks on Ukrainian politicians through its agents abroad in order to weaken the Ukrainian nation and to keep Ukraine in its clutches. Moscow does not let the Ukrainians who live in the free world out of their sight and tries with all means to obliterate them politically.

Moscow will not succeed in exterminating these "remnants of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" for they exist not only in exile but also in the entire Ukrainian people. If not today then tomorrow these "remnants" will rise up with all their might and provide the Russians with a new Konotop (a victorious battle fought by Hetman Vyhovsky in 1659, in which the Russian Armies were annihilated) and finish the battle begun at Poltava.

Today in the free world and in Ukraine there is a determined, invincible Ukrainian front. Nothing can break this front.

The Fifth Anniversary

October 15, 1964 marked the 5th anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement. Stepan Bandera was treacherously murdered at the orders of Shelepin, the chief of the KGB and member of the Soviet government under Krushchov, on October 15th, 1959, by the agent Stashynsky, with a cyanide pistol in the hall of his living quarters at 7 Kreittmayrstrasse, Munich. For this act, Stashynsky was awarded the highest Soviet honour (the Order of the Red Banner) by the then President of the Soviet Union, Voroshilov.

The Soviet government's guilt in Stepan Bandera's assassination was clearly established and proven by the Federal High Court of Germany. Through the Soviet Embassy in Bonn, the German Foreign Office submitted an official note of protest to the Soviet government. This protest has remained unanswered. In the German Federal Diet, the late Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party and Christian Socialist Party, Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, the M.P., Prof. Dr. Friedensburg, as well as the Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, Dr. Rainer Barzel, more than once accused the Soviet government of being responsible for the assassination of Stepan Bandera and of the Ukrainian politician, Dr. Lev Rebet, who was murdered by Stashynsky seven years ago in Munich, and of having violated the sovereign rights of the Federal Republic. Jaroslav Stetzko submitted an indictment against the Soviet government to the International Jurists' Commission in Geneva, in whose official news organ the Soviet government was held responsible for the perpetration of the murders of Stepan Bandera and Dr. Rebet.

Jaroslav Stetzko also submitted the entire matter to the UN Commission on Human Rights, as well as to the Commission for the Abolition of Colonialism, requesting that the Soviet government's guilt be stigmatised before the UN plenary meeting. As leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Stepan Bandera fought against Russian colonialism in Ukraine, and he was murdered by the Soviet government because of his leadership in this fight. It is for this

reason, that the Commission for the Abolition of Colonialism should deal with this case, for both Bandera's and Dr. Rebet's assassinations are a result of Russian colonialism in Ukraine.

To A. Stevenson, US Ambassador to the UN, J. Stetzko suggested that the entire case be brought before the Security Council, because the Soviet government violated the sovereign rights of another state — which fact constitutes a threat to security and peace. To the German Federal Government he suggested that the matter be submitted to The Hague Court.

Jaroslav Stetzko also laid a documentation of the case before the US Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee with the request, that the Stashynsky-Shelepin affair, be investigated in terms of the security of the USA and to point out the dangers which threaten anti-Communist politicians in USA who stem from countries behind the Iron Curtain. The US Senate Internal Sub-Committee, the chairman of which is Senator Thomas J. Dodd, is presently giving intensive consideration to this case. Along with his own written statement on this case, J. Stetzko also submitted his ideas regarding the obscure facts behind the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. He was not satisfied with the conclusions reached by the Warren Commission.

The assassination of President Kennedy, of the Danish diplomat, Bang Jensen, and, more recently, the poison attempt on Schwirkmann, clearly indicate the existence of a Communist world conspiracy of murderers.

Finally, Jaroslav Stetzko also referred to his own case. During the trial in Karlsruhe, Stashynsky described the preparations which were to lead to the murder of Stetzko himself.

On the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the treacherous assassination of Bandera, Jaroslav Stetzko warned the free world against the dangers threatening it from Communist criminals and murderers. The so-called coexistence policy was exploited by the Communists to kill the enemies of the regime in the free world like wild fowl, without causing a stir and without eliciting protest. In conclusion, a survey to explain why Bandera was killed must be given.

In 1940, Stepan Bandera was elected President of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The OUN carried on a war on two fronts — against Hitler's Germany and against Soviet Russia. At orders of the Hitler government, Stepan Bandera was imprisoned in July 1941, and interned in the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, where he was incarcerated for approximately four years. On June 30, 1941, at the proposal of the representatives of the OUN, a national assembly in Lviv (West Ukraine) proclaimed Ukraine's independence and elected Jaroslav Stetzko Prime Minister. Since Stepan Bandera and Jaroslav Stetzko rejected Hitler's ultimatum, which demanded the dissolution of the government, the revocation

of the proclamation of independence, as well as co-operation with Hitler's Germany, they, together with numerous other Ukrainian freedom fighters, were imprisoned.

Ukraine's fight on two fronts against Hitler's Germany and Soviet Russia was carried on without any external support. In 1942, at the initiative of the OUN, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed under the command of General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych). It became one of the greatest insurgent armies of modern times, having over 200,000 fighting men at its disposal. In 1950, General Taras Chuprynka fell in combat against Russian MVD troops near Lviv. In 1947, an agreement was reached between the Soviet Union, Red Poland and Red Czecho-Slovakia for a joint military offensive against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

After the fall of the Third Reich, Bandera continued his fight against Soviet Russia from abroad. His activities were mainly concentrated on the fight in the homeland; he maintained contacts with the underground movement in Ukraine and worked out the political policies of the fight there and supported this fight in every way.

His name became a symbol of the Ukrainian fight for independence. His activities were very dangerous to the Russian colonial empire. His aim, as well as that of the entire Ukrainian people, was and will remain the restoration of Ukraine's national independence and the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, independent democratic states of all the peoples subjugated by Russia in the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries. The way to this goal lies in the national liberation revolutions in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries, together with the political support of the free world. In order to avert and counter the internal disintegration of the regime and the blowing up of the Russian colonial empire and of the Communist system, the Soviet government had Stepan Bandera assassinated. But the Ukrainian people's fight was not weakened. In Bandera's name — strengthened by his martyrdom — the Ukrainian people continues its fight for independence against Russian colonialism and Communism for the freedom of individuals and the independence of nations.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

To supplement the data given with regard to the reasons for the planned assassination of J. Stetzko by the KGB, the following must be mentioned:

In 1945 and 1947, at conferences in Ukraine and abroad Stepan Bandera was elected President, General Taras Chuprynka and Jaroslav Stetzko the other two members of the Presidium which headed the leadership of the entire OUN.

After General Chuprynka's death in 1950 and Stepan Bandera's death in 1959, only Jaroslav Stetzko was left of the Presidium of the entire OUN's leadership. This is also a reason for the planned attempt on his life.

APPEAL

BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FOREIGN UNITS OF THE ORGANISATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TRAGIC DEATH OF STEPAN BANDERA

Five years have passed since the tragic death of Stepan Bandera, the Great Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement during the most ferocious years of the last decade, who was assassinated in a foreign country at the orders of Moscow. The age-old foe of Ukraine, aware of Stepan Bandera's importance for the Ukrainian people in their struggle for national liberation, had tried for years to murder him without success. On October 15, 1959, however, an agent of the Muscovite tyrants succeeded in carrying out this outrageous act. But the sudden death of Stepan Bandera neither destroyed the spirited influence of his name, nor the liberation movement headed by him. The Ukrainian nationalist movement known under the name of the murdered Leader has not ceased to be a source of constant danger for imperialist Russia, and it will continue to be such until the complete dissolution of the colonial empire into independent national states.

For us, the members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the death of our Leader was truly a painful stroke, but it did not destroy us, did not weaken us, and did not frighten us. On the contrary, it mobilized us, strengthened our spirit and invigorated our struggle with a creative perseverance. Actions carried out by the Organisation during the last five years, were a consistent continuation of the policies and the strategy of the murdered Leader. Among our more important achievements since Stepan Bandera's death, we denote the firm and unyielding opposition of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists to the hostile propaganda of the Muscovite Bolsheviks and the latter's assaults on the liberation movement; the resolute repulsion of the provocations systematically carried out by the KGB with the purpose of misinforming world public opinion about the malignant assassination of Stepan Bandera and leading it on to a false track; and the solid, organized, political and legal preparation of the indictment of Russia before the entire world at the trial of Bohdan Stashynsky, Bandera's murderer, in Karlsruhe, as well as before international legal and political institutions.

Internal achievements of the Organisation were brought out at the Sixth Conference of the Foreign Units of the OUN. This Conference was of considerable importance in every respect: an eight-year period

of its activities was analyzed in detail; directives for our political activities in the coming years were worked out; several resolutions for more effective measures with reference to the revolutionary-liberation struggle were adopted; and the convening of the Fourth Great Assembly of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists was settled. The sessions of the Conference were crowned by the election of the Directorate, which, having assumed the leadership, consistently carries on the firm, independent policy of the Organisation. In accordance with the resolutions of the Conference, the Directorate strives for a many-sided, theoretical and practical education of the cadres, carries out external political action on a wide scale, and mobilises all Ukrainian forces abroad for the support of the liberation struggle in Ukraine.

The strength and effectiveness of our Organisation depends on the dedication of all our members, on their spiritual and physical firmness and determination. Many years of the revolutionary struggle against all occupants of Ukraine, produced tough, nationalist-revolutionary cadre among all layers of the Ukrainian people, who, under the most brutal conditions of a terror regime, carry on the liberation struggle firmly and unselfishly. A foundation for the integration of the fighting union of Ukrainian patriots under a single nationalist organisation was created by elevating the eternal aspirations of the Ukrainian people to the lofty height of ideological principles, which appeal to the present and future generations for political action. The actions directed to the realisation of these political principles, the incessant struggle against the violence of the occupants produced the groundwork for the rise of a new heroism in the Ukrainian underground; for the development of the cult of heroes who fell in battle, with its idealization of heroism; and for the strengthening of the comradeship-in-arms and respect for those who share a common fate, as well as respect for the leaders of the revolutionary action. With time, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists became not only an organised underground force to countervail the occupants, but also a headquarters from which different souls and individualities received courage and inspiration, a dynamic nucleus of fighting ardour within its own nation, activating the revolutionary vigour of the people. Stepan Bandera was not only a formally elected Leader of the OUN. With his heart and soul he was a part of this revolutionary world. This is proven by his self-denial and his readiness to incur personal risks. By his example of firmness before the tribunal of the occupants which had condemned him to death 23 years before the other occupants murdered him with a gas pistol, Bandera stirred the spirit of fortitude among thousands of his comrades-in-arms, among peasants, workers, students, military men who later rose up in defence of their fatherland against two world-powers with a complete contempt of death. The Ukrainian Arms Day commemorating the rise of the

heroic UPA, which almost coincides with the tragic date of Bandera's death, will always serve as a confirmation of the fact that the revolutionary spirit of toughness, contempt of death, and of recalcitrance has become more powerful with the Ukrainian people, in whom it lives and will live forever. It is this invincible spirit of the people, against which the enemy's tanks, shootings and tortures have proven and continue to prove powerless. Every new crime of the enemy as well as every new instance of the spiritual determination of the heroes who fell in the fight for freedom, evoke an irresistible spirit of recalcitrance in the souls of those who remain alive. They become a new relay for the freedom-struggle. This we know, and it is known to the enemy also.

It is no accident, therefore, that Moscow calls the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, organised and carried on during the last decades by the cadres of the OUN and UPA, by the name of Stepan Bandera, and that it combats all clear symptoms of Ukrainian patriotism and nationalism as hated "Bandera movement." Likewise, in the twenties of our century, every sign of Ukrainian patriotism on the part of our predecessors in the struggle for freedom, was called the "Petlura movement" by Bolshevik Moscow, long before Simon Petlura, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army, who served as a symbol of Ukrainian aspirations to independence in that period of our history, was killed at the order of Moscow.

The vigilant attention of the enemy, as well as the justifiable hopes of our fellow countrymen, are focused on the Ukrainian patriots living abroad and, especially, on us, the members of the "Bandera movement." We are that inalienable part of our nation which has freedom for political action in the countries of the non-Communist world. The fate of our country, its liberation and the flowering of future generations lies in the hands of all of us.

Let us, then, stand together on a basis of mutual friendship, shoulder to shoulder, in the struggle and fight for the sacred right of the Ukrainian nation to a free life! Let no one endeavour to stop us on our way to victory, in the establishment and consolidation of an Independent and United Ukrainian State!

Long live the Ukrainian national liberation revolution!

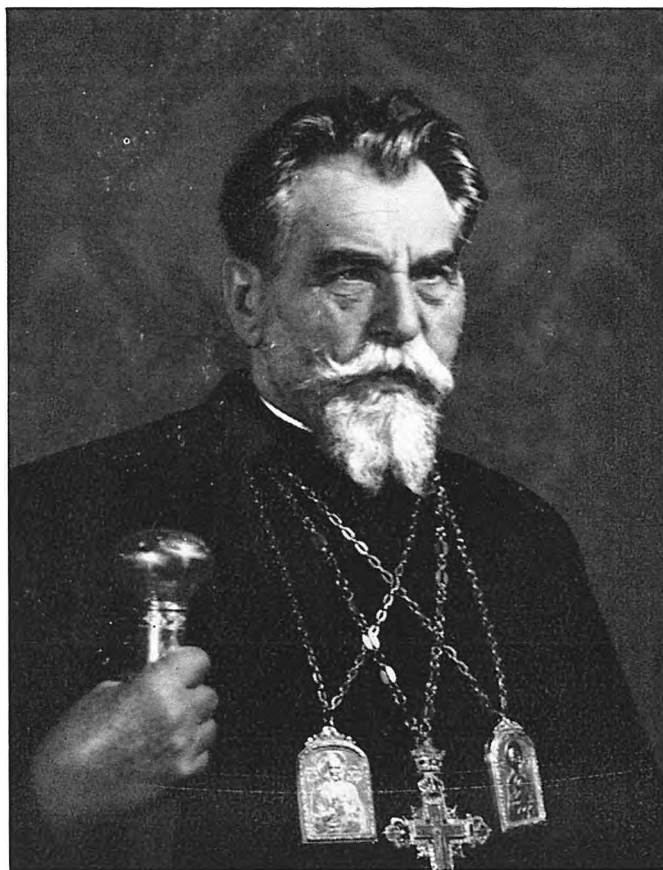
Long live the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — the organiser and leader of the Ukrainian National Liberation Front!

Eternal Glory to the murdered Leader, Stepan Bandera!

Glory to Ukraine — Glory to Her Heroes!

Directorate of Foreign Units
of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists

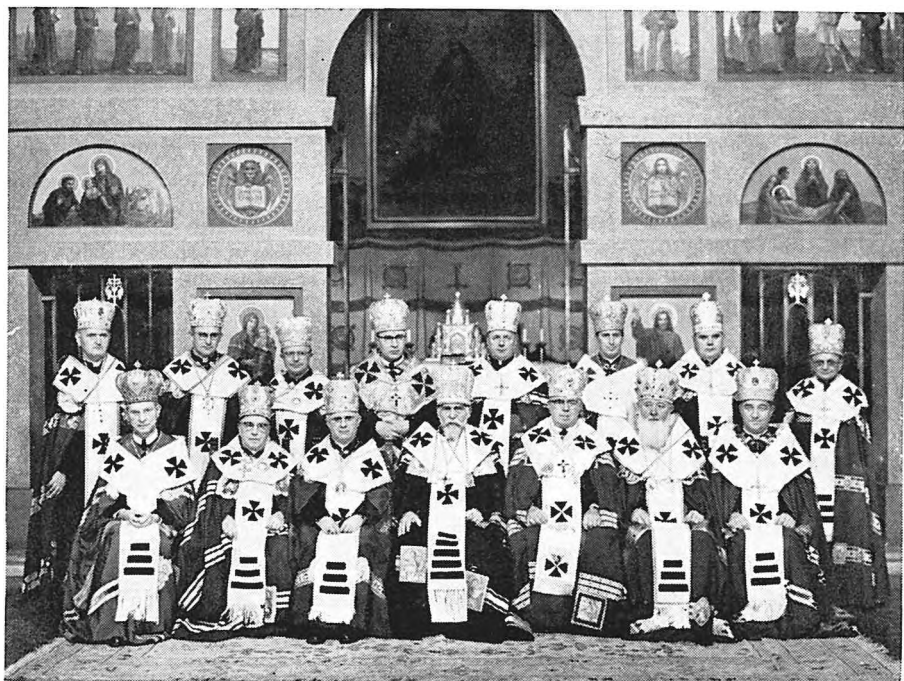
October, 1964.



His Eminence Cardinal Josyp Slipyj,
Primate Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church,
Metropolitan of Halych and Lviv.



Public Consistory, i.e. the solemn ceremony of presenting the newly-appointed 27 Cardinals with their insignia, on 25th February, 1965, at St. Peter's in Rome.
Second from left: His Eminence Cardinal Josyp Slipyj.



Conference of the Ukrainian Catholic Episcopate
with Metropolitan Josyp Slipyj in the centre.



UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY MARKED IN U.S. SENATE, 26. 1. 1965.
After the official ceremony Ukrainian representatives met Vice-President of the U.S.A., Hubert Humphrey. From left to right: Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University, and President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; Theodore Caryk Washington Branch of UCCA, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate; Vice-President of the United States of America, President of U.S. Senate Hubert H. Humphrey; the Most Rev. Jaroslav Gabro, Bishop of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Chicago; U.S. Senator Everett M. Dirksen (Rep. Ill.); Don Miller, Consultant, Public Relations.

Dr. Theodore MACKIW

The University of Akron, USA.

KHRUSHCHOVISM WITHOUT KHRUSHCHOV

The time was October, 1960. Khrushchov was at the height of his power and his prestige that autumn. His political opponents in the Kremlin were removed and his leadership in the Communist World was recognized. He had met and taken up the challenge of Mao and the Red Chinese as a whole. For the first time he attended the United Nations General Assembly, treading the stage of world affairs. The premiers and ministers of every country were listening to his words. On week-ends he visited the summer residence of the Soviet mission to the UN at Glen Cove, Long Island. During his visit, American reporters met the talkative Khrushchov and one of them asked: "Sir, could you tell us something about the private life of a Soviet political leader?" The question apparently caught Khrushchov off-guard, as he seemed surprised at such a question. The smile disappeared from his face; his eyes became somewhat dark; and he was very serious. Perhaps he was remembering the horrible times during Stalin's administration when Khrushchov himself, as Secretary of the Communist Party in the Ukraine, signed many death sentences and, indeed, he often was very close to death himself. Pointing a finger at the reporter, Khrushchov, in a low voice, replied, "You don't know, and you cannot know, how difficult is the life of a Soviet political leader. Not a minute during the day or night belongs to him. He has neither relaxation nor rest. Enjoyment? He does not know the meaning of the word." After some silence, Khrushchov added, "You never know what will happen tomorrow."

Thus spoke Khrushchov in 1960. Did it occur to him that approximately four years later he would disappear from the political arena? Certainly it did not because, during his meeting with former President Eisenhower in 1959, Khrushchov mentioned that he did not intend to leave political life. And now, suddenly and unexpectedly on October 14, 1964, Khrushchov disappeared and nobody outside the Kremlin is sure about his whereabouts.

Khrushchov was right in saying that one never knows what will happen tomorrow. He grew up in an atmosphere of intrigue where an air of unconditional struggle for power prevailed. Did he not see what was happening? Did these events really come about unexpectedly? If we analysed recent events in the USSR we would come to the conclusion that this did not happen unexpectedly or suddenly.

This was not the first time that his opponents had tried to get rid of him. In 1957, his political opponents tried to oust him from the position of First Secretary of the Central Committee. Madam Furtseva informed him of this situation; and the popular military leader, Marshal Zhukov, saved Khrushchov when he stated before the Central Committee that the Army would support Khrushchov. However, fearing the political role that Zhukov might play, Khrushchov showed his "appreciation" by dismissing Zhukov from his post as Minister of Defence and by appointing (his friend) Marshal Malinovsky to that position. Later, Malinovsky not only did not defend Khrushchov when he needed support, but openly opposed him.

Alexandre Dumas wrote that in business as in politics, there are no friends — only agents. Apparently Khrushchov forgot this admonition and this probably is the chief mistake he made.

Beside this incident in 1957, Khrushchov had some difficulties after he succeeded Bulganin and became Prime Minister (Chairman of the Council of Ministers). At the beginning of 1962, Khrushchov wanted the Central Committee to appoint his son-in-law, Aleksey Adzhubey, secretary of the agricultural department of the Central Committee. The Committee refused to do so. Then too, in 1962-1963, Khrushchov was opposed by a majority of the Presidium in the matter of artists and writers, and particularly the publication of one of his speeches regarding ideological differences between the Kremlin and Peking. As can be seen, Khrushchov could not be a dictator like Stalin. He had to recognize and agree occasionally to a collective government. However, he did not always share power with other members of the Presidium. He frequently made arbitrary decisions on his own on all internal and external affairs and even in the field of art and literature. Such action, of course, greatly displeased the others. However, things have not changed much now. According to the big editorial in *Pravda* on November 23, the new Soviet leaders, in regard to the question of arts and literature, take the same position as Khrushchov did in his conversations with the artists and writers in December 1962 and in March 1963.

After having exposed Stalin at the 20th Party Congress, and with the diminishing power of the Secret Police, Khrushchov introduced liberalization. When he came to power, he could not use Stalin's methods since he had opposed them. So he tried to imitate Lenin. But there were many differences between Lenin and Khrushchov. Lenin was a highly educated man, a shrewd politician, and the undisputed authority of the Communist Party. Khrushchov, on the other hand, was a self-made man. He had great abilities, nevertheless; he was ambitious; he impressed the common man. Yet with his unbalanced character and manners, he failed to impress the more sophisticated Soviet leaders. And here probably is hidden the whole secret of the fall of Khrushchov. Being a naturally clever man who had an abundance of common sense, he wanted to increase the

standard of living in the Soviet Union. One way in which he did this was to permit peasants to keep cattle and to care for the land. However, when he noticed this conflicted with Communistic doctrine, he reversed his policy and advised the peasants to "voluntarily" give up the cattle and the land. The result was rather negative.

Khrushchov stated that the Soviet Union would catch and surpass the United States economically, but, in fact, he had to buy grain from the United States, Canada, and Australia in order to prevent famine. Furthermore, by splitting the Communist Party into two sections, namely industrial and agricultural, he caused chaos. The new leaders have abolished this double system.

As far as foreign policy was concerned, Khrushchov, as head of the Soviet Union, realized that Red China was a very serious threat. His objective was to oust Red China from the "Red Family" and win the support of the European satellites: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. Red China's Mao did not want to be treated as a satellite; on the contrary, he spoke with power. Because of its 750 million crowded, hungry people, Red China, to negotiate, pressed for the return of 1½ million square kilometres in Asia taken from them in the 17th and 19th centuries by Tsarist Russia. When Mao accused Khrushchov of betraying Communist ideology, Khrushchov accused Mao of narrow dogmatism. It turned into a personal fight and a break was imminent. While trying to keep unity in the Communist World, Khrushchov simultaneously favoured peaceful co-existence with the Western hemisphere, especially with the United States. Needless to say, however, such incidents as that of pounding his shoe at the table at the UN and the bluff with Cuba, did not add to Khrushchov's prestige.

At home by supporting rocket armament at the cost of other arms and by dismissing many officers from service, he lost much needed backing from the Army. It is therefore no wonder that Malinovsky did not support his policies. Aspiring to be elected First Secretary, it was Suslov who made the main speech accusing Khrushchov of his mistakes. Instead, however, Leonid I. Brezhnev, a Lt. General during the last War, with connections in Army circles, was elected to this office. Incidentally, as it is known today, Suslov and Mikoyan were the main organizers of the plot, which they made with the help of Khrushchov's protégés, namely, Alexander Shelepin, former Chief of the Secret Police (KGB), now member of the Party Presidium, and the present Chief of KGB, Vladimir Semichastny. Brezhnev and Kosygin joined them later. It is further known now that Shelepin prepared accusations against his benefactor, and Suslov read them at the meeting of the Central Committee.

Another incident which caused Khrushchov to lose face was the fact that he did not bother to inform his colleagues about a planned visit to Bonn. Without going through diplomatic channels, he authorized his son-in-law, Aleksey Adzhubey, to prepare ground work for Khrushchov's visit to West Germany. During this visit, Adzhubey

ignored the Soviet Ambassador, A. Smirnov, and began talks with West German officials. He praised West German industry and disregarded the East German Communist boss Ulbricht. Of course such action brought panic in East Berlin and in other satellite capitals. And when members of the Central Committee and the Presidium found out, through the press, they decided that Khrushchov had gone too far, that his foreign as well as his internal policies hurt the interests of the Soviet Union; and they decided to oust him.

On October 12, a meeting of the Central Committee took place. On October 13, the Presidium met and Khrushchov was brought by plane from his vacation place, Gagra, and was forced to resign. On October 14, the Central Committee and the Presidium announced that Khrushchov "requested to be released from his duties as Secretary General and as Prime Minister because of his advanced age and poor health." Only this event could be considered as sudden and unexpected.

What happened to Khrushchov is not known. His role is definitely finished. He will go down in history as the man of transition between Stalin and the new leaders. The fact is that he brought some liberalization and a somewhat easier life to the Soviet citizenry.

Following Stalin's death, a collective government was established, with Khrushchov and Bulganin sharing the power; but in the end, Khrushchov dismissed Bulganin. Similarly, now the Central Committee has elected Leonid Brezhnev Secretary General and Alexei Kosygin Prime Minister. It is unlikely that this position will remain stable and the struggle for power is not ended.

Under the new regime there are interesting internal changes taking place, especially in economic policy, which follow Professor Liberman's teachings of a "non-capitalistic policy of supply and demand." It is anticipated that there will be an increase in the production of consumer goods, and it is expected that peasants will have slightly greater opportunity to raise cattle and agricultural products on their own. The policy of gradual Russification of the non-Russian nations in the USSR will, apparently, continue.

Regarding foreign policy, it is unlikely that there will be any major change at this time. Probably there will be a continuation of peaceful co-existence. It is postulated that trade between the USSR and the United States will increase. As far as Red China is concerned, no great change is expected. Red China will not play the role of a satellite; and the Kremlin will not obey Mao's instructions. So it is expected that there will be for the time being less Soviet-Sino friendship but perhaps more Soviet-American cooperation. The Kremlin's long-term plans for world domination remain, however, unchanged.

RESISTANCE IN UKRAINE

The Soviet censorship does not allow anything concerning the existence and the activities of Ukrainian underground movement to be printed, but nonetheless, some indication of its existence and activities always leaks out in reports of arrests and trials, even if delayed. First of all, it can be stated in general that the Soviet press, particularly in Ukraine — in accordance with the Party line — takes great pains to hush up any news concerning the activities of the Ukrainian underground movement and to exclude any reports on political trials, in order to prevent the masses from becoming activated and also to prevent the impression from arising that a resistance against the Soviet-Russian system exists. Nonetheless, in the press of individual administrative districts, in other words in local newspapers, which rarely succeed in getting abroad, such news reports are to be found. To be sure, they are presented in a false light. They speak of the actions of the Ukrainian underground movement with which the population of these districts are already familiar. All these reports are intentionally falsified: the actions of the resistance movement are passed off either as criminal acts without any political meaning, as cases of banditry, or they are referred to as rowdy assaults on functionaries of the KGB, the militia, "protectors of the peace", law administrators, agents of the Party and State control; they are also referred to as "destruction of socialist property."...

In other cases, however, in which such false presentations of resistance acts which have become known to the population would appear too improbable, they are passed off as "sabotage" and as the "noxious activity of spies", and attributed to agents sent from abroad. That in actual fact these resistance acts are part of the OUN activities is categorically hushed up in the press.

There are three different forms of political trials against OUN fighters: secret trials behind closed doors; trials masked as criminal trials, in which case the charge speaks of speculation and murder. (At these trials, public attendance is strictly controlled: only co-workers of the police and specially selected reporters of the Communist press are allowed entrance); and finally, public show-trials against "prepared" political prisoners, who, by their confessions, are to convince the population that the Ukrainian nationalists are the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people who cruelly abused defenceless people and collaborated with the Hitler regime.

The secret trials are not at all registered in the Soviet press. Court proceedings dealing with "criminal" offences are commented on by the press, but with no reference to the political motive, in order to diminish the moral value of the underground fighters in the eyes of the population. Reports on the show-trials appear in the press most of all. Radio broadcasts and Party agitators comment on such trials in prepared announcements, in order to intimidate the population from participating in the activities of the underground movement.

In its 11 December, 1959 issue, *Trud*, a trade union newspaper, made known that the KGB had arrested members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists in the village of Nyzy, district of Lviv. The OUN fighters had taken cover in the woods and were attacking Soviet border patrols. On January 1, 1960, the Soviet-Ukrainian *Robotnycha Hazeta* wrote that in the town of Belz, district of Lviv, "court proceedings against the Ukrainian 'bourgeois' nationalists, Dubetsky, Kobak, Mukha and Mykhailuk, had lasted four days... The bench of the district court in Lviv sentenced all of them to death."

Trud of 12 July, 1960, reported that in Pochayiv, a famous place of pilgrimage and monastery in the district of Ternopil, Ukrainian Nationalists-Banderivtsi had taken cover and were carrying on their anti-Soviet activity from there. The Soviet-Ukrainian youth newspaper *Molod' Ukraïny* reported the following on July 12, 1960: "The raving remnants of the Bandera gangs, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, have stepped-up their activities." Another Party newspaper appearing in Ukraine, *Radyanska Ukraïna* printed a report on January 24, 1963 about trial proceedings in the Carpatho-Ukrainian city of Uzhhorod against adherents of the Ukrainian illegal church, and stated that, in Ukraine, a strongly developed religious and political underground, directed against the Soviet authorities, existed. On May 4, 1963, the Moscow *Pravda* reported that Ukrainian 'bourgeois' nationalists still existed in Ukraine and that the survivals of the Ukrainian nationalists still continued to offer resistance to the Soviet society.

The large Moscow illustrated periodical *Ogonyok* (No. 46 of November, 1963) featured a report on the discovery in Lviv of an underground convent, the nuns of which worked as nurses in a city hospital. In the dwelling of these nuns at 43 Muchna St., the KGB found "the blue and yellow Bandera flag, anti-Soviet leaflets and foreign passports, in a chest."

A final example: *Prykarpatska Pravda* of 28 February, 1964, reported about a political trial against OUN members who were illegally active since 1947. The principal accused was the OUN member, Dmytro Luhaniuk (pseudonym, "Madiar") of the fighting unit "Martyn." There were twelve other accused, among them, Ihnat Soltys, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in underground, men who served as messengers, and also underground fighters who had hidden arms in their possession.

The burning of wheat that had been loaded onto ships and was to be exported to satellite countries, the sinking of ships that were to depart for Africa with a cargo of industrial products which were not to be had in Ukraine, undoubtedly constitute a special form of underground resistance activity, directed against the robbery of the Ukrainian people. When, for instance, following the arrest of members of 22 secret organisations in the district of Lviv, a large number of public prosecutors, judges, KGB agents and police spies disappeared without a trace, the people knew exactly that the Ukrainian underground had taken revenge for the terroristic arbitrariness of the Soviet-Russian *apparatchiks*.

L. S.

Jaroslav STETZKO

Who Killed President Kennedy?

It is my profound belief that Lee Oswald, as a mafia-member of Communist conspirators, killed President Kennedy on orders received either from Moscow or from Cuba. This conviction is based not only on the fact that Stashynsky was ordered to learn English, as he had previously been ordered to learn German before his killing of Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet, on orders which he received from Shelepin, a member of the USSR government. It is based also on the similarity of the *murder techniques*, which, in both cases, reveal unmistakably a specific KGB style of operation. Viewed in this perspective, the assassination of President Kennedy represents a veritable "perfect murder" type of assassination, as elaborated by the KGB brain-trust and used by its agents in political assassinations beyond the borders of the USSR.

What are the characteristic marks of a "perfect murder" — KGB style? First of all, absolute secrecy of planning, preparation and execution of the murder. In Stashynsky's confession concerning the preparation of the attempt on my life, he stated that any murder that is planned by a KGB agent would be prepared and executed by a single person, without any regard to the risks entailed for this person. Stashynsky stressed this professional-technical point of view quite rationally: the imperative demand of absolute secrecy excludes any accomplices from the scheme of operation. Stashynsky states quite explicitly that a KGB killer would not have any accomplices, either in the preparation or in the execution of the murder. Hence, if

the murderer himself were then liquidated by the KGB, there would be no way of ever implicating it, unless one of the superiors would later find it necessary to escape to the West.

The assassination of President Kennedy fully corresponds to Stashynsky's description of a "perfect murder" — KGB style. First of all, we note that Lee Oswald acted by himself, without any accomplices. The contents of his orders, therefore, would be known only to him and to his superior in either Moscow or in Cuba. Oswald knew who his superior was, and his superior knew him, but the murder of Lee Oswald by Jack Ruby makes the disclosure of his name virtually impossible. Oswald took his secret into the grave. Now the only possibility is that Oswald's superior might escape to the West as Stashynsky did. The indisputable merit of the case of Stashynsky is that it offers a *poignant analogy* to the case of Oswald.

According to Stashynsky, in addition to the necessity of limiting the number of people connected with the preparation and planning of a political murder (the "perfect murder" — KGB style), it is equally imperative that the murderer leave no traces that might lead to the disclosure of the source and purpose of the crime. Furthermore, in accordance with the careful planning of the KGB, the murderer is expected to escape from the scene of the crime, and everyone who knows about the action is sworn to absolute silence. Viewed in this perspective, the KGB certainly cannot be accused of lacking ingenuity or foresight in their planning. After having committed his first "perfect murder", Stashynsky escaped, leaving no traces. For more than two years after his death, his victim, Dr. Lev Rebet, was believed to have died of a coronary heart attack. It was a sheer accident (if not the finger of God) that Stashynsky defected to the West and told the world about the criminal deeds of the KGB; and it was a sheer accident that Oswald was caught. For Oswald himself, however, it was an unhappy turn of the scales, for which he immediately paid with his life.

The way in which the President's assassination was contrived reveals unmistakably the KGB style; the type of the murder speaks for itself: the same in both the case of Stashynsky and Oswald. With Oswald's sudden death, however, the mystery of the President's assassination can be clarified by *documentary evidence* only. The sole witness who could have testified to this effect, however, was silenced by death. Had Shelepin ordered the death of Stashynsky to cover the guilt of the USSR government in both murders, then it is quite clear that it would have been virtually impossible to discover the specific circumstances of the deaths of Bandera and of Dr. Lev Rebet. Let us but suppose that Stashynsky had been killed — the circumstances and background of the deaths of Bandera and Dr. Rebet would never have been fully ascertained.

For these reasons, it has been impossible for the Warren Commission to advance a theory that Oswald did not act on KGB orders. In view of the great similarity of style in these murders, however, such a theory becomes more than tenable. Both reveal the hand of the KGB. Statements by the Warren Commission do not categorically refute the theory that assassination of the President *was* organized by the KGB — especially, to repeat, in view of the poignant analogy presented by the two murderers.

Judicially, it is true, nothing could be proved, owing to the lack of witnesses. This is the main reason that the Warren Commission was not able to prove anything.

In addition to the *identity of style* in these murders, which, in the case of Oswald, points to the KGB's involvement in the assassination of President Kennedy, many other facts support the theory that Oswald received his orders either from Moscow or from Cuba: 1) Oswald's prolonged stay in the USSR; 2) his Communist convictions and affiliations; 3) his visit to Cuba; 4) his Communist training, possibly with the intent of using him in "perfect murders" — KGB style; 5) Stashynsky's revelations regarding the technique of a "perfect murder", which was strictly followed by Oswald; 6) other information gathered from the press, the veracity of which, however, I am not able to verify. Once again I must stress what Stashynsky revealed regarding the technique of murder, e.g., the learning of foreign languages, absolute secrecy concerning the preparation and execution of a "perfect murder", lack of protection in taking flight from the place of criminal action, etc., all of which excellently fits the behaviour of Oswald before, during and after the assassination of President Kennedy.

It is not improbable that simultaneously with his having been enlisted by the KGB for the execution of its far-fetched aims and assignments, Oswald might have been used by one or another of the U.S. security organizations for its purposes. Statements about Oswald's service with the CIA or the FBI were frequent... in the Soviet press. But with respect to Oswald's enlistment by U.S. security agencies, nothing happened that would lessen our suspicion that he acted as a KGB agent. First, Oswald's classification as a disillusioned Communist favoured his acceptance; second, the Soviets are notorious all over the world for their infiltration methods and technique, and no one can tell how far their infiltration has reached in the United States. Oswald's association with a security agency in the U.S. would not, in fact, preclude his being a KGB agent trained for political murders, for his association with such a U.S. agency would leave him free of suspicion and allow him to move about freely before and after an assassination. That such a "perfect" assassin was arrested by mere accident after the assassination must have been a truly painful experience for Oswald's superiors. Had it not been for this

mere chance, he would have been able to escape from the scene of the crime without any consequence to himself or to the superiors who ordered the assassination.

In view of this, *the murder of Oswald by Jack Ruby only confirms my thesis*. Oswald was the only man who knew his superior — therefore the only man who would have been able to incriminate the Soviet Union. He had to be removed immediately.

Neither I, nor anybody else with sound reasoning, who is familiar with the treacherous methods used by the KGB, is able to accept the theory of Oswald's or Ruby's insanity. To accept such a theory is to deceive oneself, if not worse.

It is true that every murderer is insane in some way, because sane people do not commit murders. But what kind of "insanity" makes it necessary to kill Presidents, anti-Communists, Catholics? What kind of "insanity" makes it necessary to parade an "insane" killer before movie-operators, TV cameramen, reporters, owners of night clubs? What kind of "insanity" makes it necessary for Ruby to murder his "friend" from a strip-tease joint? Couldn't Ruby have waited until a court had sentenced his "friend" to the electric chair?

If the judicial evidence was insufficient to prove that the President of the U.S. was the victim of Communist conspiracy, the counter-evidence was even less adequate to prove that he was not. There is no judicial evidence that Oswald was "insane" — he had never been committed to any asylum — but that he was a Communist, that he stayed in the USSR, that he favoured Castro, etc., are facts. There is evidence that Ruby's spiritual leader, Rabbi Hillel Silver, praised Stalin, satellites and Communism, even at the time of Slansky's trial in Prague in 1952, but that Ruby was never committed to an asylum is a fact.

It is difficult to understand why the State Department expedited a statement to the effect that the assassination of President Kennedy was not perpetrated by a Communist conspiracy. What was the basis of the State Department's action? In my opinion, it is only the police and the courts that have the authority to issue such statements. Was this announcement by the State Department a proof of its desire to avoid a war for the assassination of President Kennedy, or was it, in fact, a desire on its part to divert the hatred of the American people from the Communist movement, Communist conspiracy and the Communist world outlook? If one knew the eagerness on the part of some State Department officials to install Castro in Cuba, one would not wonder if our supposition were true.

But if the evidence to prove that the President of the U.S. was murdered by a *Communist conspiracy* is not convincing, then let us consider the *motives* for such a crime. What would Moscow have gained by killing President Kennedy?

There is only one answer to this question: Moscow ordered President Kennedy's assassination because she *feared* him. The Kremlin regarded President Kennedy as a serious threat to Moscow's imperialism and colonialism. The President's moves at the time of the Cuban crisis were quite indicative of the threat that such a courageous President of the United States implied.

The President's increasing statesmanship involved a considerable danger to Moscow. Attentively, she observed his growth, so eloquently marked by his speeches in Frankfurt and in Berlin. While his earlier speech in Frankfurt, written by advisers from the leftist-coexistentialist camp, expressed only vague phrases about "peaceful coexistence", his speech in Berlin, of which the President himself was the author, sounded like a battle trumpet. "I am a Berliner", declared President Kennedy, evoking an unprecedented enthusiasm from the Berlin population. He invited every one aspiring to coexistence with Moscow to visit Berlin and see for himself. From this speech in Berlin, a suspicion that the President was about to change his policies could easily have been aroused in Moscow. It was sufficient reason for alarm, not only in Cuba, but in Moscow also.

In the late President's personality, there was also a threat to Moscow. His popularity was enormous, and he could be sure of re-election for a second term of office. This was well-known in the Kremlin. Moscow feared, however, that in his second term of office, the policies of the President could change to such a degree that he would become a world leader of a Crusade against Moscow. His personal charm, his Catholic and war-hero background, his uncommon intellect could, in Moscow's opinion, contribute to his initiating actual, and not only declarative, liberation policies, which are a source of constant trouble to the Kremlin. The Soviet Russian leaders themselves are perfectly aware of the repercussions involved to their imperialism and colonialism, if liberation policies were to be one day initiated by the United States. Parenthetically, it must be mentioned, that among the American people the need for true liberation policies has matured to such a degree that Senator Barry Goldwater advocated these policies as the main weapon in his election campaign for the Presidency of the United States.

It must be added that numerous Abels are working in the United States and much depends on their reports. When we take all this together, we see that it can by no means be excluded that the Soviet and Cuban bosses decided upon the assassination of the young President. They wanted to get rid of a young but dangerous man, a probable leader of a world Crusade against Moscow: a man whose suspicions of Moscow's true intentions only intensified, and whose connection with the "co-existentialist" camp only weakened while in office as the President of the United States.

As we can see, a motivation for the assassination of the President by Moscow did exist, but there were also some aims, which were disclosed by the Kremlin itself at the time of the assassination and immediately after it. The real perpetrators of the "perfect murder" in Dallas, Texas hoped to direct the hatred of the American people against "rightist" groups, whom Soviet propaganda accused of having killed the President. After the assassination, Soviet propaganda gave its full support to such causes as the stirring-up of racial dissension in the USA, the strengthening of leftist totalitarianism, the promoting of corrupt extremism, etc. In addition, Soviet propaganda singled out the emigrants from the countries behind the Iron Curtain for a special attack, using such occasions as the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington, D.C., the celebration of Captive Nations Week, etc. The emigrant groups that endorsed the Captive Nations Week resolution were charged by Soviet propaganda as being the proponents of an atomic holocaust. Simultaneously, Soviet Russian propaganda spread suspicion and falsehoods regarding all healthy groups and movements that aspire to a spiritual rebirth of the United States, and are opposed to its surrender to Moscow. One may only wonder that the supposedly "liberal" American press, radio and television help the Soviet schemers to achieve their aims.

In this connection, it would be highly advisable to investigate Moscow's reactions to the late President's assassination. On the same day that the President was killed, the official Soviet newspaper, *Tass*, accused "rightist" groups of having committed the murder, but hearing of Oswald's arrest, it suddenly changed its tune and accused "Texas gangsters." It would be advisable to investigate all *Tass* announcements and their variations in connection with the different phases of the inquiry. Even in this respect, an analogy to the Stashynsky murders can be offered. Immediately following the assassination of Stepan Bandera, a Soviet agent, Liebholz, was recalled from Munich to East Berlin, where a press conference was arranged for him by the KGB. At this conference, Liebholz accused Bandera's associates of having killed him, and singled out man by the name of Myskiv as a perpetrator of the crime. At the time of Bandera's murder, however, Myskiv was in Rome, and no less than 12 Ukrainian Catholic bishops saw him there. According to Liebholz, Myskiv was supposed to have poisoned Bandera at exactly this time.

This accusation proving disastrous, the Soviets soon changed their position and accused the Chief of German Intelligence, General Gehlen, and the German Minister, Oberländer, of having killed Bandera. After Stashynsky's confession that he had murdered Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet on orders received from Shelepin-Khrushchov, and that he had received the Order of the Red Banner for this performance, Soviet propaganda simply ceased its "catch the thief" tactics.

Having clearly and at length stated my reasons, I repeat once again that it is my well-considered conviction that the Kremlin holds full responsibility for the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. It is my belief that Khrushchov personally gave orders for his assassination, and his crocodile tears after the crime only point to his guilt. I am firmly convinced that President Kennedy was regarded as highly dangerous by Khrushchov. He rightly feared that owing to his noble and lofty ideas of a spiritual rebirth of the United States, of the primacy of idealism over materialism, of the cult of patriotism; that owing to his appeal to moral duties, and not promises of a comfortable life; that owing to his ideas concerning international relations: opposition to Castro, meeting de Gaulle half-way ("why shouldn't we give out the secrets of our atomic weapons to our ally, de Gaulle, if the enemy knows them") — that owing to all this, Kennedy would justly lead the United States to the position of world leadership, the position that it should occupy in accordance with its lofty tradition and strength built by entire generations of the great American People. And it is precisely these ideas to which Moscow is opposed, for she knows that sooner or later, with the unanimous support of all enslaved nations, these ideas will destroy her.

These are the reasons for my profound conviction that Khrushchov and the Communist Russian leaders were Kennedy's real assassins, and why it is not possible for me to accept the Warren's Commission's contrary view.

PERFIDIOUS PROVOCATION

ANTI-SEMITIC BOOK PRINTED IN UKRAINE — A TYPICAL RUSSIAN FALSIFICATION

At various intervals, more or less obscure enemies of Ukraine publish falsehoods about Ukraine and the Ukrainian people with the intent of calumniating the Ukrainians and their aspirations to freedom and independence. Very often these publications are sheer falsifications, which poison the relationship between the Ukrainians and the Jews and attempt to give substance to the alleged anti-Semitism of the Ukrainian people.

This is the case with the book *Judaism Unadorned*, which was published last year by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. This malicious piece of work by T. K. Kychko contains numerous "classical" anti-Semitic caricatures, and it is no wonder that it released a wave of indignation in Israel and among the Jews the world over. Insofar as the contents of this book have become known in the West, its author attacks, above all, the Zionists, maintaining that, at one time, they worked together with Petlura — the forefighter of anti-Bolshevik Ukraine — who allegedly had 30,000 Jews killed. Furthermore, he maintains that during the last World War, the Zionists made common cause with the Fascists and "even with the Nazis." What is most astounding about this book, however, is its total absence of scholarly objectivity, despite the fact that it was published under the name of an academic institute.

Two questions arise in our minds simultaneously: Why was such a book printed in the USSR, and why precisely in Kyiv — in other words, in Ukraine? With complete justification, the Ukrainian weekly *Shlyakh Peremohy*, the official organ of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, uncovers the malicious intent of this book: on the one hand, it appears that with this book Moscow wanted to awaken sympathy among the Arabs and on the other hand, wanted to incite the Jews against the Ukrainians in order to crush whatever assistance or moral support Jewish circles were giving to the Ukrainians in their fight for the freedom and independence of their fatherland. But who would like to support anti-Semites and racial fanatics? The anti-Semitism of the book printed in Ukraine by the Soviets, however, has nothing to do with the true attitude of the Ukrainians, and this was justifiably emphasized in the statements issued by numerous Ukrainian bodies in the free world.

The Ukrainians are not anti-Semites. The best proof for this is the fact that the Jews were very numerous in Ukraine and liked to settle down there: masses do not settle down in a country whose population is hostile toward them. In Russia, on the other hand, a good relationship between the Jews and the native population never existed, for in most provinces of the empire, they were denied the right to live or the notorious *numerus clausus* held sway. The Jews had to live in ghettos. Moreover, it is precisely Ukraine that the state of Israel owes thanks for famous personalities: the Prime Minister, Levy Eshkol; Mrs. Golda Mair, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mrs. Rachèle Ben Zvi, the wife of the former President; Professor Dinur, the former general director of Yad Vashem; Professor Ettingen of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and many others.

The Ukrainian press performs a service to truth, inasmuch as it points out the fact that in Russia, an open and systematic anti-Semitic policy was pursued by the Russians, namely, by the Russian monarchist and chauvinist adherents of the political parties of the Right; they are generally known as "The Black Hundred" and were organised in the "Union of the Russian People." In the April-May 1962 issue of *The Jews in East Europe* (No. 9-10), we read: "The Union of the Russian People can never be forgotten. This was the name of an anti-Semitic organisation which instigated numerous pogroms toward the end of Romanov's reign. 'Beat down the Jews, save Russia' was their battle-cry." Concerning the same hatred of the Jews, Yevtushenko, a Russian poet of Ukrainian descent, speaks in his poem *Babiy Yar*: "They doubled over with laughter and bellowing: Kill the Jews — save Russia! A bar-keeper killed my mother..."

It must still be added, however, that we are not speaking of a small group of fanatics, but of a movement of the people, whose spokesman, B. Stürmer, was named to the presidency of the Cabinet Council of the Russian empire at the beginning of 1916. Moreover, it must be called to mind that in October 1959 — not very long ago, in other words — on the eve of the Jewish New Year, hundreds of anti-Semitic placards were fastened to the walls in Malakhovka and Lyubertsy, towns in the precinct of Moscow. These placards were actually sharp attacks, which served as chauvinistic Jew-baiting; they were signed, "Committee B. Zh. S. R. i Ts. K. za O. R. N.", i.e., "Committee: Beat the Jews — save Russia!" and "Central Committee for the liberation of the Russian people."

On Jewish New Year itself, the synagogue of Malakhovka was set fire to, and the wife of the sexton was beaten (of *The Jews in East*

Europe, No. 2, March-April, 1960, pp. 9-12). It is difficult to understand that this incident received hardly any attention in the Western world.

Of the last anti-Jewish villainy in Ukraine, however, the same cannot be said. Of the by all means justified protest on the part of the Jews in the free world against the raging wave of anti-Semitism in the entire Soviet Union, we do not want to speak. We identify ourselves with these protests and we hope that the Jews, on their part, will make common cause with us against the persecutions of the Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholics, for these persecutions stem from the same administrative body that arranged the publication of the anti-Semitic book in Kyiv — namely, a Communist scientific institute, which is controlled by Moscow.

It is worthy of note that the Jewish press is very careful not to generalize about anti-Semitic actions on the part of the people or of the politicians in Russia — not to slander the Russians, not to speak ill of Russia, and not to give single or frequent incidents of this nature the character of a traditional anti-Semitism. But when a case of anti-Semitism comes to light in Ukraine — a case, however, instigated by Moscow — then one is immediately ready to make a great noise and to throw suspicion upon and to defame the Ukrainians and their country. In short: to make a big issue of a case with which the Ukrainian people had nothing whatsoever to do, and to calumniate the Ukrainians and their nation. When the newspapers in the West mention something, especially when it is to Ukraine's favour, but also appears complimentary to the Russians, then it is very often referred to as: "Kyiv, in Russia," or "the Russian city of Kyiv", — as if Ukraine and its inhabitants did not exist. But if it is once a question of anti-Semitism, then the very same newspapers (and often the same journalists) suddenly become very exact in their expression, even if under cover of embarrassment, and write: "Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine." One gets the impression that the location of this city changes in accordance with the needs of the journalists, who simply refuse to be objective about Ukraine: on some occasions it is located in Ukraine; on other occasions, thousands of kilometres away, namely, in Russia! How can it be doubted that behind this policy, which, of course, has never been openly stated, are hostile intentions against Ukraine?

This was exactly the case with reference to the publication of *Judaism Unadorned* in Kyiv and the reviews it received in the press. First of all, this brochure is by no means the work of Ukrainian scholars, notwithstanding the fact that it was published by the Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR. The author is far from being a scholar, and the preface to the text was written by two important men: a Russian and a Jew — which fact should not be overlooked.

The Russian, Professor Vedensky, was born on August 2, 1893, in Perm (Russia); he comes from a family of officials. Until 1937 he was Professor of History in Leningrad, and in 1938, Moscow transferred him to Ukraine to teach at the Academy of Sciences, where several anti-Ukrainian "purges" had taken place. The Jew, Grigoriy Plotkin, born on December 22, 1917, in Odessa, has become, according to Soviet sources, a "Ukrainian writer." He is a fanatical Communist and has published reports in Ukrainian on the life of the Komsomol (the Communist youth organisation), on the war and the "peaceful" reconstruction which Communism has accomplished since the war. In Moscow, furthermore, he published a book in Russian under the title: *Trip to Israel* (1959), as well as articles in Moscow newspapers (*Literaturnaya Gazeta* and *Vechernyaya Moskva*), also in the Russian language. One of these articles is entitled, "Myth and Reality of Israel's 'economic prosperity'." (in *V. Moskva* of August 8, 1958). Plotkin was one of the first 12 Soviet tourists that were allowed to tour Israel in July 1958. After his return a series of articles (in both Ukrainian and Russian) on his visit to Israel were published; also a book on the same subject, and finally a play *The Promised Land*, which was published in Moscow in 1960, in the Russian language. Plotkin's articles, his book and his play, leave no trace of doubt that they represent the view of an embittered enemy of Israel.

Second of all, in their preface, both the Russian and the Jew openly confessed what the purpose of the book was. Quite explicitly, they stated that it was a contribution to the *Communist regime's* fight against the Jews and their religion. This means, among other things, the following: "While, with giant steps, we are aspiring toward the already visible peaks of Communism, we cannot tolerate the remnants of the past that still persists in the heads of certain people. And among the religions which cloud the workers' consciousness, Judaism is by no means the weakest." (Excerpt from the preface, quoted in *La Terre Retrouvée* of April 1st, 1964). We ourselves cannot see here the slightest trace of *Ukrainian* anti-Semitism or chauvinism. Nor in the excerpts from the text which are quoted in *La Terre Retrouvée* do we find any trace of anti-Semitism or chauvinism that can be ascribed as being specifically Ukrainian. From the preface and the text itself, however, it is clearly evident that the book deals with Communist anti-Semitism, which is fostered and nourished by the Soviet-Russian government.

In an article which appeared in *Pravda* of March 4, 1964, the Party makes it appear as if it were somewhat embarrassed and tries to create the impression that it disapproved of certain parts of the book. In the same breath, however, it is admitted that the publication of the book was suggested to those circles, which, in Moscow, go by the name of "pioneers of scientific atheism." The Party's ideological

commission states (one reads further) "that the central and local publishing houses published a number of useful books and brochures in which, on the basis of modern scientific knowledge, the various currents of religious ideology were subjected to a scientific analysis." "The members of the commission, however, expostulated against a number of errors in the contents of the brochure *Judaism Unadorned* by T. Kychko (published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Republic in 1963). It is true, that both the author of the book, as well as the two authors of its preface, made efforts to elucidate the reactionary character of the Jewish religion, but they failed to deal adequately with certain questions concerning the spreading and development of this religion." Further, the commission states that some sections of the book "are inconsistent with the Leninist policy of the Party on religion and national questions and added fuel to the Soviet-hostile imputations of our convinced opponents, who want to construct a so-called 'Jewish question' at all cost." For this reason the commission advises the people connected with the press and with publishing "to deal with the distribution of printed material on scientific atheism with greater care."

This position on the part of Moscow and its ostensible critique do not, of course, alter the fact that in the West an anti-Ukrainian campaign was released by this book. What is important, however, is the fact that the excerpts from the pamphlet which have become accessible to us through the *La Terre Retrouvée* do not at all prove that its contents represent the position of the Ukrainians or that it has anything to do with their political or social ideas, be it of the people or of the intellectuals. This pamphlet mirrors the Communist way of thinking, i.e., that of Moscow, the centre of Soviet-Russian power.

For this reason it is incomprehensible to us why some journalists and certain Jewish circles think ill of us, and we cannot but have the feeling that we are being confronted by a far-reaching anti-Ukrainian movement. The following seems to confirm this suspicion. A protest against the publication of the above-mentioned anti-Semitic brochure which was formulated by the Union of Ukrainians in France and by a special committee of Ukrainians and some private persons and in which the Ukrainians defend themselves by condemning the anti-Semitism of the Soviet authorities who were responsible for the publication of the brochure, was sent to all Paris daily newspapers. **Not a single one of them, however, considered it necessary to give the Ukrainians a chance to have their say, to express their position — which belongs to the basic principles of democracy!** Until the contrary is proven, it appears to us that **France is the sole country** in which the publication of an anti-Semitic book in Kyïv by the Soviet authorities was used to ascribe anti-Semitism and racism to the Ukrainians and to incite an anti-Ukrainian mood.

The imputations of the journalists and the Jewish community in Paris very much resemble, unfortunately, an anti-Ukrainian attitude, corresponding to the typical anti-Semitism of some people against the Jews — it is with the greatest regret that we must make this statement. It is very much to be doubted, however, whether malicious anti-Ukrainian sentiments will succeed in eradicating anti-Semitism — alleged or real — in Ukraine! To be sure, it is a fact that "Hitler's influence in Ukraine" produced the same consequences as everywhere else, but to a far less extent, nonetheless, for in Ukraine the resistance against the Germans was among the most fierce. At that time there were people all over Europe who took part in the slaughter of the Jews, but it is certain that in Ukraine, the number of people who took part was less than anywhere else. A German newspaper *Die Siiddeutsche Zeitung* of March, 1964 cites the following accusation made by a Jewish lawyer: "It must not be forgotten that 80% of all the Poles collaborated with the Nazis. Their pride is the annihilation of the Jews. The Polish ghettos were constructed according to Polish plans. The Poles wanted to uproot the (Jewish) elite in the country, and in this, they succeeded — better than in any other country."

We do not believe, however, that 80% of all Poles made common cause with the Nazis — this percentage differs according to the like or dislike which one feels toward the Poles. Nevertheless, the fact remains that many Poles (and many Russians and Hungarians, incidentally) really went along with the Nazis and took part in the murdering of the Jews, as well as of their own countrymen or the Ukrainians. In each nation there are good and bad people. In view of this fact, one simply does not have the right to incriminate an entire people or nation. Particularly the malicious deeds of some renegades or criminals or — as in the present case — Bolsheviks hired by Moscow, must not lead certain organisations or some people of the free world to be taken in by Moscow's deceptive manoeuvrings, the aim of which is to sow and nourish hatred against a nation and its striving for freedom.

In short: one has the impression that Moscow's latest deceptive manoeuvring in Kyïv was quite successful. Even if the book were withdrawn from circulation and its contents more severely criticised by the Soviet authorities, it is to be assumed that, on the basis of it, Ukrainians will continue to be slandered — but the Russian Bolshevik system, which exploits the occupational regime in Ukraine, would still not be attacked!

Moscow's goal (and, unfortunately, also that of the Russian emigrants who are still imperialists) has once again been achieved. It aims at preventing the influential Jewish and non-Jewish circles, who condemn anti-Semitism, from supporting Ukraine's strivings for independence.

Theodore Novak

Ivan FRANKO
(1856-1916)

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF T. SHEVCHENKO

(Speech delivered in 1903)

In one of the best works of our ancient literature, in Monomakh's didactic letter to his children, there is a story describing an incident as follows: While Monomakh was far off to war in the Volga region, he was reached by envoys from his brothers who said: "Join us, we will drive out the Rostyslavychi, the Halych princes, and take their estates, but if you do not go with us, we'll do what we want to, and you shall not gain anything." The incident took place soon after the princes had reached an agreement and sworn to keep peace among themselves. So Monomakh said: "Although you may be angry with me, I cannot break the oath and go with you." And further it is related how, on sending the envoys away, agrieved by the evidence of the breach of faith and discord among the princes, he picked up the Psalter, opened it and happened to notice the following words: "Why, Man, are you grieving, why have you to be in sorrow?" And in those words that were as if an answer to his torments and doubts, he found consolation.

The virtue of the works of great thinkers, and especially of the great poets who knew how to see and feel all the pains and joys of their time, and who were capable of expressing everything that moved their heart, is due to the fact that their language, a simple, pure and clear outflow of their hearts, speaks simply and clearly to the hearts of thousands and millions of people not only of their generation but also of generations to come. Words of such poets seem to lose their immaterial and bygone character; inspired with a great fire of their heart, they seem to turn into molten metal, to be cast into new feelings indeed, and broaden our spiritual world; for they enable us to perceive and understand more, more fully and to a greater extent than before. This underlies a great importance of the live, poetic word for the upbringing of young generations, this underlies a secret of their influence in the formation of the soul and ideals of entire peoples. If it is true that a people begets such poets

as it is itself in the best periods of its life, then, in their turn, poets by virtue of their word and their song create the people such as they understand and wish to see it to be. The virtue of the word of the great poets is also in the fact that from their word gushes out a living water of consolation and comfort for every individual in his personal doubts, requirements, pains and joys. The poetic word, said at a happy moment on a certain occasion, like a gold coin does not lose its value, and after a year or a hundred years may be effective on another occasion, under different circumstances, and may illuminate matters of which the poets even did not think while writing those words. And this is quite natural. Those occasions and incidents, petty, ordinary and heterogeneous, are like fingers that touch the golden strings of the poet's heart. It is not on the fingers, but on the strings that the tone depends, whether they are touched by the fingers of one person or another, the strings always respond in their own way. At the bottom of all the heterogeneous multiplicity of our incidents and discords lie the eternal, mysterious desires, requirements and strivings of the human soul. The word of the great poet is actually great and eternal due to the fact that it does not concern itself with the surface, husk, or transient forms of the phenomena, but affects the essence of the soul, its basis, and expresses what is eternal and common to all humanity in them. Owing to this fact the poetic word is capable of arousing a response and passion in the soul of every man and may on a given occasion provide an answer to a man's deepest and most painful demands and impulses and provide him with a consolation in sorrow and indicate to him a bright way out.

We have such a poet, such ruler of souls and guide of the future generations in Shevchenko. He still remains for us a living force, his poetry remains fresh; it has not exhausted its enlivening contents, it continues, like the Psalter for Monomakh, to give an answer to difficult and painful questions of our time. Let us on this occasion of the national festival commemorating Taras, open his book not at random, not for seeking fortune-telling omens in a random word — let us open his book with a clear intention and concentration to read there advice and exhortations of the great Kobzar (Bard). Let us imagine that his spirit is hovering here among us, that his lips can utter words, and let us turn to him like children to Father, let us pour out to him what causes us pain, what torments us, fills our heart with alarm and apprehension for the future and then, with our eyes turned towards the depth of our own heart, let us listen to his word, the word he has said to us in his book.

Let us first take the great and painful political and socio-political questions of our national independence, of the possibility of achieving our sovereignty and complete national unity. There is no doubt that Shevchenko had strong feelings concerning these questions, although, as is known, peculiar to himself: at first for the restoration of the

Hetmanate, and later for a more republican form of national life. He poured out these feelings of his in words that still ought to enliven all of us who build the bridge from the sad present to a distant and unknown shore of the future.

But I, brother,
None-the-less will wait, however,
None-the-less will hope on ever,
And my heart with anguish sever.*

Of course, we cannot build the bridge of our future by hope alone. We must work diligently, plough our difficult virgin soil and sow the word, and it may well be that from that word a two-edged sword will be grown to break not only our chains but also destroy the complacency of many Ukrainians. Shevchenko paints for us in fiery hues those moments of the crisis to come when the consciousness of the long oppressed people will wake up and gush out with a flame first of all at the monsters, sons of the Ukraine, who have helped to torment the Mother with their ignorant hands. Imitating prophet Hosea of the Old Testament, Shevchenko addresses Ukraine in this way:

Take rest, sad mother, then begin
And prophesy to thine evil offspring,
That they shall perish in their sin,
That all their treason and dishonour
And crooked soul the fire shall smite,
A sword, bloodstained and flaming bright,
Shall score the souls of men full deeply;
That doom cries out, beyond escaping
That their good Tsar no aid can bring,
Their gentle, drunken Mighty King!
No drink he'll give, no food he'll give them
No bare-back horse give to deliver
Them in swift flight; You cannot flee,
You cannot hide yourselves. Avenging
Truth will find you; men, intently,
Will lie in wait for you and, see,
They'll catch you. To no trial they'll bring you,
But straight into tight fetters fling you,
Drag you to town and mock you. There,
Without a Tsar or hangman nigh you,
Upon the cross they'll crucify you,
Cut you to pieces, rend and tear.
And your blood, curs, will be given
To curs to drink...

It would not be right to say that it was owing to the despair, the sight of the last moments of serfdom, the lack of hope for a better,

peaceful course of historical development that Shevchenko uttered these words. Since the writing of those words 43 years have passed by, and it is long since serfdom collapsed, and yet we ought to ponder how much nearer to the fulfilment of our ideals, Shevchenko's ideals, we are now than Shevchenko was then. Our nation remains divided by frontiers, and within herself she is divided with contradictions; a great percentage of her sons, nurtured on her bread, renounce her, deny her existence and eagerly rush to where nobody asks them to come or wants them to be, where they are mocked, where they are despised, although their Herostratic services are used there...

We ought not to forget that in all parts of our Motherland the senseless and unjust policy of the ruling strata with all the power of the State administration, either from political or national motives, systematically drives our people to poverty and ignorance, treats them with contempt and, as regards rights and justice, makes desolate its land, neglects its culture, drives it out of its primordial ancestral homesteads, and many a time by their fantastic plans for foreign colonisation, as if deliberately, speeds up the occurrence of national and social disasters. I readily assume, that Shevchenko, whose big heart was capable of perceiving all the great misfortunes of the Ukrainian past so vividly as if they were the misfortunes and sufferings of his own time and of his own relatives, — that Shevchenko did not foresee those modern Machiavellian methods of political and national oppression, which often are put forth even under the guise of far-sighted economics and liberalism. But, having been taught by the experience of ages and the seas of bloodshed, Shevchenko knew well, that such things as the freedom of Man and nationality, as national independence and sovereignty are not obtained straight from God's hands as the tables of the Law were obtained by Moses on the Mount Sinai, and that they are not given out of compassion 'for our blue eyes' by those who until now have benefited by our enslavement, by our ignorance and poverty. Shevchenko felt with all his heart, that the struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian nation will be difficult.

and now to call

The weakly freedom to awake,
We must together, one and all,
Harden the axe-shaft, whet the blade,
And start to rouse her, start to call.
Else the poor dear will sleep away
The years, sleep on till Judgement Day.
The noblemen will lull her still,
Shrines and palaces they'll build,
Love their drunken Tsar, adore
Byzantism with all their will,
And nothing, it seems, nothing more.

This must be done in unity by all the community. But this is exactly the point that Shevchenko knew his community too well, he knew well that it was immeasurably difficult to gather the community for one or another social work, especially for such a difficult work as the struggle for people's rights. He saw in that community a great deal of senselessness and a lack of spiritual independence, and sometimes he uttered a bitter word:

Community — it makes you spit!
A cabbage-head, and nothing more!
But do as you know best, friend, for
You are no fool, use your own wits!

This "Use your own wits" was the greatest wound in Shevchenko's heart, and it continues to be in the heart of everyone who would like to work for one's native cause yet sees at every turn the lack of leadership, absence of friends and collaborators, lack of sincerity and selfless devotion to the cause among those who apparently profess to serve it. This solitude in work and suffering oppressed Shevchenko's heart more than the power of the enemy and made him believe that the future of the Ukrainian people conceals in its bosom some great, difficult disasters in which

...in a hundred rivers, blood
Will flow to the blue ocean,
Your children's blood —

Until

Grandsons, already in the womb
Conceived, will grow to manhood soon —
Not as avengers will they strike,
As holy warriors of Christ.
And without fire, without sword,
The captains of the Lord will rise,
The heathen thousand-fold will fly,
Ten-thousand-fold will flee before
The saints.

This thought never left Shevchenko. The freedom of the Ukrainian people appeared to him like the sun that rises bathed in the blood of the Ukrainian enemies. And in his Testament he exhorts his countrymen:

Make my grave there — and arise,
Sundering your chains,
Bless your freedom with the blood
Of foemen's evil veins!

We are not prophets and cannot know whether Shevchenko's word will come true, whether the great poet with the power of his feeling has been able to solve the great riddle of our future. For us, ephemeral flies, who live by the present day, by its short hopes and worries, it is difficult to know what we ourselves ought to do, where to go, how to behave ourselves on our short journey. And here Shevchenko's great words come in useful for us:

Love your dear Ukraine, adore her,
Love her... in fierce times of evil,
In the last dread hour of struggle
Fervently beseech God for her.

Shevchenko expected the duty of every just and honourable individual to his motherland to be very high.

So deeply do I love my poor
Ukraine, that for her, I'd be willing
To lose my soul for evermore!

An intense awareness of that duty was inspiring him with boundless love for the Ukraine and a unity, and especially with love for her numerous working masses, for that youngest brother, for those slaves, ignorant peasants in whom he wished to see people, brothers, in the full and better sense of the word. The same awareness inspired him with a severe hatred and contempt for all renegades, for all those who had forgotten their Mother, who had renounced her either for the sake of office and salary or for fear of the powers that be, and, at last, for all who had become enamoured in the lofty visions of philosophy, a learning alienated from life and engrossed in abstractions in which concrete requirements, the interests and attributes of one's own people vanish. In this sense I understand those words of Shevchenko with which so often Drahomanov reproached him.

Had you but learned the way you ought,
Then wisdom also would be yours;
But thus to heaven you would climb:
"We are not we, I am not I!
I have seen all, all things I know,
There is no hell, there is no heaven,
Not even God, but only I and
The stocky German, clever-clever,
And no one else beside..."

Before we start reproaching Shevchenko for the fact that he with these ironic words about contemporary lights showed himself to be hostile to general progress of mankind, to European learning and European luminaries, let us recall what evidence of that learning and that progress Shevchenko could have before his eyes while writing

those words in 1846. Let us recall that the German idealist philosophy of Schelling and Hegel was changed by many Russians into a doctrine of despotism, that at the end of the 1830's Belinsky in the name of that philosophy glorified the Russian autocracy. This philosophy was also a strong support of centralism which stubbornly ignored the existence of minority nationalities and their special requirements and took into account States only, their State languages and interests. Let us not forget that such a contemporary light as realism in poetry, proclaimed at that time in Russia following the initiative of the French and the English, produced Gogol (Hohol) in Russia who for many decades confused the leading Ukrainian intelligentsia, having produced a fiction that the intellectual higher literature can be written only in Russian, while the Ukrainian language may be suitable only for popular, low brow literature. Let us not forget that another high contemporary light — the concentration of the intelligent people over social problems and the striving to improve the conditions of the broad working strata — that even this strictly human striving for many years was, in Russia, a pretext for withdrawing the Ukrainian intelligentsia from their native Ukrainian ground, and supported the spirit of Russian centralism and the negation of Ukraine, of her special interests. The fact that Shevchenko, despite all this extensive, epidemic apostasy of the best Ukrainian forces, wished that Ukrainians should have their own wisdom, does not mean that he demanded that they should stop learning from foreign educated peoples. No, he distinctly, in the same 'Epistle', pointed the only wise way:

Study, read and learn
Thoroughly the foreign things
But do not shun your own.

This must be one's own wisdom — a synthesis of one's native material, one's native life, with the achievements of the foreign, general human, or rather, leading human knowledge. A mere superficial learning of foreign wisdom, in no way relevant to the ignorant, hopeless strata of the Ukrainian people, resulted only in discord pernicious to both sides, for the seemingly learned Ukrainians, too, seeing in Ukraine no ground consonant with their ideas brought from distant countries, were languishing intellectually.

Those ideas, really fertile and full of vitality elsewhere, were changed by them into an idle toy, mere tinsels, useless in everyday life, and used only on occasions of great festivities and for entertaining equally idly talking guests. People who had brought from abroad the knowledge of Sanscrit, history, the French Revolution, the most liberal American and European constitutions and the most radical philosophies were turning themselves in everyday life into repugnant extortioners and tyrants of their serfs and even of their nearest relatives. It was precisely this that Shevchenko implied when he

wished that those people should have their own wisdom, that is, intellectual insight nurtured on their native ground and organically grown from it such that it would meet the native people's requirements and circumstances, would be accessible to people and be really fecund in the circumstances in which the people had to live.

Shevchenko's intense awareness of the national duty was subject to no compromises. He is sure to have spoken more than once about the hopes put by some Ukrainians in a favour from above regarding social and national bounties from the height of the throne. It suffices to say that even Hertzen, the most radical among the most radical Russians, for some time entertained such hopes and preached them in his *Kolokol*. Shevchenko, having experienced all the abyss of the arbitrariness and oppression of the powerful was not for a moment deluding himself with such hopes, and as if in reply to those who were deluded calls in his "Neophytes":

Woe unto you!
Who have you come, then, to entreat?
To whom have you brought your tears to plead?
And with your tears, to whom have you
Brought your hope? Woe unto you,
You blind, unseeing slaves! With whom,
With whom are you entreating, hapless
Creatures, sightless slaves and captive?
The executioner save from doom?
Pray to God alone, your father,
Pray to truth and right on earth,
And bow down before no other
On earth.

But what is truth on earth? In Shevchenko's poetry this phrase very often stands for the same thing as judgement and punishment and on yet other occasions for a living by heart, living with love for people. He prays to God:

Let me live, live in my heart,
Love my fellow men,
Praise Thy world not made by hands,
And Thy own self then.

In both cases, whether it concerns the breaking of chains, the sweeping from the surface of the earth of old wrongs in a bloodbath, or making peaceful, amicable life and cooperation of people on earth possible, the first and the most important commandment of the man who is conscious of his human and national duties, is incessant, rational work, while the gravest crime and misfortune — after the

sin of apostasy — is voluntary or enforced inactivity, passivity and indifference.

Terrible to fall into chains,
Die in captivity,
But worse, far worse, to sleep, to sleep,
To sleep in liberty,
Fall asleep for evermore,
So that there remains
Not a trace: He lived, or perished?
It is all the same...

Shevchenko passed through, and experienced to the very bottom, the state of such enforced inactivity with his own heart, but it is also certain that at the same time he was also aware of, and painfully felt, a general apathetic, slothful and indifferent character of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian. Not for himself alone, but for all of us he prayed to God:

Let me not fall asleep while walking,
In my heart to die,
Do not permit me like a rotten
Log on this earth to lie.

He put his hope on the power of a live word, the native, enlivening word, he hoped that "the heart beats, enlivens itself hearing them", put his hope on the fact that in spite of all the violence, all the filth, all our weakness and helplessness,

...truth will once again revive,
Inspire, invoke and inward drive
A word, not ancient and worn through,
Decayed away — a word all new,
She'll bear among man with a cry,
And rescue men who plundered lie.

With this hope and this will of Shevchenko we, too, must stand, we must firmly and clearly understand that only in them is our rescue, only in them is our future.

*) The excerpts of Shevchenko's poems quoted in these article are translated by Vera Rich, and are taken from *Song Out of Darkness* (London 1961), *Taras Shevchenko: Poems* (Munich, 1961) and from a work in progress.

Dr. Karl SIEHS

AN EXAMPLE OR WARNING ?

Ukrainian National Communist Writer, Mykola Khvylyovy

West Europeans on the whole must be reproached with a grave fault, which they can neither gloss over nor deny. On the strength of the information which they get about events in the East, many of them are of the opinion that they know exactly, or at least fairly exactly, what is happening there. But unfortunately, precisely those who like to pose as guardians of Western freedom are very often not even aware of the fact that they frequently repeat the slogans issued by Moscow.

All that the persons of average intelligence in the West knows about the East comes under the collective conception "Russia", or, if he has a little more specialized knowledge, under the category of "Soviet." But he overlooks the fact completely that numerous nations in the East European territories which are directly ruled by the Russians, are natives of these territories. Nor does he seem to know that these nations include a people who in number equals the English people and who, in spite of the fact that it has been decimated from 50 million to 37 million, has in the course of its unyielding fight for its national independence achieved great things.

A glance at our history books alone does not tell us that it was Ukraine which formed the foundation stone not only for the present Ukrainian Soviet state but also for the entire Russian empire. All the Russian and Soviet historians are unanimously agreed in their opinion that Ukraine was and is a Russian "dependency." (Cf. B. Krupnyckyj: "Die Wege der russischer Geschichtsforschung" — "The Methods of Russian Historical Research", published in "Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart" — "Ukraine in the Past and Present", Munich, 1963, No. 23, pp. 120.) How many teachers of history know that it was Ukraine that provided Peter I with the intelligentsia who helped him considerably in his westernization plans, directed against the opposition of the Moscow boyars, who had degenerated

under *Domostroy* influence? (Cf. for example Dm. Čyževsky: "Das heilige Russland" — "Holy Russia" — Hamburg, 1959.) Prokopovych, Polotsky and Cyzynsky, etc., were Ukrainians and they founded the Russian court theatre and helped Western culture to assert itself in the Muscovite empire.

The same ignorance prevails in the West in the field of literature. The greatest Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko, for instance, is regarded abroad as a "Russian poet" (Cf. S. Shabad: "American Boys Report on a Moscow School", published in the New York Times Magazine, November 26, 1961). In the catalogue of the Basle exhibition "Polish National Culture" the Ukrainians and Ruthenians are mentioned separately and the latter are listed as a non-Ukrainian people, whereas in reality Ruthenian is merely an old Latin designation for Ukrainian. On the strength of her experiences in this connection the well-known translator Anna-Halya Horbatch writes: "The difficulties involved in getting a German publishing firm to publish a work or a selection of stories, fairytales or poems which have been translated from Ukrainian into German, are practically insurmountable..."

And it was not a Soviet Minister of Education who uttered the notorious words: "There has never been a Ukrainian language; there is no such thing, and there will never be a Ukrainian language." How many people in the West are aware of the fact that there have been long periods in the history of Ukraine when the publication of works in the Ukrainian language was prohibited? (Cf. G. Luckyj: "Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine", New York, 1956, p. 25, footnote 2.) Anyone who designates Taras Shevchenko as a Russian poet, will not hesitate to assign Ukrainian writer such as Gogol, Bohdanovych, Korolenko, Yevtushenko, to mention but a few, who have written in the Russian language, to Russian literature. It is therefore hardly surprising that Yuriy Sherech affirms: "One could write a whole book about the Ukrainian writers whom Ukrainian literature has lost."

Hostile pressure, the historic fate which has denied Ukraine independence — apart from a few rather short periods, the assimilation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia by the Russians and the Poles, — all these factors have had disadvantageous and harmful results, but they have never succeeded in breaking the Ukrainian will to independence.

The moral and physical sacrifices which the Ukrainian people has been obliged to make in the course of centuries, and in fact is still forced to make, are immeasurable and would have brought ruin to a less tenacious and resistant people. But the Ukrainian people has always remained European. This is evident during the Kievan era (900-1250) and during the Tatar occupation, which made Ukraine the shield of Europe; for it was the Ukrainians who, in that part of

Great Ukraine which had not been occupied, constantly fought against the Tatar khans, whereas Ivan Kalita and his successors in humble servility built up a clever and ruthless home policy of power, step by step, in the structure of the Moscow state, and, after the power of the Tatars had been crushed, then adopted methods of open violence under Ivan the Terrible. Ukraine's grim struggle for independence and its indomitable will to remain a part of Europe have left their mark on the Ukrainian people.

In addition to those who were prompted by narrow local interests of an ethnographical, political and literary character, there were always champions and pioneers who sought to impress upon the Ukrainian people, degraded to the level of peasants and serfs, that a union with West European culture was vital and imperative. And much was achieved in this respect by that part of Ukraine known as Galicia, which was accorded tolerant treatment by Austria-Hungary. The efforts of that talented Galician Ivan Franko, who was a politician, philosopher, poet and translator, were supported by the East Ukrainian writers of Western trend — Drahomaniv and Lesya Ukrayinka. These three constitute the basis of the Ukrainian intellectual development which manifested itself so vehemently after 1917.

During the revolutionary confusion, some of the left-wing Ukrainian intellectuals found themselves on the Bolshevik side. But the revolution had a different significance for these men than it had for the Russian revolutionaries. As can be seen from the stormy events of the years 1917 to 1922, the question at issue as far as the Ukrainians were concerned was to make their country an independent link in the chain of the European family of peoples. The desire to be free of the social oppression of the tsarist era was inseparably linked with the desire for national independence. The grim struggle which continued until 1934, that is to say for 12 years after the downfall of various independent Ukrainian governments (as for instance the "Directory"), brought forth a number of outstanding personalities, who, although they were Communists, were fiercely opposed and attacked by Moscow, as is evident from the words of Stalin in 1926: "At a time when the proletarians of West Europe gaze enthusiastically at the flag which flies over Moscow, that Ukrainian Communist Khvylyovy can find nothing to say in favour of Moscow; all he can do is to appeal to leading Ukrainian personalities to run away from Moscow as quickly as possible."

Those who have heard of the rehabilitation of various Soviet writers, who were punished, abducted or executed during the Stalinist era, are making a grave error if they imagine that these rehabilitations also include various Ukrainian writers. If not even the group of Kyivan neoclassicists, literati and scholars of outstanding

fame, the talented translators of Rilke, Stefan George, Hofmannsthal, Shakespeare, Petrarch, Dante, Mickiewicz, and the Roman classicists, were rehabilitated, after having been physically eradicated from 1934 onwards with the exception of two of their number (one of whom succeeded in emigrating as a German national and eventually died in exile 15 years ago), then it was hardly likely that Khvylyovy would be rehabilitated. In 1960 the Moscow "Literary Journal" (February issue) wrote: "It is perfectly ridiculous to affirm, as Luckyj does, that Khvylyovy's works represent a Ukrainian literary renaissance... Ideologically, mentally and morally diseased, this writer belongs to the adherents of bourgeois decadence... His views were alien to Communism. For did he not preach the inevitable return of Ukraine to that era 'which Western Europe experienced at the time of origin of its national states'?"

Who was this writer Khvylyovy, whose real name was Fitylyov and who is practically unknown in the West? He was a convinced Communist and also a convinced Ukrainian. He was what is known today as a national revisionist, — a crime which is unpardonable, even though he remained a convinced Communist heart and soul to the end of his life. The average West European usually interprets the word "Communist" wrongly. Pasternak, too, was a Communist and turned down every offer to go abroad. So, too, did Khvylyovy, who on the occasion of his tour of West Europe in the 1930's was asked to settle there by his fellow-countrymen in Vienna. Khvylyovy, like Gumilyov (who was shot by the Soviets) and Alexei Tolstoy, refused to settle in the West.

The information which is available on Khvylyovy is so meagre that we do not even know who his father was. For anyone who is 'liquidated' in the Soviet Union is eradicated completely, not only physically but also intellectually. And intellectual extermination is effected not by public confiscation of the works of the person in question, the method applied by Goebbels, but entirely by secret measures. So secretly in fact, that the two Orthodox observers at the 1st session of the present Vatican Council wanted to leave in protest when it was announced publicly that all the arrested bishops (Nykyta Budka, Mykola Charnecky, Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, Ivan Lyatyshevsky, Josaphat Kotsylovsky, and Hryhoriy Lakota) had perished, and only Archbishop Slipyj, after 18 years imprisonment, took part in the Council.

But the information about Khvylyovy is not so meagre that one cannot form a picture of the man himself. Khvylyovy's suicide was not a capitulation; it was an heroic deed, committed after careful reflection. Shortly before his death he said to his closest friend: "It is true that in certain very rare cases death is to be preferred if one can do more for one's fellowmen by dying than by going on living. But such cases are rare. Nowadays we are in the first place

obliged to fight for our physical self-preservation. This is our foremost task. And I beg you to fulfil this task. Do you comprehend me? Go on living at all costs!"

His friend went on living; he managed to flee and succeeded in saving various important writings and bringing them safely to the West (they are now preserved in Grimsby Monastery, Ontario). Having fulfilled this task he was killed by Hitler's hangmen in 1945. O Ukraine, mater dolorosa!

In view of the above-mentioned facts, it is not surprising that Khvylyovy played as important a part in the intellectual life of Ukraine as the then Minister of Education and Culture of Ukraine, O. Shumsky. He exposed himself to criticism on the part of the Bolshevik leaders most of all during the so-called "Literary Discussion", which was evoked by the challenging pamphlets written by Khvylyovy himself and which can be divided into three phases: 1) April 1925 to September 1926; 2) October 1926 to December 1927; and 3) January 1928 to February (21st) 1928. (A bibliography, containing more than 600 references, of these discussions is to be found in A. Leites and M. Yashek: "Ten Years of Ukrainian Literature: 1917-1927" (in Ukrainian), Kharkiv, 1928, Vol. II, pp. 323-356.)

These extremely outspoken and vigorous discussions on problems of literature resulted not only in the liquidation of practically all literary groups which did not agree with the ideas of the writers' union controlled by Moscow, but also in the clear expression of their attitude by the individual groups.

The watchwords proclaimed by Khvylyovy were:

- 1) Ukrainian writers should orientate themselves to Europe;
- 2) Ukrainian literature should develop independently of Russian literature.

This was an obvious affront to Russian interests, and Khvylyovy was eventually excluded from the "Vaplite" literary group, whose leader he had been, on January 28, 1927.

We are, however, less interested in the extremely complicated development of external events than in the writer Khvylyovy.

As already mentioned, he belonged to the "Vaplite" literary group, which, though Communist in trend, pursued national aims. This group (according to Sherech: "Trends in Ukrainian Literature under the Soviets", published in "The Ukrainian Quarterly", Vol. IV, No. 2, 1948, p. 151) included 16 writers, of whom 6 vanished in concentration camps, 3 were shot, 1 died as the result of an interrogation by the German Gestapo in 1945, 1 was sentenced to life-imprisonment, 1 shot himself, 1 became a famous Soviet writer, whilst the remainder were accused of "nationalism" in the 1950's. If such a Communist orientated group as this was already exterminated to such an extent,

it is not surprising that even fewer members, and in some cases none at all, remained of other literary groups (and they were very numerous in this extremely active era in the literary life of Ukraine).

If one takes into account the fact that the "spiralist" Valerian Polishchuk (who later fell into disfavour and was also liquidated) attacked every author who was famous in world literature, then one can well imagine how much provocation Khvylyovy aroused in an era which refused to recognize even Pushkin, Byron or Goethe, by his exhortation (and in this he was supported unanimously by the neo-classicists) to Ukrainian writers to orientate themselves to European literature, to go back "to the sources" (as Zerov said), and to look up to the great European writers as their teachers.

And this Khvylyovy himself certainly did, as can be seen from the works which he left to posterity. Unfortunately, they are not very numerous: a poem written in 1921, a collection of short stories which also appeared in 1921, two other collections of short stories in 1922 and 1923, the collection "Autumn" in 1924, collected works in three volumes, published in 1927-1928, his last collection published in 1931, two novels which were not completed and had partly been destroyed, as well as a number of publicist writings, the fruits of his extensive activity as the initiator and editor of various periodicals.

An enthusiastic revolutionary, he reveals in his works a growing disillusionment, which ranges from ardent impressionistic allegorical romanticism and glorification of the revolution to satire, which reminds one strongly of Swift. Indeed, the influence of Gogol, Shevchenko, Swift and Maupassant is easily recognizable in his works. Maupassant (and it is a known fact that he also influenced Chekhov), however, fulfils a special function of his own in Khvylyovy's works.

Khvylyovy's short story "Puss in Boots" sings the praises of the woman-revolutionary, who, attired in khaki uniform, an army coat and soldier's boots, takes part most enthusiastically in the revolution. The language is sombre and full of allegories. Khvylyovy does not describe the fate of one individual person, but the symbolical fate of a woman-revolutionary, whose child was hanged on a lamp-post by a Cossack, — a woman-revolutionary who cooks, washes and fights for her unit, who fulfils the task of political enlightenment, but who is nevertheless destroyed herself by the revolution.

Even greater disillusionment is expressed in "The Swine", a ruthless and vile type of creature, who desecrates the sacred revolution.

The short story "I", which has been translated into German by A. H. Horbatsch and is included in the collection "Blauer November" ("Blue November"), shows how completely the author is disillusioned by the revolution. The hero of this story is the leader of the Dukhonin execution commando, guarded by Dr. Tahabat, his "brain", by the "degenerate", his animal instincts, and Andryusha, his conscience.

He is obliged to shoot his own mother, who has become a nun and is brought before the commando. The reader has no difficulty in comprehending that it is here a case of one individual person who disintegrates into three active persons in addition to the "I"; and the mother is not the actual mother of the hero, but the symbol of Ukraine, which the ardent and convinced Communist must murder.

The "Sentimental Story" reveals even greater disillusionment. Khvylyovy's language has now become realistic, but the background of this story is still full of allegory. A young Ukrainian girl, filled with an insatiable longing to see the world and fascinated by the stormy and exciting life of the revolution, leaves her native village in order to "be in the midst of things" in the town. She finds employment in an office, where she soon grows tired of the commonplace monotony of things, but finds a kindred spirit in an artist by the name of Chabar. In order to escape the obvious advances of her office boss, who makes no secret of the fact that he has designs on her, she becomes more attached to Chabar, who, however, seems to evade her even though he has fallen in love with her. But Chabar, too, is dispirited; his wings have, as it were, been clipped; he can no longer develop his own personality, his energy has withered, and he no longer has the courage to take any risks. When the girl realizes this, she throws herself at her boss. After a sleepless night and a bitter disappointment with Chabar, she goes to the apartment where her boss lives and tells him that he can now have her, but that he must first send a messenger to Chabar. She writes a note to Chabar, telling him that she is about to sacrifice her virginity, but that he can still have her if he comes to her boss' apartment at once. But Chabar arrives there too late. She reproaches him disgustedly and cynically, and goes back into the room to join her boss.

In the "Inspector-General" Khvylyovy's cynicism is even more apparent. The inspector-general is a leading Communist from Kharkiv, who goes to a rural district on a tour of inspection and whose visit is awaited with great longing by the wife of a director, whose concern is to be inspected. She, too, is a native of the town and, like Madame Bovary, is sick of the boring monotony of life in the country. The three of them go on a picnic. Her husband behaves in such a servile and toadying manner that she feels more and more attracted to the inspector, who shows off and gives himself fine airs. Eventually her husband gets dead drunk, and on the steamer which is taking them back home again the inspector persuades the woman to give herself to him. On the way to the cabin, however, they encounter the inspector's superior, and when the young woman sees how the inspector toadies to his superior in an even more servile manner than her husband behaved towards the inspector, she is so disgusted that she goes back on deck again and, sobbing bitterly, leans against the railing.

There is still a faint trace of romanticism and of the influence of Chekhov's subtle psychology to be found in this story, but the last story which we should like to mention is pure irony, Swift revived, as it were. It is the story of a man "Ivan Ivanovich" (even the name is significant), who is apparently enthusiastic about the revolution but has degenerated completely in the monotony of bourgeois life. But all his tricks and machinations and his high position in the Party cannot prevent his exclusion from the Party in the end, in the course of a purge.

The synthesis of Khvylyovy's views is to be found in his novel "Woodcocks", which was destroyed by order of Communist headquarters. In this connection we should like to quote the opinion of two critics, one a Communist and one an emigrant (Khvylya and Holubenko).

"The author sets himself the task of expressing his political ideas in an artistic form. He tackled this problem quite simply: he took four persons as the main characters of the plot: Hanna, Aglaya, Karamazov and Yevheniy Valentynovych, and two others for secondary roles — Aunt Klava and the linguist Vovchuk. He subordinates the entire life of this small circle of people to one single idea and endeavours to prove that the 'one and indivisible' (Russian empire — Ed.) is renewed from time to time and that for this reason and in this situation even Ukrainian nationalism is a progressive phenomenon...

This analysis leads us to draw the conclusion that the thoughts of the author are the thoughts and indecision of the 'Communist' Karamazov... For Karamazov hates the present with every fibre of his being...

Karamazov is one of those 'sincere Ukrainians' who, captivated by high-sounding watchwords, set about organizing a revolution together with the Communist Party, a revolution in which he was finally obliged to realize that the Party is nothing but a 'collector of Russian soil'... Khvylyovy leads his hero into the literary arena in order to prove that Soviet Ukraine is not Soviet, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no dictatorship of the proletariat, and, lastly, that national policy is nothing but a fraud; further, that the Ukrainian people is almost exclusively a people apart and a people who have no freedom, that a regeneration is in progress, and lastly, that the Party itself is an organization of hypocrites. In a brilliant and talented manner Khvylyovy expresses these his thoughts in his 'Woodcocks', and adds, after having made this analysis of the present, that the only watchword with which one can stir up millions of persons is that one must raise them to the height of pathos of a fight for Ukraine and for the people, that is to say a national regeneration, a rebirth of the nation...

From the very outset one must create certain cadres of a new, hardened Ukrainian intelligentsia. To begin with, a new Ukrainian

Longfellow should appear, who might raise the Ukrainian people to the level of a vast, new social movement. Only after this has been accomplished can new economists and new workers appear, who will then lead the economy and the social life towards a better future...

With the help of the masses and the intelligentsia the revolution will then be organized, provided that a Danton, a Lenin or a Trotsky leads the masses... For as regards the fundamental question pertaining to the revolution, that is to say the question as to who organizes it and who leads it, Karamazov is of the opinion that this task lies solely with the leader, that is with one person alone... Karamazov and Aglaya are agreed in their opinion that the revolution is a thing of the past, that the watchwords about social revolt have already become sanctimonious, and that history in the 1930's is merely repeating the bloody days of the French Thermidor in another form. Robespierre has long since sent Danton to the guillotine... and... he himself only lives to see the last days... The Thermidor is at its very height. What else is there left to do? The only salvation is nationalism. One must, however, see to it that the Thermidor leads to the creation of a mighty Ukrainian national state. And in this respect there must be no delay, for if the Ukrainian 'Communist' does not achieve this, then the Russian Communist will do so, but he will direct his action against the former, against the Ukrainian, merely in order to be able to hand over to his own Fascists the 'one and indivisible.' In the opinion of Khvylyov's heroes the situation is as follows: Yevheniy Valentynovych... only adheres to the Party for one reason, namely in order to appear more favourably inclined to Russian Fascism on account of the creation of the 'one and indivisible.' Aglaya, who exerts her influence on the 'Communist' Karamazov, is obliged to found a Ukrainian national state..."

The most important question at issue here is: revolution or progress. Holubenko gives us the answer:

"Sometimes I sigh for joy", says Karamazov. "The dark side of our reality then disappears completely from my view and I begin to grow and to assume the stature of a giant. For it is true: there can be no such situation in society that a fight is not possible. But if that is so, then... why, then it is very pleasant to be alive in God's world... You cannot imagine how fond I have become of that sullied word 'progress.' Progress — by its very quality is a sheet-anchor. And that is the way out of the situation in which the revolution has become involved."

"Why, you talk like a schoolboy" — Aglaya replies.

"That is quite right!" says Dmytriy heatedly. "I am really like a schoolboy in the lowest class, but I have the courage to admit it.

For it is the logic of facts that those who want to survive in our times must first of all begin with the alphabet...

"And draw out old watchwords out of the archives?"

"If you think so, yes. Is it not possible for the revolutionary watchwords of today to become reactionary by tomorrow? Have we not examples of such cases? And vice versa: are not the war-cries of 1917 nowadays regarded as sanctimonious and as material that is only fit for conjecture! But that does not mean that we have become bankrupt; it only means that one must be a dialectician. Today one can only spur on the masses with a banner on which the word 'progress' has been inscribed."

There can be no doubt about the fact that these words uttered by Karamazov express Khvylyovy's own thoughts.

He devotes his attention above all to the creative and dialectical approach to the phenomena of life and, when occasion arises, to the watchwords of the revolution. All the time, Karamazov was heading for death in the name of these ideals. "But what must Karamazov have felt when he realized, after having got involved in such nationalist surroundings, that all the display and ostentation which had been carried on had been of no avail and that his Communist Party was slowly but surely changing into a perfectly commonplace 'collector of Russian soil', and even lowered itself, if one may say so, to furthering the interests of a clever but only middle-class citizen." This is certainly too much of a good thing, for in Karamazov's opinion, "this man of the middle-class stands and stood as a threatening cloud on the path to the progress of the world..."

The revolutionary character of Khvylyovy's Karamazov met with considerable protest. He belongs to the opposition. "The Karamazovs of the world cannot belong to the opposition, for they view all actions through the prism of their romantic conception of the world. They cannot calm themselves, for they are predestined by nature to cause unrest amongst bourgeois minds." Khvylyovy's watchword, 'to know how to think and to feel', to be a dialectician, is the watchword of a creative, dialectical method, a comparison between dogmatism and pedantic doctrinairism. Karamazov accepts the designation of himself as an "eternal schoolboy" as praise and is glad "to be a dialectician" along with other people. The old watchwords of Ukrainian nationalism assumed a revolutionary significance in Soviet reality, — why then should one drag them out again and use them in the name of a creative and active life and in the fight against the Bolshevik reaction?

As a revolutionary and dialectician Khvylyovy experiences a crisis in the new reality, — a crisis which is openly expressed in the character of Karamazov. What is the nature of this crisis? Karamazov affirms that "this means that we have become bankrupt." But

Aglaya exposes the true nature of this crisis more clearly. The Karamazovs have stopped at an idiotic crossroad. Ukrainian reality and Ukrainian rebirth, on the one hand, and the Bolshevik "socialist revolution", on the other hand. Two paths, of which one completely precludes the other... Two revolutions. During the revolution of 1917 the watchword of union with the revolutionary forces of Russia, for the purpose of overthrowing tsarist rule and destroying the "prison of peoples", was revolutionary and progressive; but now, when the Party itself had changed and become a "collector of Russian soil", this war-cry became reactionary. The Karamazovs, however, are still under the spell of their outmoded views and emotions and are linked up with the doctrine of socialism, with Marx and with the Party. "Dmytriy Karamazov and his like have reached a terrible conclusion: there is no way out. One cannot break away from one's own party, for that is, as they themselves say, a betrayal not only of the Party but also of those social ideals for which they have so romantically faced death, and in the end this would be a betrayal of themselves. On the other hand, however, one cannot refrain from breaking away from the Party. In other words, they have stopped at an idiotic crossroad. And this is where the Karamazovs began to philosophize and to try and find a way out of the magic circle. But here, too, they were not lucky, for they were looking for a perpetuum mobile: they were trying to find a solution, in which the sheep remained whole and the wolves nevertheless did not feel any pangs of hunger. In short, these would-be scholars finally became so completely confused that they got involved in a spiritual crisis"...

Karamazov is a tragic figure... that is how Aglaya describes him. Karamazov himself does not deny this fact and affirms: "Apparently that is in my nature to be so." But the tragedy in this case lies not in his nature but in the situation. Or, to be more exact, in this and that. It is a symbol of the tragedy of the Ukrainian people, who have stopped at the crossroad of the epoch of the war and the revolution in an extremely difficult and complicated situation, at the moment of their national state rebirth and consolidation." — So much for Holubenko's criticism.

On May 13, 1933, Khvylyovy died by his own hand.

The socialist realism laid down by the Party was victorious. To our remarks we should in conclusion like to add the comment made recently by a Russian writer from the camp of socialist realism, who greatly deplored the fact that: "the 'formalists' have seized possession of the literary and artistic life of the USSR to such an extent that one has nowadays to have considerable courage to profess oneself to be an adherent of socialist realism." (Cf. M. Styranka: "Die kulturelle Wiedergeburt der Ukraine" — "The Cultural Rebirth of Ukraine", published in "Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart",

Vol. 10, p. 103.) This development, which has assumed more and more significance since Stalin's death, is by no means to the Party's liking (as was already evident in the case of Pasternak). Ilyichov continues to direct large-scale attacks against formalism and abstractionism.

The example of a number of young Ukrainian writers (they call themselves the "Sixties" because they began writing in the 1960's) shows clearly, however, that the tension which prompted Khvylyovy to express his explosive views is still, or, rather, again, in evidence today. The cry "for Europe" uttered by Khvylyovy and many of his contemporaries, who shared his views, has not died away, and, as can be seen from the official literary journal of 1962, there is once more a trend astir which to a considerable extent resembles the discussions of the 1920's. The amazingly bold works of many younger writers are imbued with mystical love of Ukraine, and their example has even given older writers, who were silenced under Stalin, new courage once more.

All attempts to break away from Party control, however, are already (since December 1962) being discouraged by a veritable witch-hunt. M. Styranka affirms in this connection: "It looks as though the Party, in view of the present conditions, will not be likely to gain control over the cultural sector again without applying violent measures."

Mykola KHVYLYOVY**I**

Out of the distant fog, across the calm lakes of the commune beyond the mountains, a rustling could be heard: it is Maria. I went out into the endless fields; I went through the barricades, and there, where the tumuli glow, I leaned against a lonely, deserted rock.

I looked into the distance — one thought followed another and rode around me like Amazones. Then everything faded away... Slowly and gently, the mysterious peaks float toward the slopes and the day comes to an end. The path runs through the graves and behind it the silent steppe... Truly my mother was an image of that heavenly Maria, who stands on the verge of unknown times. My mother was simplicity, quiet solicitude and boundless goodness. I remember this very well. And before this beautiful, painful image, my insufferable pain and unspeakable agony glow in the light of enthusiasm.

My mother said that I, her restless son, had worried entirely too much... Then I took her head with the silvery grey shimmer and laid it on my chest. Behind the window, pearls were dropping out of the dewy wet morning. Hard days went by. In the distance people emerged from the dark woods; they paused before the blue fountain, where the paths parted, where the lonely cross stood. They were — the new hope.

But the nights pass away, evenings, filled with poplars, rustling poplars, which disappear into the unknown along with the path, and with them the years of summer and my wild youth. Days before the storm. There, beyond the slopes of grey-blue fir woods, lightning rips apart the sky and the mountains prance. But the heavy, sultry thunder will never come from India from the East. And nature tires in this sultriness before the storm. But out of the vapour of the clouds, another echo is heard — the muffled roar of guns. Two storms approach each other.

Alarm!

Mother said she watered the mint plant today, but it withers away yearningly. Mother said: A storm is approaching. And I saw two crystal drops sparkling in her eyes.

One attack upon the other. The enemy troops push forward grimly. Then our cavalry attacks from the flank and the insurgents switch to a counter-attack. The storm gains force and my thoughts are stretched to the point of breaking.

I pass days and nights in the Cheka. We have a phantastic palace for our quarters: the house of a killed nobleman: luscious, heavy curtains; old paintings — portraits of the princely family. All this strikes my eye in the corner of the room that chanced to be mine. Somewhere a telegraph beats out its dreary, disturbing melody, which recalls the distant train station.

An armed Tatar sits cross-leggedly on the luscious divan and sings the monotone, Asiatic "Ala-la-la."

I turn my attention to the portraits: the prince regards me darkly; the princess — haughty contempt; the children — in the shadows of hundred-year-old oaks. In this unusual severity, I glimpse the old world: the forceless splendour and the beauty of the third generation of these forgotten, noble times.

They are bright pearls at the banquet of a wild, hungry country. And I, a totally strange individual: on the one hand, a bandit; on the other hand, an insurgent. I can look upon these pictures clearly and openly, for there is neither today, nor will there ever be, malice in my soul. And this is clear: I am a Chekist — but I am also an individual.

In the dark of the night, when the evening of the town glides past my window — from a hill the palace commands a view of the entire town — when slender, blue pillars of smoke rise up over the brick-works and the inhabitants stoop down like mice in the passages: in the dark of the night, the comrades come together in my room.

This is the new synod, the black council of the commune.

Then, a palpable, terrible death looks out of all corners.

The inhabitants: Here sadism communes!

I... remain silent.

Behind the shutters, the bells of the town tower ring disturbingly. The hour strikes. Out of the dark steppes comes the muffled thunder of cannons. My comrades sit at a round table of dark wood. Only the telegraph buzzes. Now and then, insurgents pass by the window. My comrades are easily recognized: Dr. Tahabat, Andryusha. The third, the degenerate one, is the most faithful guard. The black council is complete.

I: "Order! the case of the shopkeeper X is on the agenda."

Lackeys come from distant chambers; they bow down as before the prince, regard the new synod, place tea on the table. Then they disappear noiselessly on soft, thick carpets, into the labyrinth of large rooms.

The two-armed candle holder throws a dim light, which barely illuminates one quarter of the room. Up above, the chandelier glows faintly. The town is in darkness — we, too, are in darkness. The electrical power station has been destroyed.

Dr. Tahabat has stretched out on the broad couch, a little apart from the candle holder, and all I see is his clear, bare head and his much too high forehead. Behind him, even more in the dark, the faithful guard with the degenerate skull. I can barely see the stupid look in his eyes, but I know: the guard has a low forehead, dishevelled hair and a flat nose. He always reminds me of a convict, and I imagine that his name must be recorded in the books of some prison.

Andryusha is sitting to my right, a distracted look on his face, now and then looking over to the Doctor. I know what the story is. Andryusha, my poor Andryusha, was commanded with merciless shouts by this brute, to come here, to the Cheka, against his soft heart. And Andryusha, this sad Communard, always wavers when it is a question of signing a verdict for execution with determination, and draws the matter out. He writes neither his Christian name nor his surname on the rigid document, but a completely incomprehensible, illegible flourish that looks like a Chinese hieroglyph.

I: "The matter is settled. Dr. Tahabat, how do you feel about it?"

Dr. Tahabat, brutally: "Shoot him."

Andryusha looks at the Doctor somewhat frightened and staggers. Finally he stammers out, tremblingly: "I, Doctor, am not of your opinion."

"You are not of my opinion?" And a light, hoarse laugh resounds through the princely chambers.

I was waiting for this laugh. It was always like that. But this time I, too, shuddered and I felt as if I were walking into cold swampy water. The swiftness of my thoughts surpassed all possibilities. And at this moment the image of my mother's face rose up before me!... Shoot him?... And my mother regards me with deep sorrow.

Again the bell of the distant city tower rings behind the shutters. The hour strikes. Midnight! darkness. Barely audible, the muffled sound of the cannons penetrates into the palace.

Over the telegraph we hear the news: Our men have taken the offensive. The glass door behind the heavy curtain is fully submerged in red: Beyond the distant hills villages are burning; the steppe is burning, and from far off corners of farmsteads, dogs are barking at the fire. In the town stillness and quiet ringing of hearts.

Dr. Tahabat pushes a button. A lackey brings in old wines on a tray.

Then the lackey goes out, his steps fade away, sink into the soft leopard furs. I glance up at the chandelier, attracted to the Doctor and the guard. They are holding wine bottles in their hands and drink passionately, greedily. I think: This is how it should be.

Andryusha, on the other hand, paces nervously from one end of the room to the other. I know what he is thinking: he wants to say that it is dishonourable for a revolutionary to act like this and that this is something like a carousal. How strange he is, this communard Andryusha!

When Dr. Tahabat threw down the empty bottle on the carpet and distinctly signed his name to the verdict for execution, however, I was suddenly seized with despair. This Doctor, with his broad forehead and his shining baldness, with his cold reasoning power and a stone, instead of a heart, in his breast, he was also my inexorable commander, my animal instinct. And in his hands, I, the chairman of the black council of the commune, was an undignified woman who let herself be pushed around by his greedy drive.

But is there a way out?

A way out? But I see no way out.

Then, before my inner eye, mankind's dark history unfolds itself. People wander aimlessly, for millenia, an infinite time passes.

But I cannot find a way out.

Could this Dr. Tahabat be right?

Andryusha quickly wrote his flourish under the verdict; the degenerate enjoyed the sight of the letter.

I thought: If the Doctor is an evil spirit, my evil will, then the degenerate is the axe of the guillotine. But I thought: What nonsense! Is he the axe? It was to him, to this guard of the black council, that in moments of extreme enthusiasm, I would write hymns.

At such moments she left me, went away — my Mother, the prototype of that promising Maria; she waited in the dark — froze there.

The candleless burnt down. The severe figures of the prince and the princess faded away in the blue smoke of the cigarettes.

... sentenced to firing squad... six!... enough, for tonight.

The Tatar's monotonous Asiatic song is heard again. I look at the curtain, at the reddish reflection in the glass door. Andryusha has already disappeared. Tahabat and the guard drink old wines. I threw my coat over my shoulders and left the princely house. I walked through the empty, quiet streets of the besieged town! The town is deserted. The inhabitants know that within three or four days we will be gone, that our counter-attacks are useless. Soon our heavy trucks will roll to the northern country. The town lies in ambush. Sombre, like a dark, shaggy figure, the princely residence stands in the East — now the black council of the commune. I turn around, look toward it and suddenly remember that I have six on my conscience.

... six on my conscience? No, that is not true; there are six hundred, six thousand, six million. I have innumerable on my conscience.

Innumerable?

Before my eyes, mankind's dark history unfolds itself again, peoples wandering aimlessly, for millenia, an infinite time passes...

I enter a narrow lane... Finally I step into a small, lonely house in which my mother is living... The court smells of mint. Behind the barn, lightning illuminates the sky; the rumbling of thunder is heard.

Darkness! I enter the room, lay my pistol aside and light a candle. "You're asleep?"

But my mother was not sleeping. She comes toward me, takes my tired face in her old, wrinkled hands and leans her head against my breast. Again she repeats that I, her restless son, have totally ruined myself. And I feel crystal dew drops on my hands.

I: "How utterly exhausted I am, Mother!"

She leads me to the candle and looks into my exhausted face. Then she remains standing before the holy light and looks up to the image of the Virgin Mary with a painful expression in her eyes.

I know that my mother will go into a convent, perhaps even tomorrow. She cannot stand the turbulence we are experiencing — the horror which is to be seen everywhere.

I approach the bed — I shudder: the horror which is to be seen everywhere? What? Should my mother have such thoughts? Only reactionaries think like that.

Disconcertedly I try to persuade myself that it is not so — that it is not really my mother who is standing before me, but a vision.

A vision? Again I shudder. No, it is precisely this that is not so! Here, in this quiet room, my mother is not a vision, but a part of my own criminal ego, to which I give utterance. Here, in this close nook on the edge of town, I am hiding the last part of my soul before the guillotine.

Then, in a state of animal ecstasy, I close my eyes. I am overcome like a rabbit in heat. Passionately, I whisper: When are the details of my experiences going to begin? I am a true Communard. Who can dare to think otherwise. Don't I have the right to rest for a moment? The holy light glimmers before the image of the Virgin Mary. Before it, consumed with pain, stands my mother, like a wood-cut. But I refuse to think anymore. My phantasy embraces a blue dream.

Our troops are retreating. From one position to another. Panic rules at the front. My battalion stands ready as a replacement. In two days, I will throw myself into the shell fire. I belong to a select battalion — we are the most enthusiastic of the commune.

Here I am not less important, however. I know what that means: behind the lines, when the enemy stands before the town wall. Everyday dark rumours are spread — they sneak into all the lanes

like snakes. The rumours trouble the heads of the garrison. I am told that secret grievances are going about. A revolt could take place. Yes, yes, I know — a revolt could take place. My agents are sniffing around in the alleys, and there is hardly any room left for the prisoners — for these guilty and yet not guilty inhabitants of the town.

And the rumbling from the front comes closer and closer. The messengers from the front appear more frequently. Dust hovers over the town in clouds and blocks out the sombre, fiery sun. Now and then, lightning lights up the sky. Tanks roll by; steamships moan in distress; cavalry troops gallop by. Only in the vicinity of the black council of the commune, oppressive silence dominates.

Yes! There will be hundreds of death sentences, and I can hardly stand on my legs.

Yes! The reactionaries can already hear the short, clear echoes of the shots from the deserted palace above the town. The reactionaries know — it is 'Dukhonin's HQ.'

...And the mornings blossom in pearls — late stars fade away into the distant fir forests.

In the meantime the muffled roar of the guns becomes louder. The last bow is stretched; soon the storm will break loose. I go to the palace.

Dr. Tahabat and the guard are drinking. Andryusha sits in a corner with an oppressed look in his eyes. He approaches me naïvely: "Listen, friend — let me go."

I: "Where?"

Andryusha: "To the front — I can't take it anymore!"

So, he can't take it anymore! Suddenly, I am overpowered by anger. I had controlled myself long enough. "He wants to go to the front? He wants to get away from this black, dirty affair? He wants to wash his hands clear of it and to be as innocent as a dove? He yields me his right to bathe in the bloody pool." And I shout: "You forget yourself! If you mention this once again, I'll kill you!..."

Upon which, Dr. Tahabat puts in brutally: "Yes, by all means, by all means!" And malicious laughter echoes throughout the labyrinth of the palace rooms. Yes, by all means, by all means.

Andryusha shrunk within himself, turned pale and left the room.

The doctor: "Finish. Now it's my turn to rest. You continue."

I: "Whose case is next?"

"No. 282."

I: "Lead him in!"

Like an automaton, the guard silently left the room. Yes, he was an irreplaceable guard. Not only Andryusha was guilty, but we too — I and Dr. Tahabat. We often withdrew from the scene of the shooting,

but he, our guard, he always remained a soldier of the revolution and never left the field until the smoke had disappeared and the dead had been buried.

The curtain opened and two people stepped into my room: a woman in mourning and a man with glasses. They were obviously frightened: the aristocratic plushness, the portraits of the prince and his family, and the disorder — empty bottles, pistols and blue cigarette smoke.

I: "Your name?" Z. Your name? Y.

The man distorted his thin, pale lips and fell into an unforgivable whining tone. — He begged for mercy. The woman dried her eyes.

I: "Where were they arrested?" There and there. "Why were they arrested?" For such and such a reason. "So! A meeting took place at their place! How can meetings by night in such turbulent times be allowed in private living quarters?"

..."So! You are theosophists! You seek the truth! A new truth! So, so. Who should that be? Christ? No? A new world saviour? So, you're neither satisfied with Confucius, nor Lao-tse, neither with Buddha, nor Mohammed, not even with the Devil himself? So, I get the idea. The empty place must be filled..." I: "In your opinion, in other words, the time has come for a new Messiah?" The man and the woman: "Yes!" I: "You think that the psychological crisis of Europe and Asia is to be found in all parts of the world?" The man and the woman: "Yes!"

I: "Well, then, damn it! Why don't you make the Cheka this Messiah?"

The woman began to cry. The man turned even more pale. The severe images of the prince and the princess looked down from the wall darkly. Cannonade could be heard and shrill whistles from the train station. Over the loudspeaker came the news that an enemy armoured train was approaching our railway station. Loud commotion penetrated from the town. Heavy trucks rolled over the bridge.

The man fell on his knees and begged for mercy. With disgust, I kicked him with my foot and he fell head over heels on his back. The woman pressed her mourning veil against her temples and bent over the table in despair...

In a hollow, fading voice, she said:

"Listen. I am the mother of three children!"

I: "To the firing squad!"

The guard sprang forward and in half a minute, there was no one in the room.

I stepped up to the table, poured myself a glass of wine and drank it greedily. Then I put my hand on my cold forehead and said: "Continue."

The guard entered. He advised me to put the documents aside and to take care of an unusual case. Just then, a group of reactionaries had been taken in from the town. Apparently, they were all nuns. Evidently, they had spoken out against the commune in the market place.

I grew up to my rôle. Fog lay before my eyes, and I found myself in a state of extraordinary excitement. I think that is how fanatics marched in the Crusades.

I walked over to the window and said: "Lead them in."

A crowd of nuns pushed into the room. I did not see them, but I could sense them. I looked toward the town. Night was setting in. I didn't reflect long. I enjoyed it: In two hours, none of them would be alive. Night was setting in. And again lightning cut across the landscape. On the horizon behind the brick-works, slender pillars of smoke rose up.

"The reactionaries are pushing grimly and obstinately forward."

This news was heard over the loudspeaker: Now and then tanks appear in the deserted street and then turn hurriedly to the North. Cavalry troops stand in the steppe like knights of old.

Alarm! In the town all shops are closed. The town is dead and sinks back into a wild, mediaeval remoteness. Stars awaken in the sky and glimmer in a green, dirty light toward the earth. Then they fade out and sink.

But I must hurry! The basement is full to the brim! I turn around resolutely and want to shout out the inexorable, "to the firing squad", — I turn about and I see: my mother is standing right before me: my deeply afflicted mother with the eyes of the Virgin Mary. I shudder. What is this — an hallucination? I turn abruptly. I cry out: "You?" And from the throng of women, I hear: "Son, my restless son!" I sense that I will soon faint.

I feel dizzy. I grip the chair with my hand and let my head sink down. At the same moment, diabolical laughter resounds in the room, hits the ceiling and falls off.

That was Dr. Tahabat.

"Mother! O, you — you milk-hungry devil! Do you want to suck on your mother's breast? Mother?"

Instantly, I came to myself and took hold of my pistol. "Devil!" I shouted and pounced upon the Doctor.

But he regarded me coldly and said: "Now, now — go a bit easier — betrayer of the commune! Learn to judge the mother just as you knew how to judge the others." He emphasized "the mother", and moved away silently.

I felt myself becoming paralysed. Pale, paralysed, I stood before the silent throng of nuns — with a lost look in my eyes, just like

a wolf which has been hunted to death. I saw this image of myself in the huge mirror which hung on the opposite wall.

Yes! Finally, they had got the very last part of my soul into their clutches. I would no longer go to the edge of the town to hide there like a criminal. Now, I had only one right left! Never to tell anyone anything about how my own ego split. And I didn't lose my head.

Thoughts cut across my brains. What was to be done? Would I, a soldier of the revolution, falter in this all-responsible moment? Would I betray my people? I shut my teeth together, looked darkly at my mother and commanded: "All of them in the cellar — I will be right back."

But the last word was hardly out of my mouth when the room resounded with malicious laughter.

I turned to the Doctor and stated clearly; "Dr. Tahabat, apparently you've forgotten who you're dealing with? Or would you too like a bit of Dukhonin's HQ... with this rabble..." I pointed toward where my mother was standing, and left the room silently. I did not hear a sound after I had left.

I moved away from the palace and plunged through the fading light of this ominous, oppressive evening into the night.

The shell-fire became louder and louder. Again pillars of smoke rose up over the brick-works. Behind the tumuli the roar of the tanks could be heard. Between them a decisive engagement raged. The enemy troops were attacking the insurgents grimly. It smelled of powder.

I wandered along aimlessly. Tanks rolled past me, cavalry troops galloped by. Heavy trucks rolled across the bridge. The town lay enveloped in dust, and the evening had not dispersed the lightning-charged sultriness. I wandered along aimlessly. Thoughtlessly, in a state of dull emptiness, with a burden on my bent-over shoulders, I wandered along aimlessly.

Yes, they were intolerable, torture-filled moments. But I knew what I had to do. Even before I left the palace, I had known — otherwise I would not have gone out of the room so quickly. Yes, I had to remain hard!

I worked the whole night...

Then, in the course of a few dark hours, clear, short shots resounded at equal intervals.

I, the chairman of the black council of the commune, fulfilled my duty to the revolution.

And was it my fault that, in this night, the image of my mother did not leave me for a moment? Was it my fault?...

Toward noon, Andryusha came and said: "Give me permission to release her!"

I: "Whom?"

"Your mother!"

I: "... be silent!"

Suddenly, I feel a painful desire to laugh. I can't resist it, and my laughter rings loudly through all the rooms.

Andryusha looks at me severely. I hardly recognize him any more.

"What is the purpose of this melodrama?"

This time, Andryusha would like to push his point through. He has fooled himself, however. I shout at him roughly: "See to it that you get out of here!"

This time, too, Andryusha turns pale... Ah, this naïve Communist doesn't understand anything at all: He doesn't get the point of this animal ferocity! He doesn't see anything behind my cold, wooden face.

I: "Telephone — find out the enemy's position."

At that moment, the sizzling of a shell was heard over the estate. It exploded right in the vicinity. The windows rattled and the explosion penetrated the empty rooms.

The loudspeaker announced: The reactionaries are pushing ahead; they are already very near at hand — only three kilometres away. Cossack reconnaissance troops are said to be in the vicinity of the railway station. The insurgents are retreating, the voice still cried. Andryusha runs out, and I after him.

Smoke was still in the air. Pillars of smoke continued to rise up on the horizon. A cloud of dust lay over the town. The sun was like a glowing piece of ore, and the sky was not to be seen at all.

Sombre smoke-screens over the elevations stood out against the overcast sky. Dust whirled out of the streets, rose up, spread and then dispersed across the farmsteads. Nature appeared enchanted in this hour of the approaching storm.

Shells exploded continuously. Cavalry troops galloped along. Heavy trucks and tanks rolled toward the North.

... I had forgotten everything. I didn't hear anything and could not remember how I came to be in the cellar. With a shrill bang, a shell burst beside me, and the court became entirely deserted.

I went to the door and was just on the point of peeking into the opening of the cell in which my mother was held, as someone touched my hand. I turned about — the guard.

"This is a guard! All of them have run away! Ha, ha, ha!"

I: "So — and you?"

He: "I? O, I!" And he beat against the door with his finger.

Yes, there was a faithful dog of the revolution. He would hold out under even more severe fire.

I still remember what I thought: He is the guard of my soul. And I strolled along thoughtfully toward the deserted fields outside the town.

Toward evening, the southern part of the region was already lost. We had to move toward the North, had to leave the town. Nonetheless, the insurgents had been ordered to hold the town until nightfall, and they took to the ramparts, the roads, the intersections, to the silent corners of the passages.

And I?

Things were cleared away in a hurry. I could barely keep on my feet. Documents were burned, groups of prisoners led away — they were the last contribution to the war.

I could hardly hold myself on my feet. But suddenly the image of my mother re-appeared, and I heard her sorrowful, defiant voice. I threw back my hair and stared at the town tower with wide open eyes. Night was setting in again, and several farmsteads were burning in the South. The black council of the commune was preparing to take flight. The transport vehicles were heavily loaded; the tanks rolled slowly by; the throng pushed toward the North. Our armoured train alone was doomed to death in the silence of the fir forests: on the right flank it was holding back the enemy troops.

Andryusha has disappeared somewhere.

Dr. Tahabat is sitting quietly on the divan and is drinking. Silently he awaits my orders; now and then he casts an ironical look at the portrait of the prince. But I feel his eyes on me — he makes me nervous and uneasy.

The sun has sunk down beyond the horizon. The evening is dying. The night is setting in. At the ramparts, it is like a running match — monotonous firing of the machine guns.

The empty palace rooms have died in expectation. I look toward the Doctor, but cannot endure the sight which lies in the old portrait.

Gruffly, I spit out: "Dr. Tahabat, in an hour I will have to be finished with the last group of the condemned. I will have..."

He — ironically, indifferent: "So what? That's all right!"

I got furious, but the Doctor looked at me maliciously and smiled. O, he knew very well how matters stood. That among these last condemned ones, there was my mother.

I: "Be good enough to leave the room!"

The Doctor: "So what? That's all right!"

But I had reached the limits and was furious:

"Dr. Tahabat — I warn you once more: Don't fool around with me..."

But my voice broke and began to stammer. Quickly, I reached for my pistol — finally I want to settle with the Doctor; but suddenly I felt so wretched and weak. I sensed that my last bit of energy was gone. I sat on the divan and looked at Tahabat with a hopeless look in my eyes — like a beaten dog.

Time is flying, however. We have to hurry. I pull myself together again and cast a look at the contemptuous countenance of the princess for the last time.

Darkness!

The nuns!

The guard came in and remarked: "The pack is standing outside. The shooting is to take place behind the town — at the edge of the forest."

The moon rose up over the distant hills — then it glided over the blue water and threw yellow rays across the surface. At midnight it reached the zenith and there remained over the abyss.

There was violent shooting in the town. We went along the north path. I shall never forget this silent procession. Behind us the heavy trucks were groaning along. At the head and at the rear of the procession were guards, and in between, the nuns, I and Dr. Tahabat.

... We had hit upon true reactionaries: During the whole way, no one spoke. They were real fanatics, these nuns. I walked along thoughtlessly — as I had done years ago. The guards of my soul stamped along at my side: Dr. Tahabat and the degenerate. I looked into the throng, but couldn't see anything. I felt it that much more, however: With her head bowed down, my mother was walking among them. I sensed it: there was the smell of mint. I caressed her head with its silvery-grey shimmer.

Suddenly, however, the promising remoteness beyond the mountains appeared before my eyes. And with a feeling almost of pain, I wanted to sink on my knees and pray to the black council of the commune. I pulled my chin in, jaunted along the deserted road — behind me groaned the heavy tanks. Suddenly, I shuddered — was it an hallucination? Was that the voice of my mother? And once again I was aware that I was a weak person and divined that somewhere deep down within me, there was a gnawing and torment. And I was seized with a desire to weep — not loud, no, with silent tears, as when I was a child at her warm breast.

It blazed up in me: I was leading her to the firing squad! Was this reality? It was reality! true and alive, greedy and vicious, like a pack of hungry wolves. This was reality — inescapable, inexorable, like death itself.

But perhaps it was all a mistake after all! Perhaps it should all be different. Ah! that was cowardice and shallowness! There was only one sure life-truth: *Errare humanum est*. So what could you expect? To err! But to err one way and not another! In the final analysis, however, how could error be at all?

Yes — this was reality: like a pack of hungry wolves. And yet this was the only way to the promising lakes of the commune beyond the mountains.

With these thoughts, enthusiasm broke forth in me. My steps held firmly to the path to the North.

The silent procession approached the forest. I no longer recall how the nuns were set up — I only remember that Dr. Tahabat came over to me and placed his hand on my shoulder. "Your mother is among them. Do as you please."

I looked upon them. A figure separated itself from the throng and walked quietly and alone toward the forest.

The moon was at the zenith and hung over the abyss. The path continued — lost itself in the yellow-green distance. On my right hand, like a ghost, stood the guard detachment of my battalion. At this moment, heavy firing was heard from the town — the insurgents were retreating. The enemy was aware of this. Not far off a shell exploded.

I took my pistol in my hand and hurried toward the lonely figure. I still recall: there was a short flare of fire — in this way the nuns were disposed of. I recall further: From the forest came the impact of our armoured train — the forest resounded. The flash of fire: once, twice and again. Bang! Bang!... the enemy troops were pushing forward grimly. One had to hurry. O, one had to hurry!

But I walked and walked and the lonely figure of my mother still stood there. She remained there with drooping arms and regarded me with a sorrowful look in her eyes. I walked hurriedly toward this bewitching, unreal forest — the lonely figure stands there, still there...

Emptiness all round. Only the moon pours down its green light from the perforated zenith. I hold my pistol in my hand, which grows more and more lax — soon I will burst out in tears, silent tears, like in childhood at her warm breast.

I want to shout out: Mother, come here to me — I have to kill you! A sorrowful voice pierced my brain. Once again I hear my Mother say, that I, her restless son, have completely ruined myself.

What is this? Another hallucination? I pull in my chin — it was a deception. I have been standing opposite my Mother at the deserted forest edge for a long time. I look at her.

She is silent.

The armoured train resounds in the forest. The firing increases. The storm is coming closer. The enemy is attacking; the insurgents are on the retreat.

Like in a state of intoxication, seized by the ardour of an incomprehensible friend, I took my mother by the neck and pulled her head against my breast. Then I lifted my pistol and pressed it to her temple.

Like a moved down ear of wheat, she fell against me.

I laid her down on the ground and looked around wildly. Emptiness! Only to the side lay the dark corpses of the nuns. Not far off shells were exploding.

I thrust my hand in my pocket and suddenly remembered that I had forgotten something in the palace. You're a dunce, I thought. Then I came to myself. Where were my comrades? Well, now — I have to hurry. I have to get back to my batallion. And I started off.

But I had hardly taken three steps, when I came to an abrupt stop.

I shuddered and ran over to the corpse of my mother. I sunk down to her — but she was dead. I recall that blood flowed out of her temple in a dark stream. I took her unforgettable head in my hands and buried my lips in her white forehead. Darkness!

And suddenly, I heard: "Communard, get up! It's time to return to the batallion."

I looked up — the guard was standing before me.

"Yes, yes, I am just about finished — just about finished. Yes, of course, it's high time!"

I adjusted the belt of my pistol and started off.

Like heroes of old, the insurgents on horseback were on the steppes. Stooping, I walked over to them.

The storm broke. Somewhere the first flames of the morning emerged. The moon died out slowly. Heavy clouds came in from the West. There was violent firing.

In the middle of the deserted steppe, I remained standing: There in the endless breath beyond the mountains burned the silent lakes of the commune.

THE END.

ARTIST AND WAR

The Painter Ivan Kurach

Ivan Kurach exhibited paintings and drawings under the title "Artists and War" in Munich from 23rd January to 21st February. He is a West Ukrainian who left home in 1937 and set off for Italy, the land of the fine arts.

A passion for art gave wings to his feet and the energy to walk from Lviv to Rome, a distance of 3,000 kilometres.

He remained there for a year, studying, painting and drawing. Then he entered the Milan Academy of Brera and soon gained a post as assistant professor.

War interrupted his work and affected his life more decisively than any other experience. Fate ordained that Kurach was to go through the Russian campaign in the Italian Army.

War was his fate, his enemy and simultaneously his abductor and still accompanies him today. War, the most inhuman of all human inventions, with all its cruelty, its utter relentlessness and its misery has burnt a seal with red-hot iron on this sensitive soul which left him shuddering in excruciating pain.

"If anybody asks me about the nature of my painting, about the spirit of my art, I answer: pain. Only pain digs down into the roots of man and gives him the fullness of his own existence. I saw in the suffering, in the sorrow and loneliness of those soldiers, the suffering, sorrow and loneliness of all men in their secret struggle in the long battle for existence."

Ivan Kurach uses the simplest artistic means to arouse a world of memories, moods and feelings which every soldier knows: loneliness, hunger, fear, death, cold, pain and dismal poverty.

Albert Rheinwald wrote in the "Journal de Genève": "His simplicity is wonderful. It is expressed in a form which describes perfectly what he wants to say. At times he makes one think of an ascetic, his language is so confined to the essential. And yet his painting radiates an energy which testifies to a sincere love for art in itself and for the subject."

The simpler his style is, the stronger the mood that he expresses. One or two immense figures on horse-back emerge on a grey background or one drawn with only a few brush-strokes, and advance towards their fate. A few creatures and things suffice to create an unforgettable atmosphere. No individuality, no expression on the faces of the men, only their behaviour blended in the background.

One confirms this emptiness as soon as one observes a group of soldiers or a battery drawn by a pair of horses which one suspects rather than sees, while it goes shaking violently through snow and haze towards glory and death."

Even the telegraph-poles are torn into the agony of the war, and are changed into tormented crucifixes.

A horse lies motionless in the snow. It is a creature thrown down by the storm and it shakes the world, just like the silent, almost timid cottages that await their fate.

The crucifix rises between the grey, broken sky and the snow-covered earth and at its foot the tears of countless men assemble.

The body of Christ hangs there in an attitude of extreme pain. He looks as if he was only a man. But in the bearing with which he descends among his brothers to carry with them the burden of human anguish, shines a light of belief, a promise of the resurrection.

Ivan Kurach says of himself: "In pain man approaches his own enveloping loneliness. He trudges along his pilgrim's way with his head bowed like the refugees in my pictures. Thus I portray pictures like these: riders disappearing in a hurricane; grey creatures that slink from one horizon to the other; shadow dressed in rags scattered in the snow as if on a sweat-rag."

The soldiers have their heads covered and have no faces: they cannot have any, because each is the symbol of a crowd of comrades who are very diverse. A dark sky and the terrible expanse of the Steppes form the frame of their death-march. In the colours I think of the sky-blue waves of the Dnipro, the black earth of Ukraine, the grey cloud-banks galloping across the plains like nomads. I adapt the language of my pictures to nature: thin, slight strokes depict the anguish of a retreat; transparent figures without outlines which melt into the snow-storm as if the waves of a frozen eternity overtook them."

Ivan Kurach knows the meaning and the value of pain which can carry us out over all precipices, up to the heights of eternity, into the silent, numb and colourless light of the future and of another world. And so his despite all the depression his pictures breathe promise and salvation.

Angelika von Schuckmann

UKRAINE IN NEW CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS

THE FLOOD AND DULSKI RESOLUTION

These are the Flood Resolution (H. Res. 14) calling for the establishment of a permanent House Committee on the Captive Nations, and the Dulski Resolution (H. J. Res. 225), calling for the establishment of a section in the Library of Congress to be known as the "Shevchenko Freedom Library." These resolutions were introduced on January 4, 1965 and January 25, 1965, respectively.

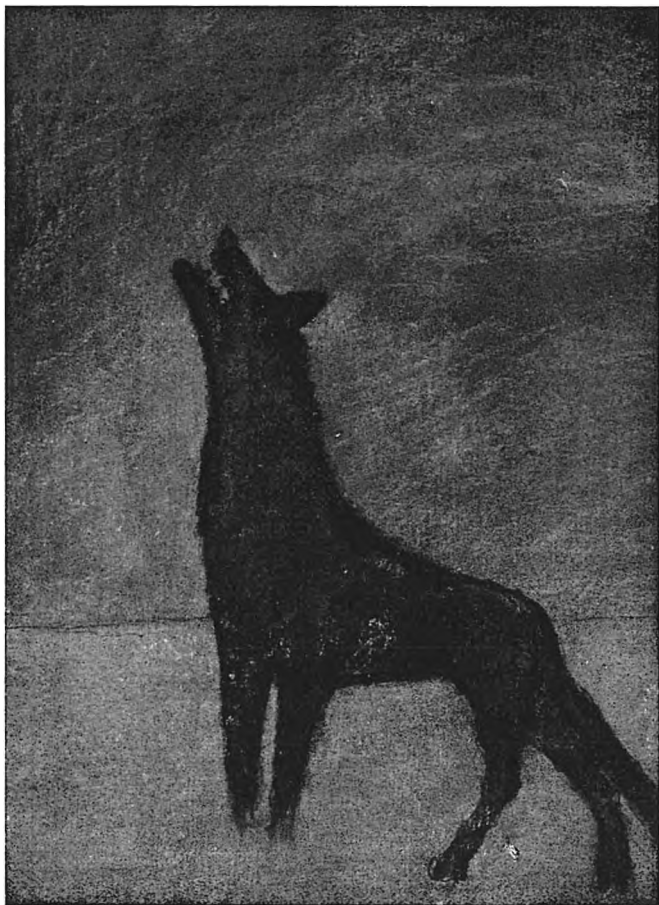
It is recalled that the Flood Resolution has been introduced a few years ago and was referred to the House Rules Committee for final action. Regrettably, upon the suggestion and advice of the State Department, the Flood Resolution was never brought up for vote in that Committee. Now Congressman Flood, a staunch and determined friend of the captive nations, has re-introduced the same resolution calling for the creation of such a committee in the US Congress. It is our understanding that some 14 other Congressmen have submitted similar resolutions in the new Congress pressing for the establishment of a Captive Nations Committee.

Congressman Thaddeus J. Dulski of Buffalo, who like Congressman Flood is a recipient of the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" plaque, has introduced a resolution calling for a "Shevchenko Library" section in the Library of Congress. While the Flood Resolution was referred to the House Rules Committee, the Dulski Resolution was referred to the Committee on House Administration for further action.

Both resolutions were introduced in the month of January, during which Ukrainians the world over observe the anniversary of their independence.



Ivan Kurach: MUTE PAIN.



Ivan Kurach: A WOLF.

THE DIRKSEN RESOLUTION

On January 22, 1965, on the occasion of the observance of the 47th anniversary of Ukraine's independence in the US Senate, one of America's best known legislators and anti-communist leaders, the Hon. Everett M. Dirksen, US Senator from Illinois, introduced a resolution calling for the withdrawal of Soviet Russian troops from Ukraine and all other captive countries behind the Iron Curtain.

The political significance of Dirksen's resolution is enormous and powerful.

First of all, the resolution was introduced by the very influential Minority Leader in the US Senate whose impact and weight upon US foreign policy is recognized and respected everywhere. Secondly, the importance of the resolution lies also in its timeliness because it was brought up at a time when there are new "trends" of appeasement and "accommodation" of Communist Russia.

Some advocates of this policy clamor openly for the admission of Red China into the United Nations and for its recognition by the United States; they also propose a "settlement" of all scores between the USSR and the United States at the expenses of the subjugated nations and a permanent enslavement of half of Europe by Russian Communism.

Therefore, the Dirksen Resolution is important in that it reminds the American people, the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain and the world at large, that there are in the United States powerful forces which will not compromise with the enemy at the expense of other peoples' freedom and that they are well aware of the insidious tactics of the Kremlin, regardless whether it is ruled by Khrushchov or the Brezhnev-Kosygin "collective leadership."

The forces of freedom are active behind the Iron Curtain in many ways. The Dirksen Resolution can only encourage these forces of freedom so that the captive peoples may know that the American people are on their side in the unequal struggle for their ultimate liberation.

TEXT OF SEN. DIRKSEN'S STATEMENT

Mr. President, January 22, 1965 is the Forty-seventh (47th) anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine from the yoke of Russian domination, which regrettably was short-lived because the Soviet Communists were able, by superior number of forces and military might, to subjugate these 45,000,0000 people of Ukraine, making her the largest subjugated nation in Europe. History records the valiant fight for over three years to preserve the independence of Ukraine.

I know of no better way to commemorate Ukrainian Independence Day than by asking Congress to pass a Concurrent Resolution, which I now introduce, urging the United Nations to take effective action so that the Soviet Union will withdraw its troops from Ukraine and other Captive Nations referred to therein, to return such captive people to their homeland if they are now in exile, and to require free elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

Deeds and not words are the order of the day to help the people of Ukraine and other Captive Nations that soon will also commemorate their short lived Independence Day in weeks and months to come.

To all Ukrainians and peoples of Captive Nations, I salute you and encourage you to keep the hope of freedom constantly before you. History records that many nations and peoples did not wait and hope in vain.

TEXT OF SEN. DIRKSEN'S RESOLUTION

Whereas the Communist regime of the Soviet Union did not come to power in the Eastern European countries by legal or democratic processes, but has flouted even the solemn assurances and agreements entered into at the Yalta Conference of February 1945; and

Whereas the Soviet Union has denied self-determination by free election in those countries, resorting not only to heavily manned occupational forces, but also to genocidal activities in the cases of the many countries known as captive nations; and

Whereas the sovereignty and independence of the former free governments of those captive nations under the yoke of Soviet communism were duly recognized and continue to be given recognition and moral support; and

Whereas the suppression of human freedoms and the denial of free trade and communications with other sovereign countries present a threat to peace, intolerable either to the United States, other free nations, or the international law agencies; and

Whereas the Governments and peoples of said captive nations now under the yoke of Soviet communism have always been in close relation with the United States and constantly continue to prove their belief in democracy through the work and

blood of their peoples; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (The House of Representatives Concurring)

That the President is hereby requested to take such action as may be necessary to bring before the United Nations for its consideration the question of the forceful incorporation into the Soviet Union of the following captive nations and peoples now behind the so-called Iron Curtain: Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Albanians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Yugoslavians, Czecho-Slovakians, Rumanians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, Poles, and East Germans; and a resolution declaring that —

(a) the Soviet Union shall withdraw all Soviet troops, agents, colonists, and controls from said captive nations; (b) the Soviet Union shall return all citizens of said captive nations to their homelands from places of exile in Siberia, and dispersion in prisons and slave labour camps throughout the Soviet Union; and (c) the United Nations should conduct free elections in said captive nations under the direct supervision of the United Nations and sit in judgement on the Communist counterparts of the Nazi war criminals convicted at the Nuremberg trials.

Tenth Conference of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

held in Taipei, National China, from 23rd to 27th November, 1964

21 member units of APACL were represented at the 10th Conference of APACL: Australia, the Republic of China, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Japan, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Macao, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Ryukyus, Somalia, Thailand, Turkey, and the Republic of Vietnam.

There were 26 observer-delegations, namely: the All American Conference to Combat Communism, the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN), Belgium, Canada, the International Committee for Information and Social Action (CIAS), the International Conference on Political Warfare of the Soviets (CIGP), the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, the Congo (Leopoldville), England, France, the Free Pacific Association, Germany, the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent, Italy, Kenya, Lebanon, Malagasy, Malta, the National Captive Nations Committee (NCNC), the Union of the Russian Solidarists (NTS), Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The Australian delegation was led by the member of parliament, Mr. Kevin Cairns, that of Nationalist China by the President of APACL, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, that of India by the leader of the opposition party in parliament, Dahyabhai V. Patel, that of Iran by senator Kazemi, that of Japan by the former ambassador and Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Iguchi Sadao, that of Jordan by the Governor of Amman, Mr. Naif Haddid, that of the Philippines by the Chairman of Parliament, Mr. Cornelio T. Villareal

and that of South Korea by the former Prime Minister, Mr. Doo Sun Choi.

The former Foreign Minister of Spain, Mr. Alberto Martin Artajo, was present and Senators, Congressmen, Party leaders, Ministers etc. came from various countries.

The oppressed peoples were represented by ABN, whose delegation consisted of the President of the Central Committee of ABN, former Ukrainian Premier, Jaroslaw Stetzko, Prof. Dr. Lajos Katona, a Hungarian freedom-fighter, and Mrs. Slawa Stetzko, as secretary. From the Captive Nations Week Committee, an American Organization for the cause of freedom of oppressed peoples, came the Chairman, Prof. Leo Dobrianskyj who is also chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee.

The delegations were met at the airport by the President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and immediately interviewed by the press, radio and television.

After a wreath had been laid on the Memorial of the Unknown Soldier, a dinner was given by the President of the League, Ku Cheng-kang in honour of the delegates.

On the 23rd November the tenth conference of APACL was officially opened by President Ku Cheng-kang and after his address the first speech was given by the President of the Republic Chiang-kai-shek.

"In our fight against Communism", President Chiang said, "our morale is high and we are confident of victory... What we ask is that the United States no longer impose any restriction or control over the Asian peoples in their anti-Communist actions, and, if possible, give them moral and material support so that those who are now

enslaved behind the Iron Curtain can be liberated. That is the only way to move towards exterminating a regime that has brought every evil to our region."

President Chiang said that if the democracies and especially the United States still decline to act and permit Chinese Communists to develop nuclear weapons, the anti-Communist nations and peoples will suffer incalculable calamities in the foreseeable future. They will be either destroyed by Chinese Communist atomic bombs or paralysed by nuclear threats. The prospect of such psychological paralysis is of deep concern to Asians."

During three days the leaders of all member-organizations and observers delivered speeches. ABN's speech caused great interest in the press. Jaroslaw Stetzko was interviewed by the "Hong Kong Times" and on the following day a large article appeared in which many passages of his speech were quoted. The press in Taiwan continually reported on the Conference and gave much attention to the freedom-struggles of the subjugated peoples. Photographs of Jaroslaw Stetzko and of the German, American, Korean and other delegates were published. Radio "Free China" broadcast an interview in English with Jaroslaw Stetzko and one in French with Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and Prof. Katona, who also speaks Chinese and Turkish. Prof. Katona is ABN's representative in Nationalist China and was one of the freedom-fighters in Budapest in 1956.

The former American Vice-President Nixon also took part in the Conference and made a keen anti-communist speech. The ABN delegation had the opportunity to have a brief discussion with him.

The main topics of the Conference were:

1) How to adopt effective measures to deter Communist aggressive expansion in Southeast Asia;

2) How to take advantage of the Moscow-Peiping rift to intensify our struggle against the international Communists;

3) How to stop the Communist trade offensive against the free world and how to carry out strictly the embargo against the Chinese Communist regime;

4) How to consolidate the free nations in Asia and Africa in order to strengthen their anti-Communist cooperation;

5) How to give concrete support to captive nations and peoples in their struggle for national independence and freedom.

The Conference passed a resolution which we are publishing below.

The ABN delegation proposed a series of resolutions, in particular those on Russian colonialism and the liberation of the subjugated peoples, the condemnation of communist murders on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the murder of Stepan Bandera, on the anti-communist world congress (this resolution was completed by ICDC), on the Berlin Wall and on the anti-communist world conference.

It is remarkable that the principles of ABN were unanimously accepted by speakers from different countries and continents — and approved by this new world conference. Many international organizations, comprising 20 member-peoples, e.g. ICDC, CIAC, etc., gave their votes for the ABN resolutions. ABN had been working with APACL for years and had suggested many observers for the Conference, such as the former Spanish Foreign Minister Artajo, the representatives of Malta, Sweden, etc.

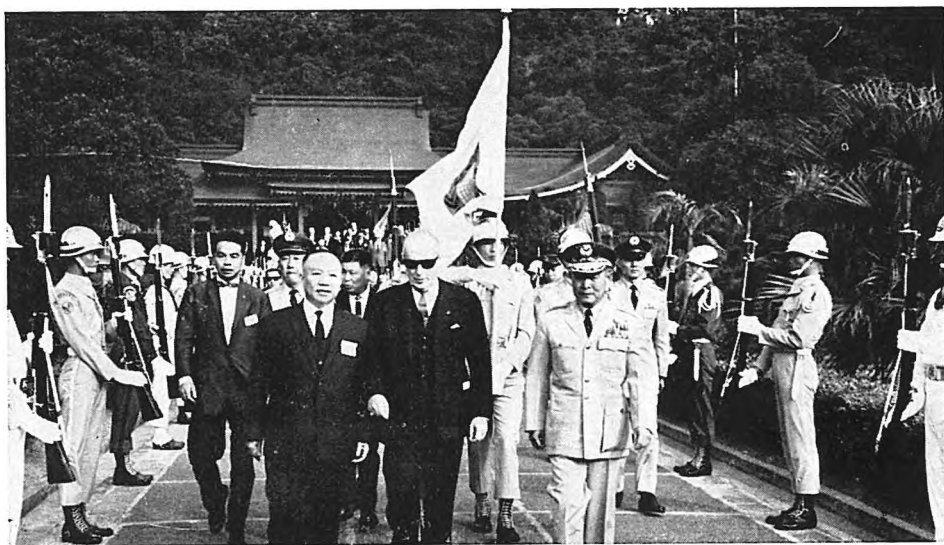
The closing speech of the conference was delivered by the Prime Minister of Nationalist China, C. K. Yen.

Together with other delegations the ABN representatives were invited to tea by President and Mrs. Chiang-kai-shek, at which the Chief of Staff was also present. The President was extremely interested in the work of ABN and the liberation struggle of our peoples. He said that he followed developments in our countries with close attention and wished us much success in our struggle.

At the end of the Conference the Parliament gave a banquet at which several hundred guests were present



Welcoming delegates in Taipei. APACL President
Ku Cheng-kang in centre.



Placing a wreath at the Memorial to the Unknown Soldier.



From the Conference Hall. Jaroslaw Stetzko in the centre, with Slawa Stetzko and Prof. L. Katona (ABN) in background. On the right: Prof. D. Rowe (USA).



From left to right: Senator F. Tevetoglu (Turkey); Dr. V. Thomavit (Thailand); Prof. M. Brelvi (Pakistan).



President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek with
Ukrainian and ABN delegates.



Prof. Watanabe, second from the left, Prof. Kitaoka, standing in the centre,
and other leading members of Free Asia Association, with Mrs. Slawa Stetzko;
Tokyo, December 3, 1964.

Warmer West
The forecast shows a warm day, with temperatures in the 40s and 50s. A cold front will move in from the west, bringing a change to the 30s and 40s. The weather everywhere, Page 2.
News Summary, Page 2.
OUR 100TH YEAR—No. 97

Omaha World-Herald

Nebraska's Own Daily Newspaper Since 1855

Sixteen News Services Cover the World

OMAHA, NEBRASKA, SATURDAY, JANUARY 16, 1965—24 PAGES

Ten CENTS
Today's Weather
CLEAR AND COLD
(Page 2)

Non-Russian Is Big Factor

Ukraine Chief Sees
3d Force in World
By Robert Phipps

The Ukrainian leader, Leonid Brezhnev, said today that the world is moving toward a new balance of power, with the United States, the Soviet Union and a third force, which he said would be composed of non-Russian peoples.



Leonid Brezhnev, Ukrainian leader, is seen here in a photograph taken during his visit to the United States.

IN 1940 EVENING NEWS

THE REGISTER

National Edition
National Edition

America's National Catholic Newspaper
(Name Registered in U.S. Patent Office)
DENVER, COLO., SUNDAY, JANUARY 17, 1965 VOL. XLI No. 3

THE DENVER POST
Saturday, Jan. 16, 1965
\$1.00

PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS
JANUARY 21, 1965
\$1.00

January 1965

Корисна акція АБН

На початку січня в Україні розпочалися акції збору грошей на допомогу українцям, які втекли з Радянської України.



Учасники акції збору грошей на допомогу українцям, які втекли з Радянської України.

PH. XVII, No. 6 (1965)

Montreal Star
The Montreal Star is a daily newspaper published in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. It is one of the largest newspapers in the province.

Ukrainian Liberation Leader to Speak

Jaroslav Stetsko, leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, will speak at a public meeting in Denver on Monday night.

Uniform youths meet

A group of youths dressed in a uniform met in a meeting to discuss the situation in Ukraine.

Ukraine Leader Due in Denver

Dr. Jaroslav Stetsko, a leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, will arrive in Denver on Monday night.

THE AUSTRIAN

14 PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS THURSDAY, JANUARY 14, 1965

JFK Slaying a Soviet Plot, Ukrainian Hero Charges

A leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Jaroslav Stetsko, charged today that the assassination of President John F. Kennedy was part of a Soviet plot to destroy the United States.



Jaroslav Stetsko, Ukrainian liberation leader, is seen here in a photograph taken during his visit to the United States.

Stetsko Urges U.S. To Pull Out of U.N.

Dr. Jaroslav Stetsko urged the United States to withdraw from the United Nations, claiming that the organization is a tool of the Soviet Union.

Ukrainians Praised For Freedom Fight

The Ukrainian liberation movement has been praised for its efforts to free Ukraine from Soviet rule.

Uniform youths meet

A group of youths dressed in a uniform met in a meeting to discuss the situation in Ukraine.

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Press reports on Jaroslav Stetsko's visit in USA and Canada in January, 1965.

in addition to all participants in the Conference. Jaroslaw Stetzko gave a speech on behalf of the delegates and observers, which was broadcast by radio and television. The Rector of the University of Rome gave the second speech.

Between the plenary sessions and the committees' work the delegates were shown the sights, museums, social arrangements, etc., of Taipei by the organizers of the Conference. The delegates visited an exhibition, a classical Chinese opera and a concert of ancient Chinese music.

After the close of the conference the

delegates visited the island of Quemoy.

After the Conference, the Chairman of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, went on to Australia and Mrs. Slawa Stetzko to Japan at the invitation of the Free Asia Association. Prof. Katona remained in Taipei as ABN representative.

All participants were seen off at the airport very cordially by prominent Chinese personalities.

Greetings were sent to the Conference by the Philippine, Vietnamese, and many other heads of state of Asian countries. Numerous ABN branches and Ukrainian organizations also sent warm messages.

SOME RESOLUTIONS OF THE 10th CONFERENCE OF APACL

Submitted by Turkey
ABN-Resolution

Unanimously adopted
by the Conference

November 27, 1964

Resolution on Soviet Russian Colonialism and the Liberation of Subjugated Peoples

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Stipulating that in an era when empires are disintegrating into national states, the Russian imperium, consisting of the so-called Soviet Union and its satellite countries, presents a conspicuous example to the contrary;

Noting that the national liberation movements in the Soviet-Russian sphere of influence constitute a decisive factor in the confrontation of Moscow, which is one of the two most important centers of world Communism;

Resolves:

To join in the spirit of the Captive Nations Week resolution of the U.S. Congress, and to express its solidarity with the freedom aspirations of the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijanian, North Caucasian, Cossackian, Turkestanian (Uzbek, Tadjik, Kasakh, Kirghiz and Turkmen peoples), Idel-Uralian, Polish, Slovakian, Czech, Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and other peoples against Communist tyranny and Russian foreign rule, and to urge re-establishment of their national independence within their ethnographic territories;

To speak out also in behalf of the liberation of the Germans, Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese, and the re-unification of countries and peoples divided by Communist aggression;

To warn the Western world against supporting Titoism, which is the Trojan horse of Communism, and to support the re-establishment of the freedom and national independence of the Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians, who are now condemned to live under Tito's regime of Communist tyranny;

To demand a just peace among all the peoples of the world, a peace which presupposes the liquidation of every form of national subjugation and the realization of indivisible freedom the world over;

To support the anti-Communist freedom movements everywhere in the world — in Africa, where the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) are fighting against Communist conspiracy, and in Cuba, where the people are fighting dictatorship and seeking the re-establishment of independence and freedom;

To urge the establishment of a common front including the peoples subjugated by both Russian and Chinese Communists, and to cooperate with ideologically and politically like-minded forces of the world against the common enemy;

To endorse mobilization of anti-Communist forces in the free countries against Russian imperialism and Communism, and to promote national liberation revolutions to overthrow the Communist tyranny without atomic war;

To back members of the U.S. Congress in their efforts to establish a standing committee to deal with the problems of peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and by Communism, and to establish a Freedom Academy to serve the cause of national liberation.

*Submitted by China
supplemented by ABN*

*Unanimously adopted
by the Conference*

November 27, 1964

Resolution on Preparation for the Convening of a World Conference in Support of Captive Nations and Peoples in Their Struggle for Freedom and Independence

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Realizing that now is the most propitious moment for the free world to destroy the Iron Curtain and rescue enslaved peoples;

Noting that peoples behind the Iron Curtain in Asia, Europe, and Cuba have organized anti-Communist revolutionary movements or fled to freedom at the risk of their lives, indicating that the desire for freedom and independence is universal;

Considering the fact that organizations to support captive nations and peoples have been established one after another in different parts of the world, and that a world conference is required to unify these activities and take positive action;

Resolves:

- (1) To sponsor the convening of a world conference in support of all captive nations and peoples under the auspices of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and all relevant international anti-Communist organizations;
- (2) To urge that as a prerequisite of such a conference each free Asian parliament follow the example of the Congress of the United States by legislating a Captive Nations Week Resolution modelled after U.S. Public Law 86-90 so as to enable all free Asian peoples to join with the people of the United States in observance of Captive Nations Week in 1965;
- (3) To call upon the Captive Nations Committee of the United States to help prepare for a conference to be held in the United States or elsewhere in the latter part of 1965 or early in 1966;

- (4) To prepare a Universal Declaration of Independence and Freedom, to draw up a program for common action against imperialism and colonialism, and to invite all supporting organizations to the world conference.
-

*Submitted by
ABN-Delegation*

*Unanimously adopted
by the Conference*

November 27, 1964

Resolution Condemning Communist Murders

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Calling attention to the fifth anniversary of the murder of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, who was put to death in West Germany by a KGB agent acting on behalf of the Soviet Russian Government and under the specific orders of Shelepin, now a member of the Presidium of the CP of the U.S.S.R.

Resolves:

To condemn such tactics of murder and assassination, brought to bear against free peoples by the agencies of Communism, and especially against the freedom fighters of subjugated nations who are living in exile;

To urge the free world to take note of these crimes of the Soviet Russian Government and other Communist regimes, and that the perpetrators are increasing their power and standing.

*Submitted by ICFDC
Dr. J. P. Laurens (Mexico)*

*Unanimously adopted
by the Conference*

*Conference Document
R-021*

November 27, 1964

Resolution Supporting Further Steps Toward the Calling of a World Anti-Communist Congress

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Recalling that a Preparatory Conference of the World Anti-Communist Conference was held in Mexico in 1953 in an attempt to find ways to convene a global conference of anti-Communist forces;

Noting that the efforts of the Steering Committee established by the Mexico City conference have not yet produced momentum sufficient to bring the world meeting into being;

Resolves:

To renew its endorsement of a world conference of anti-Communist organizations and individuals;

To urge all member-units of the League and other anti-Communist organizations and individuals to do all within their power to bring such a conference to reality.

Report on the Australian Trip Made by Jaroslav Stetzko

President of the Central Committee of ABN

After the Tenth conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), which lasted from 23rd to 30th November 1964, Jaroslav Stetzko flew to Australia. He arrived in Sydney on 3rd December and was met at the airport by about 40 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and about 50 members of ABN in Australia and New Zealand and representatives of Ukrainian organizations. The press, radio and television were also represented and immediately held a long interview with Jaroslav Stetzko. The following day the Australian newspaper "The Australian" carried a report on the arrival of Jaroslav Stetzko on the front page and Radio Sydney included this news in all its evening news-casts.

On the second day of his stay the ABN branch for Australia and New Zealand held a meeting for the President of the CC ABN with ABN members. About 300 were in the "Croatian House" to hear Jaroslav Stetzko's speech.

Dr. Untaru (Rumanian), the Chairman of the ABN branch in Australia and New Zealand, concluded his brief introduction with the words: "I defend the interests of the Ukrainian people in the firm belief and conviction that the Ukrainians in the ranks of ABN also defend the interests of my country."

The Croatian, Bugaritsch, stressed in his speech that ABN defended the rights of the Croatian people at international conferences and because of this he was obliged to represent the interests of the other subjugated peoples.

The Chairman of the "Australian Combatants", General Istek, said that the ideas of ABN corresponded to those of the "Australian Combatants" and therefore they supported ABN's struggle.

The editor of the Australian newspaper "Intelligence Review", who had come from Melbourne, said: "The danger for us lies not so much in the

strength of Moscow as in the weakness of the western world. I agree entirely with the basic ideas of Jaroslav Stetzko's speech."

These basic problems were: the situation in the homelands and the significance of the national freedom uprisings in the struggle against Bolshevism; the resolutions of the recent APACL conference, particularly that on the disintegration of the USSR and the condemnation of Bolshevik murder; the elements of American policy and the new movement in the Republican Party; the situation in Western Europe and the role of de Gaulle and the conception of victory over Russian imperialism and communism without recourse to atomic weapons.

On 10th December Jaroslav Stetzko spoke to the members of the Ukrainian community in Sydney. About 400 Ukrainians, independent of political leanings, were present at this gathering, which was extremely well organized. It was led by the Chairman of the Ukrainian delegation in ABN, Bohdan Gut. The Exarch for the Ukrainians in Australia and New Zealand, Bishop Ivan Prashko, made the following declaration after Jaroslav Stetzko's speech: "Although I am not formally a member of ABN, nevertheless I feel so in fact. For the ideas for which ABN struggles are the ideas of our people which are blessed by our Catholic Church."

At a meeting of the committee of the Ukrainian community the guest from Europe was informed of the progress and achievements of the community and was greatly impressed. The Australian newspapers reported Jaroslav Stetzko's visit in detail.

Jaroslav Stetzko also took part in youth meetings in Sydney and Melbourne and was warmly greeted by the young people. From Sydney Jaroslav Stetzko went to Melbourne, Adelaide and Canberra and made speeches in each of these towns.

ABN Press Bureau

Annual Convention of the Organization of the American Friends of ABN in New York, USA

On January 16th, 1965 there took place in the USA, in New York, Hotel Commodore the Annual Convention of the Organization of the American Friends of the ABN. It was attended by representatives of all national groups participating in the ABN.

The Convention was opened at 2 p.m. The Chairman of the Executive Board Mr. I. Bilynsky and the Secretary General Mr. Ch. Andreanszky made their reports. After a short discussion the reports were approved.

Mrs. Celevych of Chicago made report on the activity of the chapters.

The Convention granted honorable membership to Dr. Gabor de Bessenyei, former Chairman of the Presidium of the Organization in recognition of his useful activity.

Dr. N. Procyk — Ukraine, Dr. Ivan Docheff — Bulgaria, and Mr. Andreanszky — Hungary, addressed the Convention.

The Convention elected Nomination and Resolution Committees consisting of representatives of each national group.

The Chairman Mr. I. Bilynsky read the Memorandum specially prepared to be presented to President Lyndon B. Johnson. A discussion followed and remarks were made from the floor after which the Memorandum was adopted by the Convention.

After a short recess the Committees made their reports.

On behalf of the Resolution Committee Mr. Ch. Andreanszky read the prepared resolutions which were adopted by the Convention after a brief discussion.

On behalf of the Nomination Committee Mr. A. Doshen proposed and the Convention elected unanimously new Presidium and Executive Board as follows:

Presidium: President Dr. N. Procyk — Ukraine. Members: Mrs. G. Celevych — Ukraine, Mr. A. Doshen — Croatia, Dr. K. Koicheff — Bulgaria, Mr. J. Kosiak — Byelorussia.

Executive Board: Chairman Dr. Ivan Docheff — Bulgaria, Vice-Chairman Mr. M. Dankevych — Ukraine. Secretary General Mr. Ch. Andreanszky — Hungary. Treasurer Mr. Wl. Pieleasa — Byelorussia. Members: two representatives of each national group.

Mr. Bilynsky invited newly-elected Chairman Dr. Docheff to take over. Dr. Docheff thanked for the confidence in being elected and expressed the hope that with the cooperation of all the groups the Organization of the AF of the ABN will achieve greater success.

Honourable guest and main speaker at the Convention was Hon. Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Member of the Buro of the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and former Head of Ukrainian Government. Jaroslaw Stetzko came to New York specially for the Convention on his way back to Europe from his visit of the countries of the Far East, Australia and USA. Mr. Stetzko spoke on "Positive Forces in the Free World against Russian Imperialism" and was warmly applauded.

The Chairman Dr. Docheff thanked Mr. Stetzko on behalf of all, and the Convention was closed at 8 p.m.

Ukrainian Independence Day Observance in the U.S.A.

Washington, D.C. — On Monday, January 25, 1965, special prayer for the suffering and enslaved Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain were offered in the US Congress by Ukrainian clergymen. Very Rev. Jaroslav Gabro, Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Chicago led the prayers in the US Senate. Prayers in the House of Representatives were offered by Rev. Basil Diakiw, pastor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Sharon, Pennsylvania. Many Senators and Congressmen delivered addresses on behalf of Ukrainian Independence. Their speeches were later incorporated into the "Congressional Record."

Mayors of many American cities, and Governors of many States have issued special proclamations, designating the 22nd of January as "Ukrainian Day." They called upon citizens to observe the anniversary of Ukrainian independence together with their fellow Americans of Ukrainian descent.

New York, N.Y. — Following is the list of some Ukrainian communities where commemorations of the 47th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence took place:

Washington, D.C. — January 22nd, ceremony at Shevchenko Monument site. Participating: Hon. Sen. T. Dodd and Dr. L. E. Dobriansky.

New York, N.Y. — January 31st 1965, at Washington Irving High School, reading of special proclamation of the Governor and the Mayor of New York City. Guest speakers: Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk, President of the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA.

Chicago, Ill. — January 24th 1965, at Chopin High School. Sponsors: League of Americans of Ukrainian Descent and the Association of Ukrainian Organizations of the State of Illinois.

Detroit-Hamtramck — January 24th 1965. Sponsors: Metropolitan and Detroit-East Branches of the UCCA.

Jersey City, N.J. — January 24th 1965. Speakers: Mayor Thomas J. Whelan and Congressman Dominick Daniel. Mayor Whelan signed a "Ukrainian Independence Day" proclamation.

New Haven, Conn. — January 23rd 1965. Speaker: Walter Dushnyk, Editor of "Ukrainian Quarterly."

Minneapolis, Minn. — January 24th 1965. On Friday, January 22, a TV-program on University Channel featuring a panel of four persons and devoted to Ukraine's struggle for independence.

Yonkers, N.Y. — January 10th 1965. Mayor John E. Flynn signed a "Ukrainian Day" Proclamation honouring the 47th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. The Proclamation was countersigned by Rev. Basil Kols, pastor of the St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church, who was appointed "Honorary Mayor" of Yonkers for the "Ukrainian Day" ceremonies.

Trenton, N.J. — The Hon. Richard Hughes, Governor of the State of New Jersey signed a "Ukrainian Independence Day" Proclamation in the presence of delegates from the UCCA Branches in Jersey City, Newark, Elizabeth, Passaic, Trenton, New Brunswick and others.

Speech Delivered by Hon. H. Buswell Roberts City Hall, Buffalo, January 24, 1965.

In the first place, the experience of Ukraine should stand as a shining example of the proposition that man's right to freedom, being a part of his nature, is undeniable. His insistence on this right is unquenchable. Though

this may seem basic, its restatement is important. We cannot permit neutral men anywhere to abandon hope for the ultimate freedom of enslaved people, no matter how long that slavery has endured. We cannot permit indifferent

men write off the aspirations of fellow human beings, simply because those aspirations are stifled. We cannot permit sophisticated men to spread the insidious doctrine that man is completely the slave of his environment and must accept as natural any set of external circumstances as long as he is subject to them long enough. We cannot permit arrogant men to believe that they can make their will prevail, as long as they inflict it harshly enough. The total collapse of the Nazi empire proved this in recent memory. And yet the brilliant example of the Ukrainian people who have nurtured and fed the flame of liberty for centuries under abominable circumstances has proved this proposition beyond reasonable belief.

In the second place, this observance must serve as a reminder that the massive dissolution of traditional colonial empires which we have been witnessing in the last two decades is not and can never be enough, as long as there continue to exist people anywhere under imperial domination. As we watch and encourage the growth of responsible self-government in Asia and in Africa and elsewhere we must not let our attention be diverted from Eastern Europe. If we do not lend our substance, our strength and our influence to the fight of enslaved people everywhere, then we are not keeping faith with the

commitments we have made to the destiny we have recognized for ourselves.

In the third place, this observance serves to reaffirm our recognition that there is no such thing as a Soviet people — that there is no such thing as a Soviet nation. We cannot permit the notion to exist that in the Soviet Union there is a unity, a commonness, a homogeneity except in the iron and ruthless will of a band of despots.

In the fourth place this ceremony should remind us that we cannot and must not accept a status quo, simply because it exists. The stories of the Captive Nations must be repeated until, to ourselves and to our children, these countries and their struggle are as familiar and as compelling as the story of this nation itself. We must keep feeding the fire of indignation while we are trying to keep Communism from conquering Viet Nam, while we are concerned that Communism spread in South America, let us not, in Heaven's name, forget that Soviet regime has established its domination in Ukraine — and we cannot rest until this monumental injustice is cured.

We must impress our own government that there can be no basis of discussion, much less settlement with the Soviet rulers, unless first on the agenda is the right of self-determination of the Captive Nations.

**Excerpts from the Response Delivered by Dr. Nestor Procyk
Chairman, Ukrainian Congress Committee, Buffalo,
47th Anniversary Observance of Ukrainian Independence
City Hall, January 24, 1965.**

...The question of the Independence of Ukraine and of the freedom of the Ukrainian people, ceases to be the problem of the Ukrainian people alone, it begins to become, slowly but surely, a global question in the global conflict between good and evil forces. For Ukraine belongs to Western civilization!

...Ukraine is the strongest opponent of the Kremlin in the evil system of the so-called Soviet Union. The Ukrainian people are thus most feared

by the Kremlin rulers. That is why the Ukrainians, those in Ukraine and abroad, are being attacked and smeared by all means of open and hidden Russian propaganda. But that is also why the Ukrainian people should be considered and treated as the strongest and most reliable partner of the Western Democracies and the U.S. in particular, in the global and total struggle against Communism and Russian colonial imperialism.

...Ukraine — the ancient cradle of culture and civilization in Eastern Europe, with her Capital Kyiv — the centre of a genuine cultural exchange between West and East will certainly resume her role as soon as her people become again the masters of her

territory and her destiny; the destiny, of which Ukraine was proud in the past and which she shall certainly attempt to fulfill — its role — in the future to the good and benefit of the world and mankind.

UNEXPIATED CRIMES

The March 1965 number of "Der Europäische Osten" contains an article entitled "The Unexpiated Crimes" from which the following is extracted:

In Western Germany during the past twenty years there have been hundreds of public trials at which crimes committed against humanity were cleared up in the presence of representatives of the world press and those found guilty punished severely. In the Soviet Union there has not been one single trial of this kind up to the present day. While the Bonn Government did everything possible to clear up crimes committed by Germans and to punish those responsible, the Moscow Government did everything conceivable to hush up the crimes committed by their accomplices.

No one has yet claimed that the Bonn Government has been guilty of any crimes against humanity whatsoever. It is otherwise in the case of the present rulers in Moscow.

The famous Stashynsky Trial in the highest German court in Karlsruhe has shown the world that Stalin's successors too are using his methods of extermination. They differ perhaps from their master in that he used these methods also for the extermination of convinced communists whom he did not like, which they do not do. At the 20th and 22nd Soviet Party Congresses, only the thousands of communists liquidated by Stalin were mourned. Nothing was said of the millions of non-communists and anti-communists who were murdered.

The Stashynsky trial has shown what a danger the *present* rulers of the Soviet Union are to the world.

They trained Stashynsky (and many others with him) specifically for malicious assassinations abroad. "Progressive" Soviet science developed special weapons for this purpose. At his trial Stashynsky declared that he was not the first Soviet agent to murder men. The former member of the American Congress, Kersten, the authorized representative of Bandera's widow at the trial, said in court that the trial had proved that "practically every nation of the free world could be the hunting-ground of the Soviet KGB."

The attempted murder of the member of the German Embassy in Moscow, Schwirkmann, must be mentioned in this connection. He was an expert in the removal of the secret "bugging" devices installed in the German Embassy by the Soviets. Who knows how many trained Soviet agents are waiting for the order to murder politicians in Bonn, Washington and elsewhere, in the same way as Rebet, Bandera and Schwirkmann?

The whole world involved itself in the discussion over the unexpiated crimes of the Nazis against the non-Nazis. The reason for this was that there was a danger that in the Federal Republic of Germany further prosecution and punishment of the guilty ones might cease after twenty years. In the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries, however, the punishment of the crimes of communists against non-communists *has not yet even begun*. Is it not therefore time to initiate a world-wide discussion on the unexpiated crimes on the other side of the iron curtain?

Spectre of Ukrainian Nationalism

We are publishing the full text from "Dopovidi Akademiyi Nauk Ukrain'skoyi RSR", No. 10, 1964 (pages 1399-1400) dealing with "Intensification of the Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology by the Institutions of the Section of Social Science of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR." It reads:

"The Presidium of the Ukr. SSR Academy of Sciences heard and discussed a report on the problem of intensifying by the institutions of the Section of Social Sciences of the AS. Ukr. SSR the struggle against bourgeois ideology of anti-communism. The Presidium noted that recently the Social Science institutions of the Academy, implementing the resolutions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the June (1963) Plenum of the CC of the CPSU and July (1963) Plenum of the CC of the CP Ukraine on ideological problems, activated to a certain extent scientific research work directed toward exposing the erroneous concepts and theories of bourgeois ideology, and particularly the chief weapon of imperialism, anti-communism, as well as Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, revisionism, sectarianism and dogmatism. This work is being conducted on the firm ground of Marxist-Leninist methodology both in the plane of scientific exposition of the laws governing social development, indication of the advantages of the socialist way of life and socialist ideology of internationalism and friendship among nations, as well as in the plane of criticism of hostile ideology.

"Thus, in particular, the Institute of Economics published a collective work *Kritika burzhuaiznykh reformistskikh i revizionistskikh ekonomicheskikh teoryi* ("Criticism of bourgeois reformist and revisionist economic theories"), the Institute of Philosophy the work *Revizionizm — voroh kommunizmu* ("Revisionism — Enemy of Communism") and the Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography, the work *Abstraksionizm — voroh mystetstva* ("Abstractionism — Enemy of Art"), the Institute of History prepared the collective work *Protty suchasnykh zarubizhnykh fal'syfikatsiy istoriyi Ukrainy* ("Against Contemporary Foreign Falsifications of the History of Ukraine"), and others. In many other works by the institutions of social sciences of the Academy, the methodological paucity and deceitful tendentiousness of the bourgeois works is superficially exposed, along with Marxist-Leninist illustrations of world developments, and of the economic, social-political, state-legal and cultural development of the Ukrainian SSR.

"However, on the whole, the struggle against bourgeois ideology and particularly against malicious slander and falsifications, to which the arm-bearers and hirelings of imperialism resort as regards the history and modern life of the Ukrainian people, is still inadequately pursued by the institutions of social sciences of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. The exposure of the spectre of these tools of the anticommunist arsenal of our ideological enemies, such as the falsification of the history of the Ukrainian nation, of the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet State, of the social, economic and cultural development of the Ukrainian SSR, is not always objective, consistent, nor effective. The appearances of our social scientists with monographs, brochures and articles in scientific and social-political periodicals are often of a very general nature, or fortuitous and usually delayed answers to individual escapades of the bourgeois falsifiers. A majority of these works lack a deep scientific discernment and exposure of gnosiological class and historical roots of bourgeois ideology, and particularly of the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois

nationalism, which is galvanized by the world reactionary movement in a variety of ways. We have not achieved the required unity and coordination among historians, philosophers, economists, literateurs and specialists and in other social sciences — their joint efforts of systematic exposure of bourgeois ideology. The periodicals published by the institutions of social sciences do not pay sufficient attention to the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

"The conditions of acute ideological struggle in the international arena demand that our social scientists engage in active, purposeful and systematic struggle; (they demand) firm repulse of the ideological attacks of imperialism, objective and argumentative opposition to the bourgeois falsifications of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of problems and phenomena which are falsely explained by the troubadours of the enemy camp. If the activities of the social sciences institutions of the Academy do not by far cover these requirements, this is primarily the result of their insufficient mobilization and attention of their leaders and scholars to the organizational development of the appropriate themes and preparation on these themes. Our social scientists do not participate actively enough in international congresses and meetings with foreign scientists, and rarely go on scientific trips abroad.

"The Presidium of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences has called the attention of the institutions in the Section of Social Sciences of the Academy to the need of intensifying their struggle against the bourgeois ideology of anti-communism, both in the plane of a methodological and more thorough research of the laws governing world social development of the world revolutionary process in our time, as well as in the plane of militant-attacking exposure of the methodological paucity and deceitful tendentiousness of concepts and theories used by the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents, particularly the latter-day Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists abroad. In this connection, our immediate task is to illustrate:

- a) "the flowering of the Ukrainian SSR as a state and a component and indivisible part of the USSR, and full manifestation of the sovereign will of the Ukrainian people;
- b) "the life-giving friendship and cooperation of the Soviet peoples in the economic development of Soviet Ukraine and Ukraine's achievements in the building of socialism and communism and growing prosperity of its people;
- c) "the laws governing the development of Ukrainian Soviet culture, its mutual closeness, mutual influence and mutual enrichment with the cultures of the Russian and all other nations of the Soviet Union;
- d) "the participation of the Ukrainian SSR in the solution of international problems of the present day, in economic and cultural relations of the Soviet Union with foreign countries, and particularly with the new countries of the East in preserving the Leninist principles of Soviet foreign policy in international relations;
- e) "the all-conquering power of Marxism-Leninism and the internal and external policy of the Communist Party and Soviet State based thereon.

"The directors and scientific councils of the institutions of social sciences of the Academy and the scholarly councils on problems of the social sciences have been requested to ensure the development of social science themes with obligatory utilization of modern progressive foreign literature and required critical analysis of bourgeois literature on these subjects.

"The editorial offices of *The Ukrainian Historical Journal*, *Soviet Literary Studies*, *Folk Creativeness and Ethnography*, *The Economy of Soviet Ukraine*, and *Soviet Law* have been charged by the UkSSR Academy of Sciences with the duty of broadening and introducing into publication of critical and bibliographic reviews of foreign publications, and particularly those which in any manner deal with the present development and history of the Ukrainian SSR."

Obituaries

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874—1965)

On January 24, Sir Winston Spencer Churchill passed away to take up his place in history, which he created and of which he is a part. Everywhere men and women bow their heads and pay him tribute.

What was this Winston Churchill, who so greatly moves the world in his passing? He was a soldier, a reporter, an inventor, an artist, a diplomat, an historian, an author, a politician, a leader and a man of many facets. But first of all, he was a great statesman, an architect of an Era, which we may call the Churchillian Era, which flourished between the Victorian Era and whatever Era is to come after.

Churchill was one of the greatest British Prime Ministers and leader of free men of his time. He was the wilful espouser of lost causes. When he became Prime Minister in England's most critical hour, he kept the light of hope. "In the dark days and darker nights when England stood alone", said late President John F. Kennedy in April 1963, "and most men save Englishmen despaired of England's life, he mobilized the English language and sent it into battle." And indeed this great Briton, who "has nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat", who inspired British people and free men to fight against tyranny, who loved the people and stood with them in the rubble of the bombs, indeed saved England and free world from a catastrophe.

Sir Winston was a man of amazing vitality and infinite variety. He had a keen analytic brain, the vision of a prophet, the soul of a poet, the heart of an artist, the perception of a historian and the perspective of a great leader and statesman. To the molding of his life, his work, and his character, there went many — many hours of concentrated thoughts, unremitting labour and the stern discipline of the commandments of duty. Upon his lips were the grace and power of glowing words, and in his heart the wisdom that comes from calm and lonely reflection. He was that almost unique combination of an artist and a man of action. He always was an optimist, who used to say: "...there is only one answer to defeat and that is victory." One even may say — he was forever defeated and yet never defeated. He was the living embodiment of the best in the world's free peoples, their united face against tyranny, and for that we honour and respect him, and he will live through history.

Now Churchill belongs to ages and the annals of mankind throughout the centuries to come will tell the story of what he said and did, and what he wrote and was.

There has been more written about Churchill of his own lifetime, more stories told about him (not always true) than about any other man during the years of his life on earth.

In the years to come many biographers will write the story of his life, and many historians will do research about his deeds and writings. Poets will praise him in their poems. He certainly will be hero of many novels and dramas.

There is sorrow everywhere when a great man has departed, and we Ukrainians also join the people of the world in mourning the loss of the greatest statesman of our time, but also joy and gratitude that he lived in our days. There is, mercifully, no tragedy in his passing; no assassin's bullet took his life as it did the life of Kennedy or Gandhi. Death did not overtake him while the burdens of his unended pilgrimage were still on his shoulders as they were on those of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Winston Churchill is gone, but his tomb will be his pulpit and no voice ever speaks with greater power and clarity to the generations of men than when it is the echo of sublimity from the grave of one who lived and died in the service of human freedom.

Dr. Theodore Mackiw

University of Akron, U.S.A.

PROFESSOR KOSTIANTYN KONONENKO

Professor Kostiantyn Kononenko has died in Bunton, New Jersey, at the age of 75. He was a well-known economist and agriculturist.

Professor Kononenko was born in Eastern Ukraine in 1889. He was a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the Ukrainian Government, from 1917 to 1918. He was the director of the Kharkiv Union of Agrarian Cooperatives from 1919 to 1920 and head of a department of the People's Commissariat for Agricultural Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR from 1921 to 1924. He was the director of the Ukrainian National Agricultural Bank and a member of the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1943 he emigrated to the West and had lived in the USA since 1951. The deceased was a member of the executive of the Foreign Units of the OUN, the OUN Political Council and Chief Editor of the official organ of the OUN Foreign Units, **Samo-stiynyk**. Since 1949 he emerged particularly as the author of a whole series of works dealing with economic subjects, such as **The Bolshevik Agrarian Policy and Ukraine and Russia, The history of economic relations between Ukraine and Russia from 1654 to 1917**, the latter written in English.

Shortly before his death the deceased had prepared another large work on the economic exploitation of Ukraine by Russia.

In Professor Kononenko Ukraine has lost a distinguished scholar and a great expert in economic relations between Ukraine and the Russian colonialists.

COLONEL ANDRIY MELNYK

Colonel Andriy Melnyk, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Solidarists), and an outstanding Ukrainian military and political leader, died in Cologne, Germany, on November 1, 1964, at the age of 74 after a long and protracted illness. Together with the late Col. Evhen Konovalets, Col. Melnyk was a founder of the Corps of Sichovi Striltsi, one of the best organized and best disciplined units of the Ukrainian national army during the rebirth of the Ukrainian independent state in Kyïv. In 1938, after the tragic assassination of Col. E. Konovalets in Rotterdam, Holland, Col. A. Melnyk became head of the PUN (leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). After the main body of the OUN passed under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in 1940, Col. Andriy Melnyk continued to lead the remaining group which was also known as "solidarists."

Col. Melnyk was born on December 19, 1890 in the village of Volya Yakubova near Drohobych, Western Ukraine, to the family of a Ukrainian farmer. He terminated his secondary education in Stryi in 1910 and went to Vienna, obtaining a degree in forestry at the Vienna University. In 1914, upon the outbreak of the First World War, Col. Melnyk volunteered to serve with the newly-established legion of the Ukrainian Sichovi Striltsi (Ukrainian Sich Riflemen), formed in Western Ukraine by the Austrian government to fight against the Russians. He took part in many campaigns and had attained the rank of captain when he was taken prisoner by the Russian armies. In 1917, when the Russian revolution broke out and Ukrainians proclaimed their own free government in Kyïv, Col. Melnyk escaped from a Russian POW camp and joined the Ukrainian armed forces, becoming one of the leading personalities in the formation of the Corps of the Sichovi Striltsi (a different body from the Austrian-sponsored legion). Subsequently, he became chief of staff of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic. With the collapse of the Ukrainian independent state, Col. Melnyk went abroad as an official of the government of the Ukrainian National Republic. In 1922 he returned to Western Ukraine, which was then conquered by the Polish troops. Later he became commander of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), after the departure of Col. E. Konovalets from Western Ukraine. In 1924 he was arrested by the Polish regime and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his activities in the Ukrainian underground organization. In 1928 he served as a forestry supervisor in the archiepiscopal estates of the late Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky.

In 1938, upon the assassination of Col. Konovalets in Rotterdam (Holland) by a time bomb planted in a parcel by a Soviet agent, Col. Melnyk became the head of the Organization of Ukrainian

Nationalists (OUN). In 1940, a split occurred in the ranks of the OUN; the main body of OUN members elected Stepan Bandera their leader. Col. Melnyk continued to lead the minority group. This split exists to this day.

During World War II Col. Melnyk was arrested by the Gestapo along with other Ukrainian nationalist leaders, notably Stepan Bandera and Jaroslaw Stetzko, and kept in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

He is survived by his wife, Sophie Melnyk-Fedak.

Book Review

Dr. Theofil I. Kis: LES PAYS DE L'EUROPE DE L'EST, LEURS RAPPORTS ET LE PROBLEME DE LEUR INTEGRATION DANS L'ORBITE DE L'URSS, Editions Nauwelaerts, Louvain et Beatrice Nauwelaerts, Paris, 1964, pp. 271.

Many books, mostly with distorted or incomplete information, have been published on the so-called Soviet Union. They gave preference to social and economic affairs, without going into the national problem of the races oppressed by violence in the USSR, who are by no means inferior to the ruling Russian race with regard to their culture and who will never submit to Russianization. The young Ukrainian scholar Dr. Theophil I. Kis has recently published a book in Louvain which deserves attention. He has assiduously gathered material to support his analysis of political relations in East and Central Europe which increases the scientific value of this book.

The author's remarks on the national (not merely social) nature of the Russian Revolution of 1917 are particularly interesting. It follows logically from this that the social and national slogans were but a gross fraud of the red Russians to mislead the non-Russian races, who were awakening to a national political life, to lull them to sleep and at a given moment to attack them with newly organized Russian troops.

The author does not engage in propaganda. He simply lets the political events speak for themselves and has succeeded by means of carefully gathered, indisputable evidence.

In his long study the author attempts to describe "the fundamental characteristics which illustrate the individual relations between the countries of Eastern Europe and the process of the unification of these regions since 1917..." (p. 9). Dr. Kis tries to prove that the present Soviet Russian policy really continues the Tsarist colonialist policy with the unification and assimilation of the non-Russian races and the deception practised on the nations of the free world which have not yet been brought within the political sphere of influence of the Kremlin and strives to extend that policy even further.

The new political unit of 1923 which resulted from the social and national Revolution of 1917 was defined by the Russian initiators as a "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics." Is it really a union and a voluntary one? It was to become the "first socialist multi-racial state in the world" as it extended over two continents and covered 22,400,000 square kilometers. The 229 million people who inhabit this artificially cemented empire are split by differences as regards race, characteristics, language, political tradition and aspirations, religion and morals.

The author believes that it is not difficult to refute all the false doctrines and misrepresentations of the com-

munist theoreticians who try to prove the cohesion and alleged harmony of the peoples cooped-up in the Soviet Russian slave-state (p. 241).

For "all their individual or collective attitudes can quite easily be brought into agreement with the dialectical content and spirit of the communist doctrine of which they are so proud."

Seen as a whole, the work appears to be a brilliant handbook which should contribute to the better understanding of the present political relationships between the states in the area controlled by the red Russians.

V. Kapotivsky

Wladimir J. Kaye (Kysilewskyj): EARLY UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS IN CANADA, 1895-1900, Dr. Josef Oleskow's role in the settlement of the Canadian Northwest. Foreword by George W. Simpson, Toronto, Published for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation by the University of Toronto Press, 1964, 420 pp. illus., (The Canadian Centennial Series no. 1).

This well documented history of the beginning of the Ukrainian settlement in Canada, written in English, is by the well-known scholar Dr. Wladimir J. Kaye (Kysilewskyj), former director of the Ukrainian Press Bureau and member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, Associate Professor in the University of Ottawa and an authority on problems of immigration.

It is divided into two parts. The first deals with Dr. Josef Oleskow's visit to Canada in 1895 and the second with Ukrainian settlements in Western Canada especially in Stuartburn, Dauphin, Strathclair, Shoal Lake, Yorkton, Edna Star and Rostorn Regions.

The author gives the explanation for the ethnic names used for the Ukrainians in the last century: Austrians, Galicians, Bukovinians, Ruthenians or Routhaunians, Gallatians and Little Russians. Even many of the so-called Polish immigrants spoke Ukrainian and were therefore Ukrainians. This confusion made the exact number of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada and USA difficult to establish. But now, thanks to Dr. Kysilewskyj's work, it should be much easier to obtain accurate information.

Dr. Josef Oleskow was interested in leading a mass emigration of West Ukrainian farmers to Canada instead of to Brazil where they had started to go in the early 1880's. In 1895 the cultural society *Prosvita* published his booklet on Canada and its facilities for emigrants from Galicia, Bukovina

and Carpatho-Ukraine. Accompanied by a peasant farmer from the district of Kolomyia, Ivan Dorundiak, he arrived on 12th August 1895 and went to Montreal, Ottawa, where he had conferences with the Superintendent of Immigration, visited some Canadian farms and gave an interview to the Ottawa Journal. He also visited some Ukrainian families living in Winnipeg. Returning home with a good impression he wrote a booklet in Ukrainian on emigration published in Lviv in 1895. His request for financial help from the Canadian government for the first immigrants was granted and he is regarded as the first organizer of Ukrainian mass emigration to Canada. On p. 60-62 there is a list of the names of the first settlers from Western Ukraine-Galicia, who arrived at Quebec on 1st May 1896. The following year the second group, numbering 435, arrived at Halifax. Thousands more followed, especially during the years 1898-1900, despite Austrian and Polish opposition. His influence on the Canadian government made Ukrainian immigration a point of national policy and today Ukrainians are one of the leading national groups in Canada.

A comprehensive bibliography adds to the scholarly worth of the book.

We only wish we had a similar work for the USA where in January 1965 we celebrated the 100 years' anniversary of the arrival of the Ukrainian Cossack, the Rev. Ahapij Honcharenko, the first Ukrainian immigrant known in the USA.

A. Sokolyszyn

John P. Pauls: PUSHKIN'S "POLTAVA", with a foreword by Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, published by Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Studies, English Section, Vol. I (12), New York—Winnipeg—Paris 1962, 180 pp., 6 portraits.

Dr. Pauls' book consists of four independent studies, namely: "Lights and Shadows of Poltava", a sort of introduction and summary of his work; *Voynarovsky and Poltava*, a comparison between Ryleyev and Pushkin; "Historicity of Pushkin's *Poltava*", analyzing the poem from an historical point of view and trying to justify the political alliance of the Ukrainian Hetman with Charles XII against Peter I; and finally Pushkin's dedication of *Poltava* and Princess Mariya Volkonskaya, which attempts to clarify Pushkin's mysterious dedication of his poem.

The work of Dr. Pauls, author of several publications on dialectical and ethnographical problems of Polissia and the etymology of Slavic names, is the result of intensive reading and research. The bibliography is impressive as are the careful numerous footnotes. Although the author does not use new sources, and as a matter of fact mentions that "...being outside of Russia, we are not in a position to locate all the literature on the subject", he nevertheless analyses Pushkin's *Poltava* from an historical point of view rather well.

Dr. Pauls' stated objective is to present *sine ira et studio* that Pushkin, glorifying the Tsar's victory at Poltava (July 7, 1709), discredited Mazepa, who, as a leader of Ukraine, preferred to accept Swedish protection rather than see his country invaded and plundered by the Swedes. Of course Pushkin, as a Russian poet, interpreted this as treason and condemned Mazepa.

The crux of the controversy is as much Mazepa's character (selfishness, desire of power, revenge, machiavellism, etc.), as it is the question of whether or not he, as Chief-Executive of the Ukrainian autonomous state under the Russian protectorate (a condition which at that time was quite common, e.g. Holland under Spain 1559-1648, Prussia under Poland 1525-1660, Estonia and Livonia under Sweden 1648-1721), should have

remained faithful to the Tsar and see the Ukraine invaded and plundered by the Swedes, since the Tsar refused to defend it, (see: S. M. Solovyev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremyen*, Vol. XV, p. 1494), or to accept Swedish protection. The subject of this controversy became a source of inspiration for several poets and writers. Byron, for instance, became interested in Mazepa's romantic love affair, which he (Mazepa) told to Charles XII during their flight after the battle at Poltava (Mazepa's love affair had been described earlier by Voltaire in his well known *Histoire de Charles XII*, Rouen 1731). Ten years later (1828), Pushkin in his poem *Poltava* described not only the battle itself, so important for the further historical development of Russia, but also devoted his attention to Mazepa, emphasizing negative aspects of his character.

The author writes well, expressing his thoughts in plain language and clear sentences. Although the facts presented in this book are numerous, nevertheless the analysis and interpretation of Pushkin's *Poltava* as a poem leave much to be desired.

Dr. Pauls writes that "the fate of Motrya Kochubey remained indeed unknown", stating that Bantysh-Kamensky and M. Arkas were wrong when they said that she married Col. Chuykevych, (p. 82). Yet the fact is that Motrya indeed married Col. Chuykevych. (See: *Semeynaya khronika. Zapiski Arkadiya Vasilyevicha Kochubeya, 1790-1873*, St. Petersburg 1890, p. 1.)

Another point should be corrected. Dr. Pauls states "that Hetman Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa, when signing his name in Latin characters always used double "p"..." (p. 79), and consequently the author spells his name with double "p." This detail, however, does not correspond to the historical fact as can be shown from Mazepa's available letters bearing his own signature, written with only one "p."

A Russian historian, Nicholas Ustrialov, published in his history of the reign of Peter I Mazepa's three letters, where his name is spelled with one "p", (see: N. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikogo*, (1858-1863), Vol. II, pp. 479-482). There are fifty-four letters of Mazepa to the Polish voyevoda, Adam Sieniawski (1704-1708), bearing Mazepa's own signature, written with one "p" (see: P. Chrušč, "Neznani, originalni lysty Hetmana Ivana Mazepy do Adama Sieniavskoho, vojevody belzkoho z 1704-1708 rr.", *Analecta Ordinis St. Basilii Magni* (1935), Vol. VI, pp. 219-223). There are also three other letters of Mazepa to the Polish voyevoda, Zygmunt Galecki, which were captured by the Swedes in 1704, and are preserved in *Svenska Rikssarkivet* in Stockholm under *Cosacica I*, and were published by a Swedish historian, Alfred Jensen, first at *Svenska Autografsaellkapets Tidskrift* (1881), and then in *Zapysky Naukovoho To-varystva im. Shevchenka* under the title "Try lysty Mazepy", (Vol. 92, pp. 239-241). In all three letters Mazepa signed his name with only one "p." Another evidence that Mazepa used only one "p" in spelling his name, is

his letter, undated but presumably written in 1707, to Emperor Joseph I. This letter is located in *Reichsadel-akten* of the Austrian State Archives in Vienna, and a photostatic copy of it was published by the author of this review in a Ukrainian weekly *Shlyakh peremohy*, Munich, August 28, 1960, No. 35.

The full text was published in my article "Mazepas Fuerstentitel im Lichte seines Briefes an Kaiser Josef I.", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (1962), Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 350-356, where Mazepa's signature appears with one "p." Finally, James Millington had already noted this detail, when translating into English Melchior de Vogüé's *Mazeppa: La légende et l'histoire* (1881), stating that "...I follow the orthography of Western Europe, but the name ought strictly to be written with one "p", Mazepa,..." *The True Story of Mazepa*, London 1884, pp. 95-96.

In conclusion it can be said that Dr. Pauls' book should be judged for what it is — an attempt to give a keen insight into Pushkin's *Poltava* from an historical point of view.

Theodore Mackiw
University of Akron

Herbert Hirschfeld: THE RADIANT CROSS, a novel of the Ukrainian struggle for Peace and Freedom, William-Frederick Press, New York, 1963, \$3.00. (£1.1.0d).

This book, which will be of undoubted interest to all those interested in Ukrainian matters, covers a span of almost 100 years, from the time of the immigration of the Lemke family from Germany to Volynia, in 1862, until the closing days of the Second World War. The principal part of the book deals with the life of Ludwig, grandson of the original immigrant Lemke, who becomes a Lutheran pastor, ministering to the spiritual needs of the little Lutheran colony, and of his Ukrainian friend, Ivan, whose father's dream it is that he should become an Orthodox priest. During the lives of these two, there occur two world wars and their aftermath of foreign occupation.

Unfortunately, the book, in its relatively narrow compass, tries to include almost too wide a span, with the inevitable result that the necessary explanations of the political situation cannot be inserted as discreetly or subtly as one might wish, thus laying the work open to the charge of being a "propaganda" novel. This charge is not strictly true, since the explanations are necessary to the unfolding of the plot; one merely wishes that they had been handled a little more subtly.

The style is patchy — at the best there is a crispness reminiscent of the Sagas:

"It will never come to pass that their language will be used in their

churches. Russian is the language for all the people."

"Nobody knows all that may happen", muttered Lemke, "None of us are able to predict the future."

At the worst there is a tendency to oversentimentalize, notably in the death scenes, (One must remember however, that the author is writing primarily for the American readers, who may have different tastes in these matters).

There are one or two odd errors: "The broad Dnieper roars and foams" (instead of *groans*) and certain proper names are given in the Russian form: "Olga", "Lvov" rather than the Ukrainian "Olha", "Lviv", but in general, the Ukrainian background is correctly and convincingly handled.

The characterization is well-done, and the author avoids the trap of making his Ukrainians a nation of political historians, whose uncanny knowledge of the past must be divinely given (since there were no schools to teach it!). On the contrary, even in their devotion to their country they commit naïve yet touching blunders, as in the train where: "A peasant couple sat facing the two boys. The husband looking happily through the car window, said to his wife, "Look, what a beautiful building! This mighty station-hall was

built by our great Ukrainian Prince Volodymyr." There was pride in his voice.

She nodded, "Yes, I see. He was a great ruler."

The two boys smiled. The Ukrainian Prince Volodymyr had lived and reigned over one thousand years ago! The railroad from Vienna to L'vov and the station building were built by the Austrian Kaiser (sic!) Franz Joseph I fifty years before."

This book should, undoubtedly, find a place on the shelves of all Ukrainophiles. Yet, although it may be read merely as an account of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation, its purpose is more than mere reportage. Throughout the book there shines the symbolism of the golden Cross that once saved a village from the Tartars, and in the end is taken from the ruined church and planted on the fallen hero's grave. It is a novel of the problem of good and evil, and of man's aspiration to rise above earthly misery, symbolized by the mountain of Ararat, where the Ark once rested, whither, at the end, Lemke Silverhead departs to find "friendliness and peace" and where he will pray without ceasing for those who "go about their task of liberation."

V. R.

"THE PRINCESS ELNASARI", by Alizia Rachel Hadar in collaboration with Aubrey Kaufman, Heidemann, London, 1963, 217 pp.

Written in a simple style, this book deals with the fate of the Jews, chiefly of one Jewish family, during the second World War. The devotion and sacrifice of a young Ukrainian girl from Western Ukraine, who was known by the nickname Risha, for the Jewish cause and for the poor hunted Jews is beautifully portrayed. After the capture of Warsaw by the Germans Risha took advantage of the fact that she was Ukrainian and stole bread from the Germans to bring it to the starving Jewish families.

The book describes anti-Jewish atrocities which took place in Lviv

when the Nazis plundered the town. The author confirms that, especially in the confusion which followed the entry of the German military units one could not tell exactly what nationality the mob was who committed these atrocities.

The book finally praises good Ukrainians, especially the angelic nature of the young Ukrainian girl Risha who worked ceaselessly for the rescue of the Jews until she fell.

In spite of a few errors, certainly not committed maliciously, the book is valuable.

W. Ivonivsky

Ukrainian Chronicle

THE CHURCH

18 Ukrainian Bishops, Archbishops and Metropolitans took part in the third session of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Only Bishop Prashko from Australia was unable to attend this session.

*

Archbishop Metropolitan Josyp Slipyj, who was made cardinal recently, took part in the Eucharistic World Congress in Bombay in the company of Pope Paul VI.

*

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA held its General Assembly in Chester on 23-25th October, 1964. Archbishop Mstyslav was again elected chairman of the Consistorium.

*

The Church Assembly of the Ukrainian Evangelical Union of North America was held in two sessions — on 27th June in Washington and 5th and 6th September in Toronto.

*

At the beginning of 1964 the Soviet Russian magazine "Ogoniok" published an attack on Ukrainian Catholic priests and nuns and accused them of having founded and run an illegal monastery and introduced crosses, rosary beads, prayer books and other religious objects into Ukraine. But the article mentions no word of what has happened to the accused persons. Only now it has been indirectly learnt that about 20 were prosecuted and sentenced. Among them were two priests, Ivan Soltys and Roman Hotra, and four nuns, Mother Superior, Maria Stepanivna, Xenia Sokil, Irena Borodievych and Tekla Rudko.

*

A new home for the Ukrainian Studite Order was opened in August, 1964, on the Alban Lake. The first mass was celebrated by Archbishop (now Cardinal) Josyp Slipyj.

A Ukrainian Studite convent has been opened in Krefeld-Traar, Germany.

*

The Ukrainian exile press reported in July that the occupation regime in Ukraine had had all church bells confiscated.

*

The pastor for many years of the Ukrainian Catholic community in Vienna, Dr. Kupranetz, was appointed editor of the magazine "Svitlo" which is published by the Basilian Fathers in Toronto.

*

A school for church cantors of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was opened in Winnipeg, Canada, in 1964. The Rev. P. Romanyshyn was appointed Rector.

*

A memorial plaque was unveiled in Gardenton, Manitoba, on the site where the first Ukrainian Orthodox church was built in 1897.

*

A new church, dedicated to Mary, the Mother of God, was consecrated in Toronto, Canada, on 17th October, 1964.

*

The Conference of the Consistorium of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada was held in Winnipeg on 26th to 28th December. It was attended by Metropolitan Ilarion, Archbishops Andriy (Edmonton) and Mykhail (Toronto), Bishop Borys and lay members of the Consistorium.

*

The new bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Mykhailo Rusnak was installed in Toronto on 2nd January 1965.

*

LIBERATION FIGHT, POLITICS

It has recently been learnt that the KGB troops started a large-scale action in the forests of Volynia and

in the Carpathian Mountains last year against the Resistance fighters, who are still carrying on their struggle from various bases. However, nothing has been said about the results of this action.

*

Another slanderous propaganda book against the UPA, this time in form of a novel, has been published in Kyiv. A review was printed in the fifth number of "Dnipro".

*

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which met in Kyiv on 8th January, removed O. Ivashchenko, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee, from office without giving reasons.

*

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America published a communiqué in October 1964 re-affirming that the so-called Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is to be considered not as a Ukrainian government but as a Russian colonial authority.

*

The Ukrainian Soviet Republic is now represented by a new diplomat at the United Nations. S. Shevchenko has been appointed in place of L. Kyzya.

*

Professor Bohdan Hnatiuk was elected President of the Organization for the State Rebirth of Ukraine. The Congress of the Organization took place in September.

OBITUARY

The following prominent Ukrainians died during the latter part of the last year: — Prof. Hryhoriy Denysenko in the USA on 8th August; the leading journalist Mykhaylo Pohoretskyj in Canada on 26th July; the conductor Nestor Horodovenko in Montreal on 21st August; the publicist and writer Vasyl Kosarenko-Kosarevych on 6th October in New York; Prof. Ivan Verbiannyj, pedagogue and lexicographer, in New Ark on 5th October; the writer Fedir Odrach in Toronto on 7th October; the scholar, publicist and politician Prof. Kost Kononenko on 28th August in the

USA; the journalist Henadij Kotorovych in Munich on 28th November; and the sculptor Serhiy Lytvynenko in New York on 28th November.

SOCIAL LIFE

The 8th Congress of the Committee of the Ukrainians of Canada will be held in 1965. This committee will celebrate its 25th anniversary at the same time.

*

A meeting of the Ukrainians in the German Federal Republic, organized by the Central Representation of the Ukrainian community, which celebrates its 20th anniversary this year, will be held in Munich on 31st July and 1st August 1965.

*

The "Prosvita" Society of Argentina celebrated its 40th anniversary in December 1964. This society has gained a wide reputation as a cultural and social organization and in recognition of its work the City Council of Buenos Aires has named the street in which the Prosvita has its head-quarters, "Ukraina."

*

The third Congress of the Ukrainian Cultural Society in Poland was held in Warsaw. 79 delegates from various communities took part.

VETERANS

The Congress of the Brotherhood of the former members of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army, which fought in the second world war on the East Front against Russia, was held in Detroit on 5th September 1964. Representatives attended from the USA, Canada, Germany, Argentina and Australia.

*

There are six purely Ukrainian groups in the Canadian Army.

The Annual Congress of the Ukrainian Veterans in the USA was held in Philadelphia on 10th October. Dr. V. Galan was elected President.

*

The Ukrainian Veteran organizations of Canada have formed a federation which includes the Union of Ukrainian-Canadian Veterans. Its first congress will take place in Winnipeg on 1st July, 1965.

PROMINENT AMERICANS HONOURED BY UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY

Buffalo, N.Y. — The local Ukrainian community honoured three local leaders for their public service, reported "The Buffalo Evening News" on Monday, December 28, 1964.

Mayor Kowal, Congressman Thaddeus J. Dulski and Common Council President Chester A. Gorski, were thanked for "their sincerity, understanding and warm feeling" for the people of Ukrainian origin in the area.

Each received a framed oil painting of the Ukrainian patriot and poet laureate, Taras Shevchenko.

Dr. Nestor Procyk, chairman, was the principal speaker. These were his citations of the three men:

Mayor Kowal — "He was among the first ones who, as a public official, had the understanding of our needs and desires and who first gave us a helping hand. To him we are indebted, that we are in possession of this home which represents to us, the headquarters of the Ukrainian mainstream in Buffalo... He has never refused to give us support in any endeavour of ours that required his attention, help or approval."

Mr. Gorski — "Another staunch supporter of the cause of captive nations, and among them, the Ukrainian nation... It was, thanks to Mr. Gorski's understanding that our request for permission to observe the anniversary of Ukrainian independence in the Common Council Chambers in January 1960 and since then has been granted... He promised to introduce the bill to the Common Council that one of the main streets in the waterfront area to be developed be named Taras Shevchenko Boulevard."

Rep. Dulski — "A firm opponent of communism, and a staunch defender and promoter of freedom to all nations and men in the world. He has been in the forefront in our successful endeavours regarding the erection of the T. Shevchenko monument which now stands in our nation's congress-man."

The paintings are oil reproductions of Shevchenko's self portrait. The poet-patriot died in 1861.

Other guests included Police Commissioner Schneider, School Superintendent Joseph Manch and 39th District Rep.-elect Richard D. McCarthy. About 300 persons attended the dinner in the Ukrainian Home Dnipro, 562 Genesee Str. on Sunday, December 27, 1964.

The whole speech of Dr. Nestor Procyk was reprinted in the Congressional Record of January 13th 1965, introduced by the speech of Hon. Dulski before the House of Representatives.

SCIENCE

The fifth scientific conference of the Ukrainian doctors was held in New York on 20th June 1964.

*

The Union of Ukrainian Engineers held its 16th Annual Conference in Philadelphia on 20th June 1964. The Union has a membership of 89.

*

The Czechoslovakian Scientific Society of America dealt with Ukrainian problems at various sittings of its conference held on 11th to 13th September. The Czech poet and lecturer in the University of Montreal, Dr. Jifi Skvor, presided over a literary meeting at which the Slovakian translations of Shevchenko's works were read aloud.

*

Ukrainian professors have been given Chairs in Ukrainian Literature, History of Eastern Europe and Russian Literature in the Department of Slav Languages of the University of Buenos Aires.

*

The Ukrainian-American Society of University Professors, which has 97 members, re-elected Dr. M. Pap President.

*

A Ukrainian Catholic university is now being set up in Rome. The work is being supervised by the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Kyiv and Lviv, Josyp Slipyj.

*

The Ukrainian Board of Education of the Ukrainian Congress Committee

has now 40 Saturday-schools with about 8,000 pupils, of whom 2,000 are in New York.

*

The Ukrainian Theological Society in Rome is going to resume publication of the journal "Bohosloviya" which used to appear in Lviv before the war.

*

The world-famous Ukrainian atom physicist, Kapitsa, was awarded a gold medal by the Danish Government.

*

The Ukrainian State Universities are being more strongly Russianized by Moscow. Every year new subjects are being introduced in Russian.

*

The Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kiev has instituted four prizes for scientific research. They are for Metallurgy, Mathematics, Chemistry and Mechanics of Chemical Reaction.

*

According to Soviet statistics there are now 15 medical universities and 10 medical institutes in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. 83,106 doctors and 274,000 medical personnel work in Ukraine.

*

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in the USA held its annual conference on 27th to 29th November, 1964. Prof. Dr. R. Smal-Stocki was re-elected president. The society has over 100 full members.

*

A Ukrainian, Professor P. Smolsky, has recently been appointed Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry in the University of Toronto.

*

Prof. Yuriy Polansky, who lives in Argentina, has received a decoration coupled with a grant of 100,000 pesos from the Argentinian Government in recognition of his work in the field of scientific research.

In November the Ukrainian scholars together with the American-Bulgarian League commemorated the Ukrainian scholar Yuriy Venelyn (1808-1839) who worked particularly for the Bulgarian people.

A history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is being prepared for publication by the Ukrainian Institute in Argentina.

*

The Ukrainian scientist Dr. T. Dobzhansky was awarded a decoration by the American Government for his research in the field of genetics. There were only eleven such awards in 1964.

*

The Shevchenko Scientific Society held a scientific conference with the Society of Ukrainian Jurists in New York on 21st November.

CULTURE

In November and December Moscow sent a large delegation of artists, writers and functionaries to the USA and Canada to visit various Ukrainian institutions and to form so-called cultural contacts between the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the Ukrainians in the free world. Almost the entire Ukrainian community saw through these attempts and flatly boycotted the delegation.

*

The communist newspaper "Nashe Zhyttia", published in Canada in Ukrainian, reported on 9th December that the arsonist in the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The previous Soviet report said that he was of unsound mind. Yet, even in the USSR insane persons are put in a mental hospital, not in prison.

*

Amateur groups for the preservation of folk-lore have been particularly active during the past few years in Ukraine. A big competition took place in Kyiv in December in which groups from 25 regions of Ukraine participated.

*

Volodymyr Sosiura, one of the most popular Ukrainian poets, died in Kyiv on 8th January at the age of 67.

*

The Kyiv State Ballet sent a group of 46 artistes to the World ballet festival in Paris.

A session of the Ukrainian Central Representation was held in Buenos Aires on 16th August 1964. The project to erect a memorial to Taras Shevchenko was one of the items discussed.

*

The Ukrainians in Canada celebrated the 150th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko in Winnipeg from 5th to 7th September 1964. Mass was said in all churches in Winnipeg. A large demonstration was held at the Shevchenko Memorial in front of the Manitoba Parliament.

*

The oldest Ukrainian union in Argentina "Prosvita" celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1964. The Union has forty of its own cultural houses, libraries; it maintains schools and organizes numerous meetings.

*

A memorial was dedicated to the Ukrainians who died in the camp for refugees and evacuees in the Austrian town of Gmünd in the First World War, on 26th September 1964. It was erected by the Ukrainians in Austria and the free world with the help of the Austrian authorities and designed by the Ukrainian sculptor Gregor Kruk.

*

Mykola Mandziuk, a member of the Canadian Parliament, made a speech in memory of Taras Shevchenko in the Canadian Parliament on 31st August 1964.

*

The Ukrainian Dance Group "Orlyk" of Manchester, England, has been in existence for fifteen years and during this time has had 274 members. Today it has over 250 dancers. It has given 569 performances, of which 285 were at international festivals and 51 on television. The total audience at their performances has reached 2,398,700.

*

The choir "Homin" which was founded in Manchester the same year as the dance group won first prize at the international festival at Llangollen, Wales, in July, 1964.

*

A memorial tablet to the poet Taras Shevchenko was dedicated on 7th June in the public park in the town of Passaic, N.J., USA.

The Union of Ukrainian Artists elected Petro Andrusiv chairman at their conference on 15th August 1964.

*

The English language magazine "Ukrainian Quarterly", published in New York, celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1964.

*

An anthology of Ukrainian prose in English was published by "Svoboda" Publishers in New York in October 1964.

*

A street in a Sydney suburb which was built by a Ukrainian building firm has been named after Stepan Bandera.

*

Ukrainian artists gave the following exhibitions in 1964: Zoya Lisovska in August/September in Toronto and September/November in New York; Yakiv Hnizdovskyj in May in New York; Arkadia Olanska-Petryshyn in September in New York; W. Kuryluk in October in Toronto; the School of L. Kuzma in June in New York; the School of J. Butsmaniuk in June in Edmonton; L. Hutsaliuk in October in New York; S. Lytvynenko (posthumous) in October in New York; Maria Harasovska-Dyachyshyn in March in New York; the School of the Union of Ukrainian Youth in August in Ellenville.

*

A new Ukrainian magazine with the name "Slovo na storozhi" has been founded in Winnipeg, Canada, to foster the Ukrainian language.

*

A Ukrainian film, "Portrait of a Surgeon", won Second Prize at the 7th International Documentary Film Festival in Leipzig. It was made in the Kyiv studios.

*

150 delegations from various parts of the USA took part in the Congress of the Ukrainian teachers of the Ukrainian Secondary Schools which was held in Chicago on 5th and 6th December 1964.

*

A monumental work on Ukrainian folk-lore is now being published in the USA. The first of ten planned volumes, a collection of Ukrainian

folk-songs gathered by Prof. Z. Lepko, appeared in December 1964.

*

A museum of the history of the University of Lviv (Lvov) has been opened in Lviv. In 1964, the university, which is one of the oldest in Ukraine, had 14 faculties with 63 chairs and 11,000 students.

*

The Kyiv newspaper "Literaturna Ukraïna" reported on 1st January that the Bolsheviks are trying to replace Ukrainian Christmas carols with new communist songs.

*

The Kyiv press reported in July 1964 that the Ukrainian humorist Ivan Kovtun, who was murdered by the Bolsheviks, has been rehabilitated.

*

The Ukrainian writer and poet, Maksym Rylskyj, died in Kyiv on 27th July, 1964.

*

The première of the new Ukrainian opera by Mayboroda "Taras Shevchenko" took place in Kyiv on 28th May, 1964.

*

In 1964 further Ukrainian works by Lesya Ukraïnka were translated into Bulgarian and Rumanian. A few dozen works by various other Ukrainian writers and poets were translated into German and published in Bulgaria and the Russian-occupied Zone of Germany.

*

According to the Ukrainian Soviet press, many towns and villages in Ukraine have had Shevchenko memorials erected at their own cost.

*

An exhibition of ikons from the Lemky Region, the westernmost province of Ukraine was held in Cracow in September 1964.

*

YOUTH

The Kyiv periodical "Molodyy Komunist" contained an article in July 1964 in which it was confirmed that the opposition of the Ukrainian youth in Odessa, Kyiv, and Lviv appeared to be organized. Anti-Soviet propaganda is being increasingly spread by amateur radios.

The Ukrainian Youth Association of Great Britain held two summer-camps in 1964, attended by over 500 boys and girls.

*

15 students studied Ukrainian in the summer semester at the University of Vienna in 1964. The head of the Ukrainian Department is Professor Dr. S. Bodnarchuk.

*

The President of ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, visited the summer-camp of the Ukrainian Youth Association of America on 25th July 1964 and was guest of the Student Club named after Mikhnovsky.

*

The Youth Organization of the Ukrainian National Union of Canada celebrated its 30th anniversary on 11th October 1964.

*

The Association of Ukrainian Youth is building a "House of Ukrainian Youth" in Sydney.

*

1322 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association of America from 22 states of the USA and over 10,000 guests took part in a youth rally in Ellenville, N.Y. The President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Jaroslaw Stetzko was invited as guest-speaker.

*

The 6th rally of the Ukrainian Boy Scouts was held in East Chatham, USA in September. 350 attended from the USA and Canada.

*

The Ukrainian youth organization "Plast" (Boy Scouts) held a conference in New York on 28th and 29th November 1964, in which the representatives of 26 groups with a total membership of 3,700 took part.

*

"The college students of Kharkiv have a fine tradition: every year during the summer vacation they travel to the state farm in the virgin lands. The students are just now getting ready to go to the virgin lands. A group has already been formed, consisting of 1,300 students of the University, the Polytechnical and Aviation Institutes, and other higher educational institutions. A

majority have mastered the building profession. The students will take with them more than 50,000 volumes of literature as a gift to the state farm workers. The books have been collected by the students among the residents of Kharkiv." (*Radyanska Osvita*, 1 July 1964, p. 2)

*

The Association of Ukrainian Students named after Mikhnovsky has ten branches in the USA and two in Canada. The Union is a decidedly ideological association and is concerned with the problems of Ukrainian nationalism.

*

Over 800 young people spent their holidays in the summer-camp of the Ukrainian Youth Association of America at Ellenville, in 1964.

*

Over 800 members of Ukrainian Youth Association and several thousand guests took part in a large Youth Rally at Acton, Canada, on 5th and 6th September 1964.

*

ECONOMICS

A new coalfield is being exploited in the Dnepropetrovsk region of Southern Ukraine. 34 mines are to be opened and are to produce 40 million tons per year.

*

Ukraine is the largest producer of sugar in the Soviet Union. In 1964, 184 refineries were in operation in the Ukrainian Republic.

*

Ukrainian statisticians have calculated that Ukraine produces in 24 hours: 527,000 tons of coal, 18,000 tons of oil, 5,000 tons of pig-iron, 250,000 tons of steel, 46 million cub. mtrs. of natural gas, 330 tractors, 136 cars and 34 combine harvesters.

*

The capital of the Insurance Union, the Federation of the Ukrainian Catholics' "Provydinnia" in the USA, has passed the five million dollars mark. The Union has its groups in all Ukrainian communities in the USA.

*

The 7th annual conference of the Society of Ukrainian Trading Companies was held in New York on 28th November. Ivan Sheparovych was elected president.

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The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



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THE UKRAINIAN CARDINALS

On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Apostle of the Union, Metropolitan Andreas Count Sheptytsky (1865), Pope Paul VI appointed the Primate of Ukraine, Major Archbishop Joseph Slipyj as cardinal. Joseph Slipyj is the fourth Ukrainian Church ruler to wear the purple of a cardinal.

The first was the "Metropolitan of Kyïv and all Ruś", **Isidor**. He took part in the Council of Ferrara-Florence with the Metropolitan of Constantinople in 1439 and turned to the Union. Afterwards Pope Eugene VI (1431-47) appointed Isidor papal legate to Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, and Muscovy. The Florentine Union was warmly received in Kyïv, but definitely rejected in Moscow. Isidor was even taken prisoner by the Moscow great prince, but was able to escape to Rome. In 1441 Pope Eugene VI appointed him cardinal, and on 12th December 1452 he announced the Union in the "Hagia Sophia" Church in Constantinople. When Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453, Isidor found himself in prison, but he managed to escape and shortly afterwards to reach Rome, where he died in 1463.

It was another 400 years before the second Ukrainian church lord, Mykhailo Levytsky, Metropolitan of Lviv, (1816-68) was elevated to the rank of cardinal. Levytsky was born in Lanchyn in 1774, studied at the Barbareum College in Vienna, and later became Professor of the General Seminary in Lviv. At that time great changes took place in the West of Ukraine (Galicia) which became a part of the Hapsburg Empire in 1772. The Ukrainian language was introduced into schools and young Ukrainian teachers began to be trained. Metropolitan Levytsky managed to start a theological faculty at the newly founded University of Lviv with the vernacular as the language of instruction (1817) and this lasted until 1918. Young Ukrainian theologians united with the aim of making Ukrainian literature

available to the general public. This circle named itself "Ruška trytisia." It was headed by the young and gifted poet Markian Shashkevych. In 1837 the members of the "Ruška trytisia" brought out their first work, "Rusalka Dnistrovaya", which made a considerable impression on the Ukrainian youth and opened a new epoch of Ukrainian cultural life. At this time the Ukrainian clergy was playing a leading rôle. It was concerned not only in cultural work but in politics as well. At the suggestion of Bishop Yakhymovych there was founded in 1848 the "Central Council of the Ruthenians", which demanded the partition of Galicia into a Polish region, with Cracow as capital, and a Ukrainian region with Lviv as capital. Metropolitan Levytsky was not only a champion of Ukrainian cultural interests; he fought for the spreading of the Union. When the tsarist government liquidated the Union by force in Lithuania, Byelorussia, and Volhynia, he turned on the Russian measures very sharply in a pastoral letter, and condemned this step as "inimical to Rome." This pastoral letter appeared in Latin in 1840, in Polish in 1841, and in Ukrainian in 1850. The Austrian government had such high respect for Metropolitan Levytsky that they appointed him Primate of Galicia and awarded him the Order of Leopold. The violent struggle for religious and national self-determination which had to be fought in the 1850's formed a close bond between the Church and the people. That regard for the Uniate Ukrainian Church had increased within the world Catholic Church was expressed outwardly and with great clarity by the appointment of Metropolitan Levytsky as cardinal in 1856. The cardinal died two years later on 14th January 1858 at Univ.

The third Ukrainian to wear the purple of a cardinal was the Metropolitan of Galicia and Archbishop of Lviv, Sylvester Sembratovych. He was born in 1836 in Doshnytsi, in West Ukraine, and studied in Lviv, Vienna, and Rome, where he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Theology in 1861. In 1863 he was appointed prefect of the priests' seminary in Lviv, and in 1869 Professor of Dogmatics at Lviv University. In 1878 he was made a bishop by the Holy See, and in 1882 Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) appointed him Metropolitan of Galicia. Metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych was a strong personality, one of the nationally conscious clergy and a supporter of the dioceses. In 1885 he filled the see of Stanislav, which had been vacant since 1850, by appointing as bishop Dr. Julian Pelesh, the famous church historian, Pastor of St. Barbara's and rector of the Greek Catholic Central Seminar in Vienna. This diocese was confirmed on the Pope's side by the bull **De universa Dominica grege** on 26th March 1885, and on the side of the state by the Austrian Emperor's decision on the 26th December 1885. Metropolitan Sembratovych also called the first provincial synod in Lviv in order to deal with the most important questions about the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia.

UKRAINIAN CARDINALS



MYKHAILO CARDINAL LEVYTSKY
(1774—1858)



SYLVESTER CARDINAL SEMBRATOVYCH
(1836—1898)



JOSEPH CARDINAL SLIPYJ



ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL IN LVIV.
Residence of Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitans
of Lviv and Halych and Cardinals.

The Metropolitan's services were so great that the Emperor Francis Joseph in 1893 awarded him the Iron Order, 1st Class with ribbon, and in 1894 Pope Leo XIII made him a Roman Duke and assistant to the Apostolic See. A year later Metropolitan Sembratovych was appointed cardinal of the Roman Curia. He died in Lviv in 1898.

Joseph Slipyj now wears the purple as the fourth Ukrainian cardinal.

He was born on 17th February 1892. He attended the high school in Ternopil and finished his theological studies in Innsbruck. From 1921 he was professor at the priests' seminary in Lviv, from 1926 its Rector, and from 1929 Rector of the Theological Academy. On 21st December 1939 he was consecrated bishop with rights of succession. After the death of the Metropolitan Andreas Count Sheptytsky in 1944 he became Metropolitan of Lviv. On 11th April 1945 he was imprisoned together with other Ukrainian bishops by the NKVD, and spent 18 years in a concentration camp in Siberia. On 10th February 1963 he was released from imprisonment and made the journey to Rome, where he now lives.

Underground Struggle of the Christian Church

We have already more than once referred to the Catholic underground church in Ukraine and other countries and now we should like to mention the Orthodox underground church. Of all the countries in the Soviet Union, the church in Ukraine is the most persecuted. But of all Communist governed states the most cruel religious persecution is carried out in the Soviet Union.

When Mao Tse-tung spoke about the contradictions in the countries ruled by the Communists on 27th February 1952, he said: "We cannot use any administrative means to exterminate religion. We cannot force men not to believe; we cannot force men to renounce idealism, just as we cannot force them to accept Marxism."

The Russians, however, try to destroy the church with all the means at their disposal. For example, how cruelly the monks of the famous monastery of Pochayiv Lavra were persecuted is well-known. Yet everything has been without success. Even the Bolsheviks admit that some students who are experts in the ideology of Marxism and Leninism and pass their examinations in this field with distinction secretly believe in God and go to church. Such students are called false and two-faced. Thus there is a spiritual underground. The meaning and purpose of life are discussed and in the centre of the struggle stands man as a divine being who tries to become conscious of his rights and duties.

Even the programme of the Communist Party ends with the slogan "All for the sake of man, all for the good of man" which is incidentally in principle a denial of historical materialism.

Behind the Iron Curtain a great revolution of the spirit is in progress, and the spark has ignited and burst into flame particularly among the young people, which is revealed quite clearly in the national, religious and cultural fields.

The Ukrainians reject the Russian Orthodox Kremlin Church, which is under the rule of the Patriarch Alexey. Apart from the Ukrainian Catholic Church they have their Orthodox Autocephalous underground church. The religious underground is united with the national-political and sometimes even with the revolutionary political underground. It often happens that various believers and pilgrims organise the defence of the churches and monasteries, for example, by writing letters abroad, etc.

In January 1959, the Ukrainian monk Leontiy Hrytsan was arrested and probably tortured to death by the KGB in Volhynia. Now he is regarded by the population of Volhynia as a martyr. The local newspaper in the district of Ternopil alleged that the monks in the Pochayiv Monastery (Lavra) help the priests of the illegal Orthodox Church.

From 1960 onwards the press in the Crimea, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and the Mari Republic, where many deported Ukrainians live, has been reporting the activity of the illegal Orthodox Church. For example, a secret church was discovered near Temir Tau in Kazakhstan. The newspaper *Krymskaya Pravda* reported that the members of the Orthodox underground Church refused to follow or recognize the Soviet authorities. In 1960, the same paper reported, a priest in Yalta, Mytrofan Koval, organized a secret community to send priests into all parts of Ukraine. The same year, the leader of the Orthodox community in Tekeli, Kazakhstan, S. M. Kasheryn, aged 34, a secret priest, was sentenced because in his sermons directed at the youth he had incited a boycott of the political measures made by the Communist rulers. About the same time, illegal orthodox churches, priests and practising believers were discovered in Kazakhstan where mostly Ukrainians have been deported in recent years to cultivate the virgin lands. The Bolsheviks were able to uncover underground churches in other parts of the Soviet Union, particularly in Asia, where Ukrainians had been deported to. During a trial in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan, it was revealed that the members of this church are mostly students and schoolchildren.

From these facts it is clear that the Orthodox Ukrainians do not recognize the official church of the patriarch Alexey controlled by Moscow.

The newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* of 18th July, 1964, reported that the Christian faith is deeply implanted among the soldiers of

Ukrainian nationality. A soldier, Mykola Davydenko, who was born in Krasnodar region, was an ardent Christian, who observed his religious duties even during his military service. He had gained the confidence of the Assistant-Commander of his unit so he was put in charge of the supply-stores. He sent food to his relatives and friends in Georgia for which he was sentenced by a court. In this way he was helping those in need. This shows that the faithful try to help one another. It is interesting that his superiors supported him during the trial. After Davydenko had been accused of shutting himself up in the stores to read the Bible, one of his superiors said that there was nothing wrong in that. "If Davydenko believes in God, at least he drinks no vodka and it's all the same to me whether somebody believes in God or the devil." This proves that the believers are more highly valued morally than the others and that the non-believers are sympathetic towards the believers.

In general, many young people are very interested in religious and philosophical problems. They long to read Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, H. Skovoroda, François Mauriac, Hegel, etc. in the unfalsified original. "It is very tempting to have an immortal soul", says one of them. They love Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms.

It is interesting that today the unbelievers try to protect the believers from the persecutions of the government. It is said that the believers are the really valuable men because they know what they are living for. The young people, particularly, reject materialism and try to solve all the mysteries of life. They say that man should not be afraid of the mysteries that surround him.

The great Ukrainian philosopher, H. Skovoroda (1722-1794), enjoys great popularity among the younger generation. *Literaturna Ukraïna* published an article on 4th December 1962, by the young Ukrainian critic, Ivan Dziuba. He stated that Skovoroda, Christian philosopher of Ukraine, is regarded as a philosophical model; for example some talented poets of the younger generation, are very enthusiastic about him. The revolt of ideas has arrived!

People long for the old Ukrainian traditional classical church music. The Ukrainians' sense of justice and their moral consciousness is making itself felt. The cultural revolution has begun. The precondition for an ideological revolution is a moral revolution. The young people are horrified at the hypocrisy of the system and disapprove of it much more than the majority of the older generation. First, war is declared against the lies and then people fight for the true ideas against the false ones. First, a moral revolt, then an ideological one which relates to the eternal values of man, the universe, existence, to the search for the transcendental, for the eternal value of the nation. Those who have recognized the truth of a belief in God in the Christian sense and have rediscovered their own nation no longer have any doubts and are on the right path.

NEW EXPERIMENTS IN AGRICULTURE

In 1953 — that is, immediately after Stalin's death — the Soviet Russian regime started on a series of reforms which were intended finally to put an end to the continual agricultural crisis. Khrushchov's term of government was especially rich in such reforms. With the quack dilettantism which is peculiar to him he developed more and more fresh and grandiose plans, ordered new Party bureaucrats to the provinces, made continual alterations to cultivation procedures, extended the **kolkhozy** and **sovkhozy**, and boasted all the time that he would catch up and even overtake America. During this period the agricultural crisis grew more and more serious, so that — instead of "catching up and overtaking" America — the Russian potentates were compelled to purchase wheat and other products from the USA and Canada.

These "glorious" feats of heroism in the agricultural sector have recently been broached — without Khrushchov's name being mentioned — by the new Party leaders, who, in harmony with the principles of "Soviet democracy", were not so long ago applauding and giving their unanimous approval to these very deeds. The last plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which took place in Moscow in the second half of March, 1965, was devoted exclusively to "efforts towards further agricultural development."

The speech delivered by L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at this plenary session, conjures up a horrifying picture of the conditions in which agriculture is entangled and of how it is being swallowed up by the quagmire of the Soviet system. As Brezhnev underlined, agricultural production was supposed to rise by 70% during the period of the Seven-year Plan (1959-65), whereas in reality the rise in the last six years has not even been as much as 10%, in spite of the fact that the area sown in the "virgin lands" has been considerably extended. Overall production before 1959 had been increasing at an average rate of 7.6% per year; in the course of the last five years this rate has diminished to a mere 1.9%. There has been an especially grave decrease in the production of wheat and rye.

As Brezhnev also admitted, the same can be said of the rate of increase in the field of cattle farming. In the last five years the number of cattle has dropped by half, and the milk yield on the collective farms has receded to 370 kilogrammes (815 lbs) per cow. A similar situation prevails as regards other livestock, but Brezhnev only gave general indications about this. For example, in twenty-five regions of the north, west, and central USSR and in the Volga-Vyatka economic area the number of sheep has dropped from 16.7 million in 1928 to 7.5 million in 1964 — i.e. by more than half.

It goes without saying that the picture in the sheep-breeding sector and in the sector of cattle breeding in general is the same in the other lands of the Soviet Russian Empire. And one may most certainly assume that the principal culprit in this desolate situation is collectivization. There is unquestionable proof that it is not Khrushchov who has occasioned this crisis, as Brezhnev's admissions imply, but that the system of collective agriculture is itself at fault.

The same naturally applies to other branches of agriculture. In his report Brezhnev took great pains to demonstrate that the main cause of this crisis is to be sought in irresponsible economic experimentation over the last five years. He even went as far as to assert that the reforms executed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in 1953 brought positive results, and that everything improved, only to suffer serious reverses in the last few years — in other words, through Khrushchov's "reforms."

Brezhnev made a close examination of Khrushchov's reforms and a detailed analysis of his mistakes. According to him, Khrushchov's blunders were:

- 1) Infringement of the principle of material interest;
- 2) Ill-considered reorganization which brought with it general nervousness and haste;
- 3) The issuing of orders from the top, with its pernicious effects on the Communist economic system;
- 4) Infringement of the principles of "collective farm democracy";
- 5) The distribution of investments in a manner contrary to all rules, so that the agricultural investments have dropped in the last few years from 11.3% (1954-58) to 7.5% (1959-65);
- 6) Infringement of the basic rules of agricultural technology ("stereotyped instructions used to be issued from the centre regarding land cultivation and the structure of areas sown");
- 7) Low State purchase prices, which did not cover costs of agricultural production, so that collective farming was unremunerative;
- 8) Excessive concentration and enlargement of these farms;
- 9) The lack of agricultural machinery.

All these reproofs are undoubtedly correct. But to them should be added the top-heavy and unwieldy machinery of provincial bureaucracy and the system of sheer slavery, which Brezhnev, however, refrained from mentioning in his report. In any case, it is questionable whether these conditions are characteristic only of the last few years; for these deficiencies have been present since the start of collectivization, and have remained important right up to the present. The only effective reform would be to hand over the land to the peasants, who would exploit it as their private property. Even a half-reform would require that the land be handed over to and administered by peasants' councils or similar organizations independent of the state.

The Soviet Russian regime would, however, never permit such a half-reform, let alone a thorough reform, for this would herald the beginning of its destruction. Consequently the introduction of the new "reforms", which were of course approved by the plenary session on Brezhnev's recommendation, will not sow the seeds of positive results. These reforms are along approximately the following lines: the basic purchase prices of wheat, rye, and other varieties of corn are to be raised by 50-100%, which will help agriculture to make a profit; planned purchases are to be decreased by 25%, in which respect the scheme is to remain sacrosanct and unalterable throughout the period of the new Five-year Plan; at the same time, the prices of "free sale" to the state are to be raised by 50%; grain production is to be extended; and agricultural production is to be guaranteed by technical means.

Similar reforms are also planned in the realm of cattle-breeding. Purchase prices are to be increased by 25-70%, supply costs are to be diminished, etc.

In connection with these measures the plenary session decided to increase capital investments in agriculture. During the new Five-year Plan the Party wants to pour 71,000 million roubles into agriculture, of which 41,000 million roubles are intended for construction of production facilities and the supply of machinery.

We look upon this as nothing other than a half-reform which does not touch the main evil which drove agriculture to bankruptcy. The basis of agriculture, its organizational and economic spine, continues to exist. In practice, the countryman, the owner of the soil, will continue to play the role of a step-son and characterless tool in the hands of provincial bureaucracy. The decisive role will still fall to the Party agent, to the occupants of the leading posts on collective farms. It is well known what terrible results this system has produced up to now. In practice there is in the villages a sort of village "aristocracy" with a whole army of workers at its command, while the gigantic mass of peasants is robbed of any influence on agriculture

at all and is utterly dependent on the bureaucracy and its abettors. Up to now, this bureaucracy has only bothered about its own interests and the fulfilment of set plans. It can hardly be expected that this situation will undergo any change. It is indeed possible that the raising of purchase prices will bring improvements in the agricultural budget, but whether the material conditions of the peasants, which are closely connected with the profitability of collective agriculture, will feel any improvement, is certainly doubtful. The whole system has foundered not only on the chaos produced by bureaucracy and lack of planning, but on the indifferent attitude of the peasants, who provide forced labour in collective agriculture. Since Stalin's death this indifference has grown more and more, so that it has assumed the form of massive silent sabotage. For this reason it is doubtful whether reforms in this sector can bring any improvements.

It has been clearly observed that the peasant much prefers to work the meagre piece of ground allotted to him. It was for this reason that Khrushchov aspired to do away with the peasants' private property, and thereby to awaken the peasants' interest in collective agriculture. The alleviations guaranteed by the new "collective leadership" in the private property sector will do far more to arouse the peasants' interest. All the same, the new reforms will do nothing to break the peasants' scepticism and distrust of the collective agricultural system.

Furthermore we cannot expect that the new capital investments will bring any positive results. In fact they will mean about as much as throwing money out of the window. The decisive factor is not technology or the drawing-up of plans, but the individual. As long as the Soviet system deprives the peasants of the freedom to make their own decisions about agriculture, neither plans nor capital will bear any fruit.

The Achilles' heel of the agricultural system was and is collectivization, employed as a means of national oppression; for collectivization is in this respect a typically Russian phenomenon. The only solution to the agricultural crisis is the dissolution of the imperium and the construction of a new order of their own by the various peoples on the ruins of the imperium — a free, democratic order which would completely destroy the system of collective agriculture.

SITUATION IN UKRAINE

INFORMATION FROM UKRAINE IN 1964

Hundreds of Thousands of People Die

During the 20 years that have elapsed since the end of the war and a new occupation of Ukraine by Russia, the turning wheels of life have crushed countless human beings. Some have received ten, fifteen, even twenty-five years imprisonment, while others have breathed their last in the cruel satraps' grip. Many others have taken their own lives or perished in mysterious accidents. People who happened to be brutally seized by the executioner could not expect a scrap of mercy from him, for he was merciless. He has not spared anything or anyone. Hundreds of thousands have been forced to experience a bitter lot amidst the unfriendly Tundra, or on the notorious Solovetski Islands, or in Kazakhstan. They have been scattered in inaccessible regions, stretching from Karelia to Sakhalin, from the deserts of Kazakhstan to the Arctic. The few who are lucky enough to return home are often living evidence of the sinister conditions of Soviet Russian reality.

According to our informant in Soviet Ukraine, Ukrainian farmers have been settled in various parts of the so-called Soviet Union. Many villages (mentioned by name and described in detail) have died out almost completely, and only crows flew amongst the burnt out ruins.

This was in the terrible period of the re-establishment of the Soviet power, a period when a single look was enough to seal a man's fate for ever. For seven years, from 1944 to 1950, the savage beast of prey dwelt in Ukraine, and for seven years men had to feed him with their own blood and fatten him with their own bodies. So it was in that terrible time.

Those who believe that things are now much different are making great mistake. For when in earlier times a man was sentenced to 15 or 20 years imprisonment, this sentence was reduced to about 10 or 15 years; when in earlier times a man was sentenced for belonging to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), today he is sentenced for "currency smuggling" or "avoidance of work." And not long ago a militiaman was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment because he returned home from Lviv with a broadsheet in his pocket. Even today, for hoisting the blue and yellow Ukrainian flag on Mount Makivka (in the Carpathians), which is well known from the First World War and

from the fighting there between the Russians and voluntary Ukrainian units, a man can receive a sentence of no less than 10 years imprisonment.

As it was formerly, so it is today — "Silence is kept in every tongue", as the greatest of Ukrainian poets, Shevchenko, wrote in his time about Tsarist reality. For speaking the truth inevitably seams having one's name black-listed. Democratic liberties are known only to the Soviet constitution, not at all in daily life in the USSR.

"The Right to Work"

The Constitution of the USSR guarantees every man the right to work. But this work isn't available to everybody. Generally speaking it is the "elder brother", as the Russians like to call themselves, who gets most of it. In every city there are hundreds, even thousands, seeking work, whatever it may be, to earn at least 50 or 60 Roubles for their starving children. There is enough work to be had, to be sure, but only in remote Karelia, in Siberia, or in Kazakhstan. Of course there is work in Ukrainian Lviv, too, but only for those who have an entry in their passports allowing them to live in Lviv and have a dwelling at their disposal there; everyone else is quite simply excluded from working in the West Ukrainian capital. This bleak situation applies to all Ukrainian cities! The only way out is to travel east, for only there is work to be had. Strangely enough, however, all those in search of work make for the Ukrainian west!

But even those who have a right to work are by no means delighted with this right. It should be well known that the USSR is a Workers' State. Of course, the worker is supposed to run state institutions and enjoy all the benefits to which "the most democratic" constitution entitles him. It is well known that everything is open to him — but is this really true? Of course not! There is scarcely any difference between the life of the Soviet worker and that of the peasant. And what is more, the position of the worker has become considerably worse in recent times.

Continually Gnawing Hunger

Whilst formerly it was possible to buy bread without waiting in a queue or after a brief wait, today there is a wait of 2 or 3 hours before a small loaf of bread can be bought. White bread does not exist on the free market: it is sold only to those who have stomach diseases and can produce the necessary doctor's certificate. The way in which the population is kept supplied with foodstuffs beggars all description.

Today there is in every factory, institution and organization a list of the workers together with the names of the individual grocery

shops from which they may make purchases. Grocery rations are handed over only to the worker himself; neither the children nor the non-working members of the family can get a thing! Each month the worker receives 1 to 2 kg ($2\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.) of farinaceous products (macaroni, etc.), half a kilogramme (just over 1 lb.) of pearl barley or maize, and margarine. Butter and cooking fat are completely unobtainable. The bread on sale is as black as the black Ukrainian soil. The main ingredients of the bread destined for sale to the Soviet worker are: rye, barley, or oat flour, beans, peas, and maize, not to speak of sheer rubbish. The water content of the bread has been increased by up to 5 per cent above normal.

In spite of all these admixtures the price of bread has not dropped one kopeck. The population was being comforted with the statement that flour and barley products would be on sale again during the early months of the current year, but this is doubtful.

When one considers this situation, one cannot but wonder at the fact that such a country, which once fed the whole of Europe, nowadays — 20 years after the Second World War — must receive corn loans from Rumania, which is so small in comparison with the USSR. Each year the inhabitants of Ukraine who have relatives in Poland receive parcels of flour from them in large quantities. Only with great difficulty do sugar, men's socks, and razor-blades find their way into the shops. These articles are imported from India, England and elsewhere and sold with a "surcharge": a packet which costs 50 kopecks is sold together with a 30 kopecks lottery ticket, so that the buyer has to part with 80 kopecks altogether.*

Of course all this is only a temporary state of affairs, as the press and the radio never tire of stating. Well, let us hope, although the ironic whisper has it that "Blessed are those who have hope." How far propaganda and agitation have got can be seen from the fact that tickets for the film "The Russian Miracle" are sold in masses on orders from above in factories, institutions and organizations. This film provides two things for the price of one: first three-and-half hours' compulsory visit to the cinema, then two hours in the bread queue. This is, by the way, the third episode of the "Russian Miracle", our informant added ironically.

Wages and Prices

The worker's wages have not improved in the slightest, the buying power of the rouble has grown smaller, prices are rising at an unequalled rate. But the people take everything they catch sight of without attempting to bargain. Last year 1 kg ($2\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.) of meat cost 2 roubles 50 kopecks, a litre of milk (one-and-three-quarter pints)

*) *Editor's note.* According to the official rate of exchange one rouble equals about eight British shillings or US \$1.10. One kopeck is worth about a penny, or slightly more than a US cent.

40 kopecks, 1 kg of animal fat 3 r. 50 k. to 4 roubles. A not uninteresting sidelight is that sausage, which about a year ago cost 2 r. 10 k. (state fixed price) now costs 2 r. 90 k. One kilogramme of rice cost 2 r. 20 k. The definition of the quality of products changes very frequently: often products of lower quality are sold as better-quality products, which leads to considerable rises in price.

The prices of some other articles may also be of interest for purposes of comparison: men's shoes cost from 18 to 25 roubles; a man's shirt (supposedly of silk) costs 11 roubles; a yard of dress material costs from 28 to 50 roubles. It is noticeable that the prices of imported goods are definitely higher than of home-produced goods. Communal services payments amount to about 15 to 25 per cent to the worker's monthly income.

The workers' wages are uncommonly low: a mine-worker gets from 40 to 50 roubles per month, the building worker 50 to 70 roubles, a highly skilled assembly worker 80 to 120 roubles, a driver 55 to 90 roubles and a hall-porter 36 roubles.

Agriculture

As should be generally known, agriculture in the USSR has never reached a particularly high level. However, since the decision to "catch up with America" in the per capita production of meat and milk, and even to "overtake" her, agricultural production has dropped even lower. The 1964 harvest came nowhere near justifying the hopes which had been placed in it and the awaited thousands of millions of pounds of grain did not materialize. The virgin lands have perhaps returned as much as was sown, but not more. Ukraine has become a maize and bean plantation. Admittedly trouble has been taken in view of the bad agricultural situation to turn Rumania into an extra agricultural territory of the USSR. We know only too well how Rumania has reacted to this recently — by revolting against the overlordship of the Russians in Rumania. The Rumanians have given everyone a surprise by showing what tough types they are. They prefer to cut their bread with their own knives and to eat their maize porridge with their own spoons, or, to put it another way, they have decided to build up not only their agriculture but their industry too. The Rumanians really deserve praise for their steadfastness.

Even today those peasants who keep cows are forced to hand over to the State 200 or 250 litres (44 or 55 gallons) of milk per cow. The State pays them 12 kopecks per litre, while one has to part with 24 kopecks for a litre in the shops. So the State touches the peasants for double the price. However this exploitation of the poverty-stricken peasants by the State is unending. Last autumn everyone who has a tiny piece of land (near his house) in his possession is forced to sell about two hundredweight of potatoes per one fortieth

part of an acre to the State each autumn. On my journey through the Carpathians I observed the life of the Ukrainian mountain people, the Hutsuly and the Boiky, very closely. As long as the peasants were in a position to keep two cows, sheep or pigs the general wretchedness was not so immediately obvious. The cows, sheep and pigs were sold in order to have money to buy clothes and agricultural necessities and to pay insurance and taxes. But now there remains nothing to offer for sale, as the peasants are only allowed to keep one cow. On the land work the so-called foresters, who have afforested all the mountain and hay meadows and the grazing pastures. In recently planted areas the grass grows three feet high; it may not be mown, as one has to pay a fine of three roubles for every young sapling which is damaged or mown down, even if by accident. The peasants are also forbidden to graze their cows in these areas. It often happens that alders grow right up to the windows, but they cannot be cleared away, as the penalty for doing this is a 30 rouble fine. There are piles of wood rotting away in the forests, brought down in violent thunderstorms, but woe is to him who dares to touch this wood! If 18 roubles have been paid for a cubic metre (about 32 cubic feet) of this wood, and a lorry has been ordered to take it away, then this wretched firewood can be taken home without any risk. The wages of the peasants who are employed in the forests are incredibly low: from 3 to 17 roubles per month. The inhabitants of the Carpathian Lowlands collect berries (mainly raspberries), mushrooms and nuts right through the summer, in order to dispose of them in the West Ukrainian towns of Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv), Stryy and Lviv and to be able to buy salt, oil and clothing with the proceeds.

The biggest enemy of the pauperized Ukrainian peasants is alcoholism. Wherever you look, on every festive occasion or otherwise, you find people drinking themselves unconscious. They drink everything: beer — even bad, weak beer, wine, spirits — especially home-brewed spirits or *samohonka*, distilled from sugar-beet, sugar and potatoes. The drunkards' usual pastime is talking big about politics.

An Explosive Force Hidden in the People

In the early evening the villages already look dead, for very few young people have remained in the country. Some of them study in the schools, others work away from their home villages, and the rest serve in the army, looking for work from there, for they want on no account to do forced labour in their home villages. On the collective farms work juveniles, women and old people. No wonder Stalin put forward in his writings the view that "women represent a great strength in the collective economy." This is really true! The woman bends her back to the soil and beneath her heavy

burden she tills, sows, mows, threshes, deforests woodland, builds roads and cattle farms, works in cement factories and mines, contracts stomach ulcers, cancer, consumption, sleeps too little, eats insufficiently, goes around in rags, and involuntarily "praises" the "happy and wealthy" life under the so-called Soviets. The peasants groan and bend beneath their hate, in need of a new seer to sing of their wretchedness as Shevchenko did in the nineteenth century. But, unseen in these impossibly hard circumstances, a great explosive force remains hidden in the people, a force which will one day be fearfully unleashed. Yes, the Ukrainian people are waiting for any opportunity which may offer itself to avenge themselves on their Russian oppressors for all the injustices they have suffered. The people are firmly convinced that one day the lightning will strike which will herald beneficial rain, a downpour which will cleanse the Ukrainian countryside of the foul, alien rabble. Meanwhile the Ukrainian peasant silently envies his Polish, Rumanian and Yugoslav counterparts.

Since the Soviet intelligentsia originate from the working class and the peasantry, they share the same lot as the workers and peasants. The work of teachers and doctors is very badly paid. Medical staff (medical assistants, nurses, midwives) receive 45 to 55, teachers 65 to 85, and doctors 60 to 80 roubles per month. Technicians have to content themselves with 50 to 90 roubles per month, while engineers receive salaries of 80 to 120 roubles.

The high prices of industrial goods, and especially of consumer goods, make life particularly hard for those who are forced to live on their wages. Thus it is not surprising to find even teachers, doctors, and engineers occupying themselves with gardening — planting potatoes, and even keeping goats and rabbits in order to be able to keep their household budgets at least partly in order.

Workless Intelligentsia

There is also fairly severe unemployment amongst intellectuals, of whom the worst hit are teachers of Ukrainian and Russian language and literature, and of History and Geography. The press boasts far too much about the number of children who are receiving instruction in secondary schools, technical schools and institutes. It is indeed true that the children learn there, but what use can they make of their studies? If they were taught more of what is unquestionably necessary to young specialists and less attention were paid to the history of the Communist Party of the USSR, to political economy, to historical and dialectical materialism, to the theory of 'scientific communism' and to social studies, then not only the specialists but also the State itself would reap the advantage.

The Right to Recuperate

It goes without saying that after a man has done his share of hard work he has a right to recuperate. In fact every working person in the USSR does have the right to recuperate, but such recuperation will only be possible after the "completion of Communism", which is supposed to become a fact in 1980. Most people cannot afford the luxury of going into a convalescent home or a sanatorium, for one must raise a great deal of money for this — which lies only within the reach of a few. Anyway, whoever does possess money has no peace, as he must always produce proof of the fact that he has earned it honestly.

Apart from this, there are still too few sanatoria, spas, and convalescent homes. If the money spent on bombs and rockets were used at least partly for health institutions, the Soviet population would surely feel the benefit of it. However, "Capitalism" occupies the limelight. But the reasons for these miserable conditions are not exhausted by the "danger" of "Capitalism" — there are other reasons, too.

War Declared against God

Where there is work, one also hopes for leisure, and where there is leisure one expects to find prayer — or, as the question arises in black and white in the USSR, freedom of conscience. But this is a freedom which only exists on paper, for membership of some kind of "sect" leads to a sentence, depending on the age of the accused, of from 3 to 15 years imprisonment. The Roman Catholic churches are closed, not to speak of the synagogues, which simply cannot function at all. The Ukrainian Catholic churches have been turned into churches of the Russian Orthodox denomination. At one time there were benches for older people to sit down on when they were listening to the Word of God. Now there is nothing of this sort. The old must either stay at home or be incarcerated in old people's homes. The young cannot go to church, or else they run the risk of losing their jobs. Even children of kindergarten- and school-age cannot go to church, as this is supposed to poison their consciousness. It is above all their parents who are persecuted for this poisoning of consciousness. Juveniles under the age of 18 cannot go to Confession before Easter, as the priests are under strict instructions not to admit juveniles to Confession. Nowadays, when a baby is baptized, not only the godparents, but also the parents of the child, must be present, and the father is compelled to make a written declaration that he agrees to his child being baptized.

A priest is no longer entitled to accompany the dead through the streets to the cemetery, nor is he allowed to organize a procession

round the church with all the ecclesiastical emblems. Priests are forbidden to hold services collectively on the occasion of the consecration of a church. Very often loudspeakers are installed on church buildings for purposes of anti-religious propaganda. At one time a single priest would serve two or three villages, but that time has passed. Today a priest may only serve the village in which he himself lives. This means that it is impossible for many believers to hold services or to attend them, for in all villages where there is no priest the churches are closed.

The Communists themselves the Biggest Cheats and Speculators

Misery, all kinds of oppression, and poverty are having their effect on the psychological state and the physical capacities of the population. To be sure, the promise that the gates of Paradise on Earth will be opened wide in the year 1980 is held out to them, but even high Party functionaries, as well as the men in the street, refuse to believe this. One can picture what the effects of this untruthful Communist propaganda must be like if one ponders the fact that the Secretary of the City Party Committee in Lviv, Comrade Ovsianko, used to expound the ideas of Communism to workers and employees, while at the same time accepting bribes from cheats and speculators. His daughter received as a present a Volga car, and his wife a watch made of platinum and studded with diamonds. When these machinations were discovered in 1962, the Communist Ovsianko shot himself. We should always bear in mind that whenever a group of swindlers and currency racketeers is discovered, it is bound to include some Communists. Why? Because those outside the Party would never dare to do this, for fear of the severity with which they would be sentenced, whereas a Party functionary can count on a certain degree of leniency. Such a Party functionary cannot be sentenced until he has been expelled from the Party, and his expulsion takes a considerable time. Those who are not Party members do not have positions assigned to them where it is possible to make extra money, as they do not steal and therefore cannot divide what they steal with their superiors. One must have a special capacity for this, for, as people mockingly tend to put it, "if you don't steal, you can't live decently, and anyway you won't get the right sort of work any more."

Responsible positions are on no account given to people who were in occupied territory or who have been repatriated, or to Jews. They are given mostly to Party members from the East, and especially to the Russian "elder brother", who gets an apartment assigned to him and good wages, so that he can track down signs of Ukrainian nationalism all the more zealously.

Who is not rehabilitated?

There is a lot of talk in the USSR — and even reports in the press — about the fact that innocent men sentenced during the period of the Stalin personality cult are being rehabilitated. But curiously enough there are still hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians who were banished to Siberia, the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Komi, to Karaganda, and the Far East, who have not been rehabilitated. Why? Because those Ukrainians who have already served their prison sentences, ranging from 10 to 18 years, have not automatically acquired the right to return home. In fact they are not set free at all, but forced to settle in Siberia. The same fate overtakes Ukrainian Catholic priests: they have already starved for from 15 to 18 years in the extreme North, clearing the *tayga* (dense coniferous forest) for cultivation, in order to increase the affluence of the Russian “elder brother” even more.

Russian Chauvinism

The “great power” chauvinism of the Russians has not been stopped at all in the Ukraine. It is in the forefront everywhere: lectures in Ukrainian high schools are in Russian, business letters are in Russian, everything connected with technology is in Russian. The Russification of Ukrainian children begins in the nursery school, where their teachers make every effort to teach them Russian poems, songs, fables and fairy-tales. Total Russification takes place in the army. Even the surnames of young Ukrainians are altered: Ivaniv becomes Ivanov, Petriv becomes Petrov, Demyan becomes Demyanov, etc. Ukrainian surnames are falsified in documents issued to Ukrainians by the various military units; and later their passports are written out in the same manner, in order to manufacture Russians artificially.

Every manifestation of individual opinion or activity in political matter which is incompatible with the present social order is savagely persecuted. No crosses may be erected over the graves of the dead, for these are equated with the emblems of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.”

The Russian chauvinist oppressors even dishonour the person of the greatest of Ukrainian poets, Taras Shevchenko, who is greatly respected throughout Ukraine. To give an example: In Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, there is the Shevchenko Museum, where there is a book in which visitors to the museum can put their impressions on paper: one entry, written in Russian, by certain pillars of Russian culture, contains the following disparaging words: “The building is splendid, and a hospital or a university could well be established in it. But no, it contains a museum. A man who is far removed from

the present and accomplished nothing of note during lifetime occupies no less than 30 halls. Is it really worth it?"

This disparagement of the poet laureate of Ukraine was signed by those two pillars of Russian culture, Moscow film director Tarkovsky and author Aksenov.

When other visitors to the museum, especially those from Ukraine, having read the entry, had brought this Russian impertinence to the attention of the Museum's director, the visitors' book was removed and replaced by a new one.

Seeing the shortage of bread and other foodstuffs, and the considerable aggravation of relations between Russia and Red China, the old Stalinists are beginning to rouse themselves and to shout in triumph. They obstinately maintain that, although there was no lack of cruelty during the Stalin era, there was also no lack of foodstuffs and consumer goods at any time. Furthermore, say Stalin's adherents, prices sank every year under Stalin, whereas today the process has been reversed: foodstuffs are getting shorter and shorter, prices are spiralling higher and higher.

"Freedom of Expression"

As there is so much talk about rights and freedoms, perhaps it would be appropriate to mention the so-called freedom of expression which is incorporated in the Soviet Russian Constitution.

Admittedly freedom of expression does exist, but not for everyone. This freedom exists only for those who blindly repeat news items about the joyous future or who have in their pockets a Party membership card — a bread card, as popular irony puts it. These people have freedom of expression, but everyone else knows only the groans, the sighs, the curses which forced labour evokes. It is easy enough to imagine what kind of a freedom of expression it is which forbids one to mention that the peasants in Yugoslavia live better, that there is no compulsory collectivization in Poland, or that Rumania is not in the least disposed to become an agricultural appendage of the USSR.

Whoever likes breathing fresh air and wants to enjoy freedom of movement had better hold his tongue and never let it go, for now, as formerly, a few careless words can lead to three or five years imprisonment. Such men as Professor M. Rudnytsky, the historian I. Krypiakievych, and the author Y. Shkrumelyak, also enjoy freedom of expression, since they are allowed to write for the newspapers, to dishonour the Ukrainian past, and to amuse themselves at the expense of what was once dear to them. We know too well that this is mockery mingled with tears, that they are forced to write this nonsense, that it is one mere echo of the right to live and put pen to

paper in Ukraine. Such execrable persons as Vasyl Kuk, Myron Matviyeyko, Ivan Bysaha, Professor Vasylakiy and many others, who have returned to their homeland, or in some cases have remained there, in order to atone for their "criminal misdeeds directed against their own people", were given only one opportunity to publish the libels extorted from them in the Soviet press in the name of this freedom of expression. Their present whereabouts are unknown to us; they have not informed their friends abroad, with whom they had been united by common ideas and a common struggle for the honour and freedom of their homeland, of their addresses.

Falsification and Russification

We spoke above of education, but only incidentally, and it would be in place to enlarge on this topic here. Nowadays children are examined in the history of the Ukrainian SSR in the seventh class. But is this really history? The thousand-year story of the development of the Ukrainian people is crammed into 92 pages, while 86 pages are devoted to the period of the Soviets. Our schoolchildren learn about the ancient Ukrainian Princes, Sviatoslav, Volodymyr the Great, and Yaroslav the Wise from 3 or 4 paragraphs. There is no mention at all of the Ukrainian Cossack military leader, Sirko, the Hetmans Konashevych-Sahaydachny and Polubotok, the *Koshovyy* (leader) of the famous Zaporozhian *Sich*, Kalnyshevsky, and of many others. Mazepa was, and still is, as is only to be expected, a "traitor to the Ukrainian people." On the other hand the twentieth-century inquisitor, Stalin, receives no mention, although he deliberately let six million Ukrainians starve in the years 1932-3 and, together with his "comrades-in-arms", deported countless millions to labour camps and had millions more shot.

Any teacher who deviates even slightly from the Party line when discussing the history of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR is brought before the KGB (secret police), and pointedly made aware of his position in society.

An unequivocal process of Russification can be observed in the high schools. If a student answers a question in Ukrainian, he may receive the mark "unsatisfactory", or perhaps "fair", but if he replies in Russian, he is bound to get "good." This applies in particular to the history of the Communist Party of the USSR, to economics, and to related subjects. Of course, no one mentions this out loud, but everyone feels its effects. We assume that the reader will be able to picture the real situation in high schools when he learns that in the Lviv Forestry Institute alone there were in 1963 more than 970 Communists, and in the Lviv Polytechnic Institute more than a thousand (these figures have been taken from student newspaper appearing at the institutes).

This huge army of Communist agitators sees to it that the young are educated in the spirit of "preparation for a happy future" and that love of the Russian "elder brother" is firmly implanted in them. These agitators also ensure that the children learn to respect "elder brother's" language and culture by diverting all their hate towards fighting Ukrainian "bourgeois" ideology and entirely wiping out every trace whatsoever of Ukrainian nationalism.

Diefenbaker and Ukraine

We should like to assure the reader that an echo of his life beyond the borders of enslaved Ukraine does reach us. Critical articles, libellous reports, and features are quite frequently published in the Soviet press, from which we can learn at least something of your activities. The Ukrainian population greatly welcomed Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker's stand on the floor of United Nations. The speeches he has made in Canada, analysing the situation in Ukraine, have circulated among the people by word of mouth, and have breathed a spirit of courage into the parched souls of the oppressed Ukrainians in their homeland. We are grateful to all those Americans who celebrate the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence, or even mention it. All the newspapers sounded the alarm on this account in 1963.

The thoughts of the younger generation today turn preponderantly to the most popular dances in the West and to jazz. Rather more serious young people, and not only young people but also those more advanced in years, take great interest in pre-war literature, in Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, in the incomparably stimulating satirical works of Rudansky, in Donzow's *Nationalism*, in documentary material concerning OUN, in the young Ukrainian heroes Bilas and Danylyshyn, who were sentenced and executed by the Poles, and in the Ukrainian nationalist leaders Konovalets and Bandera, both assassinated by Russian agents on Moscow's orders. *Doctor Zhivago* and Djilas' *Conversations with Stalin* are also much sought after.

Finally we should like to assure the reader quite sincerely that, in spite of the desperately hard circumstances in Ukraine, the ideals of the heroic battles and self-sacrifice on the field of young patriots at Makivka-Lysonya, Kruty, and Bazar still live on in the hearts of our people. If it should at last come to a great and final conflict with our historical enemies, we shall most certainly not stand as passive observers on the sideline.

UKRAINIAN PRISONERS LED UPRISINGS

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following, is a condensation of an article, written by a former Vorkuta slave prisoner, appearing in "New Digest-International", No. 1, 1964, Sydney, Australia.

The death on March 5, 1953, of the Kremlin tyrant, Stalin, was the signal for a general revolt among the millions of people in the Soviet Russian slave colonies. His passing also set off riots, strikes and demonstrations throughout the USSR all the way to East Berlin.

Hitler was already dead, now Stalin. The wild hope swept the many subjugated lands that Russian Communism was finished, too. The hundreds of manifestations were clearly political in nature.

This became clearly apparent for the first time in the general strike in the slave centre of Norilsk, where on May 7, 1953, more than 30,000 prisoners revolted. The majority of the prisoners were Ukrainians, others included Baltic and Caucasian nationals.

In a leaflet of June, 1953, the Norilsk prisoners exhorted their brethren at Vorkuta:

"Fellow prisoners and exiles! Brothers of all nations and races! From Kamchatka to Karelia and from the Arctic Ocean to Baku, the bones of our murdered brothers lie rotting in the tundras and deserts. Tomorrow your bones, too, may be rotting somewhere. Brothers, heed the signals from Norilsk and Karaganda (Another slave colony center — Ed.). No UNO resolution, no parliamentary delegation from Paris or London will help us. Only the International of all the slaves in the Russian imperium can save us!

"On May 7 the prisoners working in the coal and copper mines of Norilsk went on an unlimited general

strike in all the pits and on the building sites!... Brothers, always remember what we are fighting for. Not for soup or tobacco, not for a paltry wage! We have nothing to lose apart from our chains, which we have forged ourselves. We have everything to gain which makes life worth living — freedom and our motherland!"

The Norilsk revolt lasted 100 days. During the night of August 11, 1953, it was bloodily crushed, with over 500 inmates killed and countless more wounded.

Revolts and riots followed in Vorkuta and in all the other camp areas in North Russia, Kazakhstan, West Siberia, Yakutia, East Siberia and in Sakhalin. The ferment continued not only throughout the entire summer and autumn of 1953 but also went on into the following years and up until the spring of 1956.

The successors of Stalin and Beria talked about the "return to the socialist legality of the Lenin era" but used the old methods of oppression against the insurgent prisoners. "Order" was gradually restored by means of machine guns and carbines, bayonets and tanks, hand grenades and bloodhounds. Secret police detachments waded in a sea of blood and trampled on the corpses of thousands of prisoners at the command of the "collective leadership."

Example: the order to carry out a tank attack on the morning of June 27, 1954, when the 6th special camp at Kingir was stormed, against 500 Ukrainians women prisoners, whose only weapon was their fearless love of freedom. The order was given by the Russian, Sergei Kruglov, Beria's successor. Five hundred women and children died in five minutes.

DEFEND FREEDOM !
SUPPORT UKRAINIAN LIBERATION FIGHT !

Jaroslav STETZKO

Principles of Ukrainian Foreign Policy

THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND ITS ASSESSMENT

The Ukrainian Revolution in World-Historical perspective.

(a) The characteristic feature of the present historical period is the disintegration of empires and the triumph of the idea of the nation state. A differentiation of the world's population on the natural basis of national organisms is universally in process, although at the same time attempts are being made by some powers to identify, for the sake of their economic and other interests, former colonial administrative divisions with the frontiers of emerging nation states.

The victory which the idea of national independence has won in the world this side of the iron curtain confirms the essential rightness and progressive character of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation struggle, which aims at the destruction of the Russian empire — no matter of what shape or colour — and its dissolution into national states. This victory also demonstrates the fact that Ukrainian aspirations are in full accord with historical development in the world at large.

World harmony can only be achieved by the differentiation of mankind into separate national organisms and by respecting the sovereignty of these individual nations.

The concept of organising the world on national principles has assumed an ideological and moral character of great force, although in the West the anti-national idea still predominates. The anti-national conspiracy wants to subjugate the European nations under the terroristic "democratic" regime of a "world government" which is to grow out of the present institution of the United Nations. These secret powers of international conspiracy are by no means dissatisfied with the subjugation of peoples in the USSR, since they themselves pursue the same aims, only using somewhat different slogans. France today revolts against this trend, because she fears that her sovereignty and the freedom of the country might be threatened by this modern tyranny, especially if it should gain a victory over Russia.

(b) The Russian nation systematically endeavours, by means of the communist idea, to build up her own and exclusive world-embracing empire. The Ukrainian national liberation idea acts as a disruptive force within the Russian empire; it has become the opposite pole, an active counter-ideology which rejects the Russian concept of a universal prison of men and nations.

(c) In contrast to the earlier practice of imperialist powers, who sought to enlarge the physical areas of their political, economic and military power, the efforts of the present-day exponents of Russian imperialism and messianism are directed towards forcing upon other people their own, Russian, ideology in all spheres of life, including the metaphysical, since this is considered to be the best and most successful course to achieve the conquest and domination of the world. It is for this reason that the ideological struggle, as it manifests itself in foreign policy, is becoming the prominent factor in the rivalries of the world. This fact was underlined by the June 1963 session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.C. of the C.P.S.U.), according to which the ideological battle is to be considered of paramount importance in Russia's political, economic and military campaign for control of the world — an attitude unprecedented in modern history. In the world of today two opposing views confront each other in a fight for life or death.

(d) When we consider the disparagement of the ideas of nationhood and patriotism, of Christianity and every other religion, of heroism and idealism, and look at the moral and ideological decay of our time — then we see the absolute necessity in the free world of a spiritual and moral revolution, anti-materialist and anti-internationalist, a renaissance based on the lasting values of religion, on national consciousness and on the dignity of man.

(e) As a result of the war of ideologies the methods of military warfare have changed. Its typical features today are: small, subversive pseudo-civil peripheral wars, which are fought out with the help of provocative action and with support from a foreign power and, frequently, its "volunteers"; internal diversion by fifth columns and communist parties: and, finally, the threat of thermo-nuclear mass destruction.

(f) In a world which is constantly threatened with an all-out nuclear war, the partisan strategy of insurrection, as exemplified by UPA, should be regarded as a projection, a forward-looking and positive instrument of a general policy which is capable of preventing nuclear war. The prerequisite for such a policy is that the Western powers, and in particular the USA, vigorously promote those political ideas by which Ukraine and other enslaved peoples are animated in their fight for freedom, and give active support to the revolutionary liberation movements in these countries.

(g) Moscow uses its possession of nuclear weapons as a means of pressure, compulsion and extortion, by which it methodically seeks to wring concessions from the USA and the rest of the free world, constantly confronting them with the alternatives of either destruction or retreat.

(h) On the home front, the quarrel between Moscow and Peking creates favourable psychological conditions for revolutionary action.

In the field of foreign affairs its effect, on the one hand, is to unmask communism more effectively and clearly as a form of Russian imperialism, by uncovering the national sources of the conflict which normally remain hidden under Marxist-Leninist interpretations. On the other hand, through misjudging the danger, the Anglo-Saxon world (and not only the Anglo-Saxon) becomes more disposed to comply with Russian demands, whereby the USSR has the support of certain international circles because of their common interest in the fight against the Christian civilisation and the traditions of the West. With many people the co-operation is not due to misconceptions, it rather is a deliberate furtherance of the USSR, with whom they share the antagonism against Christian nations and, for that matter, any nation that will not be lorded over by foreigners and wants to create its own values, based on its own traditions, its own spirituality and its sovereignty.

Bolshevism is in the main a product of the Russian rather than the Chinese mind. It is also the weapon of the Russian nation. In China, bolshevism is the weapon of a relatively small, although at the moment leading, part of the population which, on the one hand, aspires to the leadership of world communism and, on the other, is motivated by the strong anti-Russian feeling of the Chinese masses.

In the world communist movement the doctrine of monism has once more been replaced by that of pluralism, a development which holds out some prospect of the weakening of world communism. The liquidation of world communism, however, depends on the following prerequisites: an ideological renaissance; a renewal of the belief in lasting values; co-ordinated action aimed at the realisation of national and social justice and at the destruction of the military, economic and political centre of communism, i.e. Russia as a world power, which would also bring about the downfall of communism in China. Russia had been threatening the world well before the rise of communism in China. An alternative to the Chinese communist regime is possible if the revolutionary forces in the country are strengthened by the landing of troops from Taiwan.

The June 1963 session of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. emphasised once again the ideological argument to correct the overestimation by Moscow of the importance of nuclear weapons in favour of a further

fortification of the ideocratic aspect in its war against the free world, a fact which will add to Moscow's strength.

The stress laid by Peking on the importance of national liberation movements this side of the iron curtain, in contrast to the Russian emphasis on communist movements, reflects and exploits Moscow's fear of the disruptive force of national liberation movements within the Russian empire; it also goes to show that Russia is a colossus with feet of clay — which, of course, it needs an adequate policy of the free world to tumble.

Against any physical pressure from other nations and races a 'prison of men and nations' could not hope to be a bulwark, since prisoners will not defend the prison. Only an alliance of free and independent states can put up an effective defence and rally to its support other, perhaps equally threatened, nations.

(i) The principle of self-determination is more and more gaining general acceptance in our time. It is interpreted as the right of any people to its independence as a nation state, the right to separate and cut itself off from imperial rule. This right is recorded and asserted in our plebiscite of the blood and must not be abused for purposes of fictitious self-determination without separation by any plebiscites of paper — conducted under foreign bayonets — with their formulas of 'non-predetermination' which discriminate against the nation.

Considering the hypocrisy in words and treachery in deeds, which are so predominant in international politics, it is clear that the sovereignty and independence of the nation can neither be achieved nor maintained unless it is totally separated from the colonial and imperial centre.

In this decade our foreign policy has shifted more and more from propaganda activity to the plane of international politics.

Immutable Principles

Our international policy is based, now and in the future, on the following unalterable principles:

The idea of sovereignty and the idea of the Ukrainian nation, which embraces all Ukrainian lands, are maintained without compromise in the face of all suggestions of supra-, extra- or anti-national regional substitutes for national sovereignty;

the fight against every form of Russian imperialism and the preservation of the integrity of all Ukrainian ethnic territories within a united sovereign state;

the pan-Ukrainian concept as opposed to territorial grouping and particularism;

the preservation of the national idea against the ideas of imperialism, whose main champions are Russia and Red China and, in the West, certain advocates of a supra-national 'world-government' with powers of veto for a few;

common front of all peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, in alliance with those elements in the world who are ideologically and politically friendly towards us and hostile towards Russian imperialism and communism;

the reaffirmation of the revolutionary importance of the solution of the Ukrainian problem in the context of international affairs with regard to its ideological and political significance, the country's human potential as a fighting factor, and its geo-political position in the future pattern of the grouping of international forces once the Russian empire has been dismembered;

no isolation and no dissociation of the Ukrainian fight for freedom from the liberation struggle of other nations under the bolshevist yoke;

no reliance on liberation through extraneous factors, but dependence on the nation's own strength. This conception is based on the fight in the homeland and the revolutionary processes in the country, as well as action by the Ukrainians in exile who are ideologically and politically in close connection with the home base.

The liberation concept translated into action, the anti-Russian, i.e. anti-imperial and anti-communist revolution taking place simultaneously in Ukraine and other subjugated countries, offers a possible alternative to nuclear war.

Two Aspects of the ABN Concept

The idea embodied in ABN is not only an important aspect of external politics in connection with the revolt of a subjugated nation, whose liberation cannot come about without the disintegration of the empire, but is also a strong factor in the internal liberation struggle, aiming at a simultaneous rising of all the enslaved peoples — a point that was confirmed and stressed twenty years ago at the First Conference of captive nations, held in Ukraine in November 1943.

Relying on her own strength and on the concerted action by all subjugated nations, Ukraine will foil any tendencies to turn her territory into a pseudo-democratic international market-place and to exploit the Ukrainian economic and human potential for purposes other than her own. Ukraine will make common cause with all those who oppose every attempt at imperialism and internationalism and will work together with the national forces of the independent countries in the West and the freedom-loving world as a whole

menaced by Moscow and the internationalist Mafia. In short, Ukraine will join forces with all those who uphold the ideals of independence, of the Christian civilisation and of Western traditions, and who stand for the preservation of a nation's characteristic culture and of the spirit of its people.

The mobilisation of anti-Russian and anti-communist forces in the world in support of the fight for freedom and the revolutionary strategy of accomplished facts in the homeland — these are the two aspects of ABN action.

The attempt to detach the Ukrainian problem from the complex whole of the peoples imprisoned in the USSR and include it in the so-called satellite-complex would not serve a useful purpose. On the contrary, it would reduce the characteristic value of Ukraine, weaken the common front and cause the loss of vital allies, as a consequence of reliance on extraneous forces. However, to treat the Ukrainian problem exclusively in connection with the USSR would diminish the fundamental importance of Ukraine in the universal anti-Russian and anti-communist struggle.

What really matters is to recognise that the destinies of all the enslaved peoples in the USSR and in the satellite countries are inextricably linked and that there is only one chance of an integral — and not piecemeal — process of liberation, i.e. that brought about by simultaneous revolt everywhere.

To Support the Revolution is in the Interests of the Sound Elements in the West

In view of the constant threat by Russia to the freedom, peace and security of the free world and the danger of nuclear war, it is in the interest of the national and Christian forces of the West to support the aspirations and the liberation struggle of Ukraine, since in this way a threatened "hot" war could instantly be transformed, with active assistance from the West, into a revolutionary campaign for national liberation.

If the West were to develop a new political strategy, which would lead to the breaking-off of relations with the enemy and to the use of the sharpest methods in fighting the enemy, this would produce inside the Russian empire a political, ideological and moral atmosphere which would greatly strengthen the domestic front and accelerate the outbreak of the revolution — provided, of course, that the aims and efforts of the enslaved nations are supported and the USSR and her puppets are excluded from all international institutions.

The Policy of so-called Peaceful Coexistence Demobilises the Fighters at the Front

The notion that by a policy of 'peaceful coexistence' a gradual liberalisation and democratisation of the Russian bolshevist regime could be achieved must be rejected as unfounded when one considers that such an evolution is against the nature of the regime and would be equivalent to its destruction. The policy of peaceful coexistence undermines the confidence of Ukraine and other captive nations in, above all, the USA, particularly in view of the fact that rebellion of these nations was not given support in the past. As a result, the subjugated nations might show an attitude of reserve if ever the West should find itself in a critical situation, and this would mean a demobilisation of the troops in the very front line. Such a policy splits the world into two parts and endorses as "de facto" the status quo of the subjugation of one nation by another. Treaties such as the Moscow Test Ban Agreement — whose only advantage is a reduction in the pollution of the atmosphere by radio-active fall-out — tend to bring nearer the moment when this status quo of enslavement will be recognised "de jure." This would lead to the consolidation of the regime of slave-masters and to further conquests on their part. The regime would equip itself with new military, ideological and political weapons, adapted to the changed situation.

History has taught the lesson that, when dealing with Russia, only a policy of strength can lead to success, but never a policy of leniency.

The Necessity of Western Support for National Liberation

The present internal politics of the Russian Government are a systematic and consequent continuation of the policies pursued under Lenin and Stalin and have the following aims:

The obliteration of national individuality through (a) cultural russification; (b) division into economic regions which conflicts with the integrity of national territory and ignores even the present borders of the so-called Republics; (c) the setting-up of new supra-Republican administrative centres under Russian control, which limit even further the by now almost fictitious rights of the "republics" (e.g. Transcaucasian Bureau); (d) continued mass re-settlement in the so-called virgin lands; (e) persecution of church and religion, the traditional pillars of Ukrainian culture.

The fusion of all nationalities into one Soviet Russian nation to be brought about with the aid of the Russian language which, by orders of the CPSU, is to have predominance over all others and is to be the only means of communication and transmission, and also the sole

medium for news from the world outside. According to plan, the next phase in this process of fusion is the stage by stage abolition of even the vestiges of the Republics.

From all this it should be clear to the West that in its own interest it must pursue a policy which supports the national liberation movements, fosters national peculiarities, and unmasks and brands Russian chauvinism and imperialism. In the foreground of such a policy should be the furtherance of the resistance of the threatened nations (with Ukraine in the first place).

The programme of the CPSU proclaims as "the greatest achievement of socialism: the fraternity of nations in the USSR." Since it is obvious that this assertion is a blatant lie, it serves to point to the Achilles heel of the Russian empire.

Our task in foreign politics is to stress over and over again that, especially in the internal policies of Moscow, no liberalisation will ever occur.

New Forms of the Revolutionary Struggle Constitute the New Factor in Our International Policy

Revolutionary risings can be occasioned by events of an internal or external character, or both. Among the new manifestations of the fight for freedom that can be observed in Ukraine are: strikes, demonstrations, armed clashes, revolts in concentration camps. All these new forms of the revolutionary struggle should receive the support of the free world, since they must be regarded as a new phase in the unfolding of the national offensive, which aims at a nation-wide rebellion.

In the artistic and cultural achievements of the younger generation in Ukraine, even in works which receive publicity, there is clear evidence that the Ukrainian youth has remained faithful to the ideals of the nation, of religion and of the Ukrainian people. This refutes the allegations of some "experts" on Soviet affairs that the Ukrainian people, and especially the young, have become sovietised.

Trade with the Russian Colonial Empire Constitutes a Danger to the Free Word

(a) The economies of the free world, which seek to gain advantage from trade relations with the Russian colonial empire, not only run the risk of political dependence, but will find their advantage short-lived because of the inevitable eventual disintegration of the empire and the emergence of quite different factors and partners.

(b) The economic resources of Ukraine and other enslaved countries greatly increase the Russian economic potential and, in so doing, supply the material bases for predatory wars and nuclear weapons —

a state of affairs which would change thoroughly, if not be made impossible altogether, once the empire had fallen apart.

(c) Detached from Russia, an independent Ukrainian state — this granary of Europe and highly industrialised country — would display the creative initiative of a free country and a free people, because it would be no longer subject to ruthless economic exploitation for Russia's imperial aims and because the production of arms, too costly for what they are worth, would cease. The Ukrainian economy would thus be greatly strengthened, and newly forged links with the countries of the free world would lead to an economic exchange complementary and beneficial to both sides.

The same would apply to all the other countries now imprisoned in the USSR when they regained their freedom.

(d) The countries and peoples that were overcome and enslaved under Russian colonialism were culturally and economically more advanced than the country and people of Russia. Their subjugation by Russia did not improve, but degraded them, since these formerly free peoples were deprived of every possibility of free creation, and their natural free development was severely checked.

(e) The economic potential of these individual national states, once they have become independent and are no longer compulsorily attached to the Russian imperial centre, will not permit them to produce their own nuclear weapons — a fact very desirable in the interests of peace and security in the world and of the progress of mankind.

Ukraine in Relation to World and European Unity

(a) The endeavours to bring about European unity on the basis — the only possible one — of a "Europe of Fatherlands" could succeed if, respecting the principle of the individuality and sovereignty of nations, the European countries now under Soviet domination were after their liberation to be included in this system of co-operation, and if these enslaved peoples are given assistance by the free world in their present fight for freedom. In no other way could a "Europe of Fatherlands" be made viable. The concept of Europe, dissociated from the concept of the Nation, as a specific creation of the European mind, is doomed to failure.

For the integration of Europe the disintegration of the Russian empire is a prerequisite, so that the conditions are created in which decisions by the parliaments of the liberated nations can be taken and the forces of the world can be re-grouped in an international situation no longer threatened by Russian imperialism. The new order, which will prevail after the destruction of the Russian empire and the rebirth of the all-Ukrainian state, is likely to open up new

vistas reaching far beyond the problem of European unity. Any decisions on this problem should therefore be left to the sovereign states which will rise above the ruins of the Prison of Nations. This is why our own attitude to the question of European unity is, for the time being, based on tactics rather than principle. In the present, the structure of Western Europe is badly in need of fundamental changes if it is to achieve success in its struggle against bolshevism — in the defence against which the structure had its origin. The corrections to be made must also include the process of Western Europe's emancipation from American protectorship. If in the constitution of a United Europe the national principle should be negated, then such an association would prove impermanent and harmful, and would be unfit for the fight against bolshevism.

The concept of a confederation of the so-called United States of Eastern Europe with the United States of Western Europe is no more than a manoeuvre by the Russian imperialists, aimed at preserving or extending the Russian empire in a new form.

(b) Since it is quite possible that future independent states will, through resolutions of their parliaments, come to mutual agreements about some kind of federation, which may be suggested by the geopolitical situation of the countries concerned (e.g. Transcaucasia), a new form of world unity might well emerge on such a pattern once the Russian empire has been destroyed. One could conceive of a world institution, based on the equality of its members and respect for their sovereignty, in which the independent nation states would work together to bring about the unification of the world on the principle of differentiation, i.e. its organisation on national foundations, in accordance with world-historical development. The United Nations Organisation of to-day, among whose members is the Soviet Union with its puppet states, the constant violator of human and national rights, cannot fulfil its duties. The law-breakers should therefore be expelled and the UN transformed into an anti-bolshevik institution. If it is to fulfil its function in accordance with the mandate given it by its honest members, the UN would have to respect the sovereignty of nations without regard to their size or wealth. The present UN is the embryo of a Mafia world-government, and its members, even if they are anti-communist, are still pro-Russian as long as they disregard the principle of the sovereignty of nations.

(c) ABN aims at the setting up of an 'Anti-Communist International Centre for Effective National Independence and Freedom', whose programme provides for practical assistance to the revolutionary liberation struggle against Russian colonialism and communism and for the mobilisation of the anti-Russian and anti-communist national forces in the world, with the ultimate purpose of creating or maintaining for its members free and independent states.

The Ukrainian Problem in Relation to Certain Countries of the Free World

(a) **France** could play an historical and useful role in the anti-Russian world campaign if, to her policy of maintaining her sovereignty and developing her own strength, setting great store by the national idea, fostering the emancipation of the free parts of Europe and the awakening of Europe's dynamic power — if to all that she would add a policy that aims at the liberation of the suppressed and at the destruction of the Russian empire. But if France were to strive for an inter-continental Rapallo this would be disastrous for Europe and the freedom-loving world.

(b) **The Franco-German Treaty** could lead to fundamental changes in French foreign policy and influence it in favour of furthering the disintegration of the Russian empire, provided the treaty's permanence is preserved on the part of Germany, and the national-revolutionary potential of Ukraine and other enslaved nations in the USSR is taken into account.

(c) **The partitioned countries**, like Germany, Korea, Vietnam and China, who are classic examples of the dichotomy of the world and who, by nature, are revisionists, constitute — despite their dependence on the great powers — a useful ferment that acts against the policy of "peaceful coexistence" and resists the consolidation of the status quo, even if this happens, as in the case of Germany, only on a local level.

Considering the realities in world politics and the nature of Russian imperialism and communism, the separate and isolated liberation of any one of the so-called **satellite countries** is impossible; they can only become free if Ukraine and other enslaved peoples in the USSR are freed at the same time.

(d) Some government and opposition circles in Germany are of the opinion that the **re-unification of the two Germanies** can come about independent of the liberation of all the other nations enslaved under the Russian empire. This is a hopeless error. Such expectations only prove the shortsightedness in political thinking, so typical of many German politicians, and the failure to understand the world-revolutionising processes of our time. These hopes also reflect the attitude of the present US State Department, whose wishful thinking programme does not include the liberation of the enslaved peoples in the USSR, nor the re-unification of Germany, but favours the preservation of the status quo. German foreign policy is by no means that of a sovereign power, but merely an extension of US policy.

(e) If **Great Britain** were to join the Common Market, her relations and economic activity with the Russian colonial empire would

decrease and the national foundations of the European structure would be reinforced. Moreover, London's aspiration to the role of mediator between Washington and Moscow would very much recede into the background. Britain's entry into the Common Market would increase the importance of free Europe as a whole, as the fruitless competition between two West-European economic blocs would cease. At the same time dependence on other partners would make a revision of Britain's foreign policy with its at times neutralist tendencies necessary.

The Contradiction in American Foreign Policy

(a) The foreign policy of the USA is double-tracked. One group of US politicians, who have considerable influence over the present US government, pay attention only to the factors of material power, accept for the present the division of the world into two and, with a view to the future, promote the idea of a world-government. This group is strongly influenced by concealed pro-Russian elements and negates the dynamic force of the nationalist liberation effort.

The other group of US politicians strive for a policy that holds the nation supreme — starting from the principle that America is a nation, despite the mixture of ethnic ingredients. This group is represented by the Congress and bases itself on moral principles of the kind that prevented for more than ten years the recognition by the USA of the USSR and is still preventing that of Red China. This group favours the idea of the dissolution of the Russian empire and its division into nation states, and advocates the support of the national liberation struggle.

However, to the detriment of America, the free world and the enslaved nations, the US Administration actually pursues a policy which runs counter to the directives enacted by the Legislature with regard to the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

(b) This policy of the Administration is also followed by various so-called private institutions, such as the American Committee for Liberation (ACL), Radio "Liberty", the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich, as well as the official "Voice of America." This policy does not treat Ukraine, or the enslaved nations in general, as parties to a contract. Nor does it oppose communism on principle, but adapts itself to the state of Russo-American relations at any given time, thereby devaluing the policy completely, since the issue of the liberation of enslaved peoples must not be allowed to become the object of a bargain or a tactical game.

(c) Regarding the idea of a so-called "Common Front Against Communism" — which overlooks Ukrainian national aims and therefore means the fight against one form of tyranny in order to impose another — the idea of the Ukrainian sovereign state must

never be substituted by such suggestions as a federation, a union of East-European states, a plebiscite or non-predetermination, since there is for the Ukrainian nation, besides God, no idea more sacred than that of independent statehood.

(d) The promotion of national forms of communism, as alternatives to Russian communism (e.g. Titoism or Gomulkaism), is equivalent to a weakening of the national pro-Western revolutionary forces and, through the so-called "positive neutrality" of such states, serves to strengthen the Russian positions in the world. The attempt to detach the non-Russian countries from Russia, not by the action of the national revolutionary forces, but by supporting national communist regimes, is based on an illusion, since these regimes will stand up against Russia only for so long as they do not need her might against the resistance of their own people. Any antagonism against Russia would equally collapse when the chances of a victory of the West over Russia increased, because these communist regimes can only survive with the help of Russia's superior strength. The economic aid given to such countries does not therefore benefit the peoples concerned, but indirectly benefits Russia.

Victory can be achieved not through experiments of this kind, i.e. pro-Russian ideas and forces, but through those which in essence and form are the opposite.

The Newly Independent Countries and Ukraine

(a) This side of the iron curtain the dismantling of empires and the transition from the colonial order to the setting up of independent nation states is almost completed. These changes do not fail to affect the Russian colonial empire in an ideological and moral sense and further tighten the rope around the empire.

Our sympathetic regard for the emerging countries of former colonial empires would develop into full political support if these countries were to take up a clear, anti-Russian position. Any neutralism, and above all so-called positive neutrality, increases the power of Russia in the world and thereby consolidates the enslavement of Ukraine.

Economic aid to the developing countries must be made subject to their anti-Russian and anti-communist orientation and to internal social reforms, measures which are in their own best interests and which will protect them from becoming the objects of Russian or Red-Chinese fraudulent intrigues. Both Moscow and Peking are preparing to make themselves the heirs to the Western empires. Economic support without conditions only encourages internal decay, weakens the anti-Russian and anti-communist national elements and makes it impossible for the sound national forces of the country to bring about such changes in policy and rulers as may be necessary.

(b) Moscow and Peking promote the forcible formation of new multinational state structures under totalitarian regimes (e.g. United Arab Republic, Indonesia), whereby one of their motives is to gain sympathisers with whose help they hope to conceal the colonial character of their own-multi-national giant states.

(c) In countries which are in the very front line of the battle against the world danger of communism the State Department seems to inspire coups d'état on the pretext of defending religious or "democratic" rights and freedom. This course can only damage the fight of the free world against communism. These coups can be connected with the intention of dividing the world into two or rather three sections among, on the one side, the USA and the USSR and Red China, on the other. The national liberation movement opposes this concept, since, for it, the criterion of values is the Nation. As a result of this bias, the State Department encourages neutralism not only of the Titoist but also of the Laotian stamp, a neutralism which balances between and is dependent upon both the Moscow-Peking and the Washington power blocs.

The case of Cambodia provides the best example of how countries with an originally non-communist and somewhat feudal state system slide from their position of "positive neutralism" into the communist camp as a matter of course.

In the same line of policy is the establishment of neutral buffer areas between the power blocs, the formation of puppet states under the patronage of these blocs. As a result of this consistent policy, sovereign political structures disappear from the world map to make room for "popular front" regimes, whose exponents are encouraged and supported by both power centres.

The Vatican and Ukraine

In the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people the national idea is inseparably linked with the Christian idea. This makes the Ukrainian people extremely sensitive to any changes in the attitude of the Christian world-front against the militant atheism which, in all its forms and variants, is inherent in communism. The Russian Orthodox Church, which allied itself with the Kremlin, shares the responsibility for the liquidation of both Ukrainian Churches. It is a conscious tool in the hands of the atheist government. Each and every communist government has exterminated and is exterminating religion by all possible means, for there is no room for religion in a system which is based on the totalitarian, communist ideology. When against this background attempts are being made by the Vatican to come to terms with the Russian Orthodox Kremlin-controlled Church and the communist regimes, such a course is bound to be in conflict with the notions of our freedom fighters about the

role of the Church. In our opinion the Church is to be the avant-garde in the war against atheism and injustice.

The members of the two Ukrainian Churches, now underground, will never consent to collaborate with the caesaro-papist Kremlin Church, the instrument of the imperialist, atheist regime. For the genuine Church it is better to be persecuted than to be protected. Concerted action by the real Churches is most important; they must be united in their spiritual and ideological crusade against militant atheism, against injustice and slavery, against the trampling down of the dignity of man — who was created in God's image, and against the disfranchisement of nations — which are "thoughts of God"; they must be united in their crusade for the embodiment of Christ's teaching in all aspects of our life. They must join forces for the protection of the genuine, clandestine Christians, their Churches and their martyrs, who in our day fight and suffer for the truth and for justice among men and nations. A Church re-born, its priests and faithful, must once more imitate the life of the followers of the true faith, the neophytes, and appreciate the spiritual strength which lies in martyrdom and in the persistent fight against all evil.

We consider it to be a grave error that the aim now being pursued is no more than to reach a compromise with the imperialist, atheist regime and its tool, the caesaro-papist church, in exchange for ephemeral concessions to the faithful in the outward practice of their religion, while at the same time the existence of the atheist regime, the arch-enemy of Church and Man, is being prolonged.

The imperialist atheist regime is incapable of improvement; it must be brought down and destroyed. The Church must become and remain the strongest and very last bulwark in the defence of the truth; it must have no truck with the centre of evil and must not allow the distinction between good and evil to become blurred. In its fight for the good and the truth the Church must never make compromises, regardless of the victims who fall for the sake of eternal life.

By their courageous protest against the presence at the Vatican Council of observers from the Kremlin church and against a policy of accommodation with the communist regime, the Ukrainian Catholic bishops have rendered a great service to the cause of christianity and of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian community expects our Orthodox Church abroad to lodge with the competent international authorities a strong protest against, and condemn the impertinence of any attempts by the Kremlin-sponsored "observers" at the Vatican Council to figure as the representatives of Ukrainian Orthodox believers.

The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement protests vehemently against the endeavour of the Russian church to speak

on behalf of Ukrainian Orthodox Christians, whose Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church has been persecuted and driven into the catacombs by the Russian imperialist atheist regime with the help of the Russian church.

The Intercontinental Aspect of Co-operation by Treaty

(a) According to the treaties concluded, and on the basis of the ABN platform adopted at the 1958 conference in Mexico, ABN co-operates with the Asian Peoples' Anti-communist League, Nationalist China, the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent (ICDC), and with the anti-communist organisations in Latin America and in sixty-five countries of the world. As the result of such ABN activity, the liberation of the subjugated peoples in the USSR and satellite countries is very much a live issue with all the treaty partners, as well as at numerous international and inter-continental conferences. In certain circumstances it leads already now to a direct partnership between the national liberation organisations and official or semi-official bodies in the free world for the planning of liberation actions, and it provides for such partnership in the future on the basis of the ABN platform.

(b) Considering the basic significance of the revolutionary liberation struggle of Ukraine and the oppressed peoples in general, as well as the great changes to be expected in the future composition and grouping of world forces after liberation, it is evident — and the global discussions on the subject confirm this view — that the problem of Ukraine and other enslaved nations has become an inescapable permanent and essential element of the world crisis, which can never be resolved unless the empire is broken up and divided into nation states.

(c) Turkey, Iran and other states bordering on the USSR are, in accordance with their own vital interests, Ukraine's natural allies on the anti-Russian and anti-communist front. At the decisive moment they could become in the international forum the advocates of the dissolution of the empire.

(d) Japan, who has lost some of her ethnic territory to Russia after World War II, can also be counted among the natural allies of Ukraine.

(e) Owing to the geographical isolation of Australia and the danger of Chinese communist aggression, the universally valid concept of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation has a political partner in Australia, too.

(f) The countries of Africa and Latin America should be made aware of the vital issue of Ukrainian liberation. In the moral and political sense, the importance of the smaller states in the inter-

national arena is steadily increasing, a process directly related to the growing strength of anti-colonial, national liberation movements.

(g) The political importance of smaller countries is often far greater than their military or economic importance. This applies also to the countries of the Atlantic complex (e.g. Holland). With their support, therefore, we shall have a chance of getting our political ideas onto a wider and authoritative international platform.

(h) In countries, who have won in their fight against Russia and communism (e.g. Spain) and who cherish the national idea, we are enabled to carry on our activities (e.g. radio broadcasts) for propaganda in Ukraine and behind the iron curtain in general, without being hampered by restrictions.

(i) Canada, a country of economic and military strength and with a large nationally conscious Ukrainian element in its population, could make a valuable contribution towards expounding the Ukrainian cause within the Commonwealth. On the wider, international forum the historic initiative taken by Mr. Diefenbaker, who was the first Head of Government in the western world to put the Ukrainian problem on the agenda of the world institution, should serve as an example.

The Common Front of White and Red Russian Imperialists

There is no Russian political group which takes up an anti-imperialist position and which would declare itself for a Russian state limited to Russian ethnic territory. There is, on the contrary, a common front of the Russian nation against the Ukrainian nation, and white and red Russians aid each other in their fight against Ukraine, despite all their social-political differences of opinion and regardless of the sociological conflict between the rising generation of new leaders and the old and out-of-date ones whom they seek to replace.

Particularly dangerous is the white Russian imperialist NTS group, who (following the example of the CPSU) not only try to speak for the Russians themselves, but have deceitfully and hypocritically appropriated Ukrainian symbols of independence — e.g. the Tryzub (Trident) — and Ukrainian social and political ideals, and thus have caused confusion in the international forum. They are trying to do the same inside Ukraine through their radio transmissions. Financially, NTS is dependent on certain Western interests.

The Ukrainian nation must prepare itself for a war on two fronts: against the red as well as the white Russian imperialists, whereby the latter may conceivably receive support from Polish imperialists and, perhaps, from some anti-national circles in the West.

The Attitude of Polish Exile Groups

The policy of the more important exile groups invariably insists on the restoration of the eastern frontiers of the Polish state as they stood in 1939 and does not stand for the disintegration of the Russian empire into national states. It thus makes itself in effect an ally of the Russian imperialists and an anachronistic defender of colonialism in Europe, and that at a time when even in Africa colonialism is being abolished.

This policy separates Poland from the common revolutionary front of the enslaved nations and turns the Polish liberation concept into a policy of intervention, even in relation to other, now subjugated nations. With the help of foreign bayonets, even in alliance with the white Russian imperialists, Poland hopes to restore in the east her frontiers of the year 1939 and, at the same time, to preserve the present state of her frontiers in the west. This policy utterly destroys the co-operation, initiated in the 40's, between the Polish and Ukrainian underground movements in their fight against the common enemy at home, and it causes diversion in the front of free and captive nations in the anti-Russian and anti-communist campaign.

The Jewish Problem

(a) The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, in full agreement with all Ukrainian political groups, stands firmly for the equality, in principle and in practice, of all citizens of Ukraine without regard to race, religion or national extraction. On this basis all Ukrainian citizens of foreign descent, and therefore also Jewish citizens, are offered full scope for their development in every direction (without, however, allowing any minority ascendancy or special privileges). This equality presupposes, of course, the positive attitude of the minorities towards the idea of Ukrainian independence and their active support in this respect.

(b) In accordance with Christian and humanitarian principles and from a sense of justice and national dignity, the Ukrainian liberation movement condemns and combats anti-Jewish excesses and pogroms, which are inspired, organised and carried out by the enemies of Ukraine in an attempt to bring the Ukrainian liberation struggle into disrepute.

(c) We stress the fact that Ukrainians, and especially members of the Ukrainian liberation movement have, under directions from their leadership, exposed their own lives and their own freedom to the gravest risks in order to succour and save Jews hunted by the Nazis.

(d) We call attention to the harm done to the Ukrainian people by those Jewish elements who, as members of the bolshevist occupation authority, and in rank and number second only to the Russians themselves, ruthlessly destroyed the national potential of Ukraine together with the country's cultural monuments and churches. We further point out that in the past centuries the majority of influential Jewry have always supported the enemy occupation of Ukraine.

(e) The Ukrainian revolutionary movement calls on the Jewish citizens of Ukraine to support the national fight for liberation and the idea of an independent Ukrainian state. It also appeals to them to use their influence in the appropriate quarters of world Jewry in order to bring about a change in the negative attitude of the latter towards the re-establishment of the Ukrainian independent state, so that favourable conditions are created for co-operation and friendly relations between all the inhabitants of Ukraine.

October 1964.

(The above is a summary of the lecture on the principles of Ukrainian foreign policy given at a convention of the overseas branches of the OUN by Jaroslav Stetzko who, after the heroic death of both General Taras Chuprynyk—Shukhevych and Stepan Bandera, is the last surviving member of the Presidium of Three of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.)

KGB Attempts to Gag Ukrainian Literature

Recently the Russian Bolshevik secret police has been directing its persecutions and attacks in particular against Ukrainian writers, poets, and other upholders of Ukrainian culture, and especially against friends and political comrades of the talented young poet Vasyl Symonenko, who died mysteriously not long ago. The KGB terror has not once spared the poet's unhappy mother.

The KGB's acts of repression against noted Ukrainian intellectuals were triggered off by the publication of Symonenko's diary and poems by the Prologue Publishing Association (in the magazine *Suchasnist* — "The Present" — 1965, No. 1, Munich, Germany).

A group of young Ukrainian *literati*, known as "The Sixties", has turned resolutely on the repressive police system and the intolerable police methods of the Russian occupiers of Ukraine. The statements made by the spokesman of this younger generation, Ivan Dzyuba,

are very instructive and decisive. In his article, "The Conscientiousness of Artistic Research" (which appeared as a review of Y. Mushketyk's, *The Drop of Blood*), Dzyuba writes that the individual and his role in society must command respect. Man is in no way a "screw in the machinery of society", but its creator, for which reason "no one else, no institution, no society, may make decisions for the individual... The collision between the individual and society admits of no unilateral decision, for this would destroy the whole basis of social existence. Social life acquires reality only in the life of the individual, and can therefore be developed only in the individual, for the individual, and by the individual, and gauged and evaluated by him. Only with these premises can one discuss what grows out of them — namely, the obligations of the individual to society and its institutions..."

But if one were to struggle for and realize this truth within the USSR, then it would mean the end of the Bolshevik system. Thus there is no reason for amazement when the faithful little watch-dog, not of human freedom, but of Soviet Russian despotism, the critic Prokip Mysyk, at once appears on the scene, and indignantly distorts Dzyuba's line of argument. With slavish devotion to Moscow's Communist regime, Mysyk tears off his shirt and cries indignantly: "...man a screw? But according to Dzyuba man is an individual who is fully independent of society." Of course, "society" is synonymous with "the Party", and the Party is the embodiment of the people! So anyone who is independent of society is also independent of the Party, and independence from the Party is always accompanied by hostility towards the Party. Mysyk continues that we must bear in mind that truth is only to be learned from the Party leadership and that the Party is infallible.

One classical example will serve to illustrate the manner in which the KGB mercilessly persecutes men's minds and consciences.

Symonenko's old mother and comrades who were of like mind to him have been compelled to produce a public declaration in which they "condemn" the "guilty" and "defend" the good name of the dead poet.

Radyanska Ukraina of 15th April 1965, published a short editorial entitled "An Everest of Depravity", which was followed by a declaration by the poet's mother, Hanna Scherbañ, and an article by Symonenko's fellow-countryman from Cherkasy, Mykola Nehoda.

The declaration extracted from the poet's mother reads as follows:

"My son was always a Communist, and it is for this reason that I come with my worries to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. I know my son better than anyone else. He grew up without a father, and gained a gold medal on completing his studies at the local school. Then he began his studies at Kyiv University, where he received everything he had from the Soviet government. I was witness to the fact that villagers, schoolchildren,

and students enjoyed reading those poems of his which had already been published. Since I lost my only son, I have always rejoiced in the fact that he was respected and that the Soviet government has never forgotten his family.

"It has suddenly come to my ears that my son's poems and diaries are being broadcast by foreign radio stations. I was utterly amazed at the fact that they have found their way abroad. His colleagues from Kyiv, Ivan Svitlychny, Anatoliy Perepadya, and many others whose names I am not sure of came to his funeral. Among them were people from Lviv and Kyiv who asked me for my son's manuscripts. I was completely convinced that I was handing them over to honest men who would pass the material on to the Writers' Association. However, these people have employed this literary bequest for their own purposes and have circulated it in a manner which makes me extremely indignant. I can understand very well that my son made mistakes here and there, but he wrote the diary for himself and not for other people to read and interpret as they please.

"I condemn all this, and I ask you to be so kind as to accept this, my sincere declaration." Now Nehoda takes over:

"...Every man experiences during his life the desire to intimate his meditations and doubts to his closest and most faithful friends. And for the poet, who has a sensitive nature and reacts to everything that happens around him, such a friend is — understandably — his paper. He entrusts his reflections to paper, as he naturally has no desire to make them public for a while. For the poet's thoughts must be tested by his own life and by time before they can become flawless and lasting."

"The undoubtedly talented young poet, Vasyl Symonenko undoubtedly had his moments of critical reflections and doubt. The poet's intellect yearned for the depths of philosophic wisdom; the Communist's heart beat in time with the rhythm of our troubled age; and so all that gave him cause for concern, all that alarmed him, all that made his blood boil, was reflected not only in his completed works but also in the short drafts which he put on paper almost every day.

But I should like to emphasize here that Symonenko's works clearly contain trains of thought which he had not reviewed and which were awaiting review. The poet himself understood this better than any of his closest friends, and, as he entrusted his reflections and doubts to paper, he wrote this epigram as a warning against possible misinterpretation: "The forbidden reading of another's diaries is an Everest of effrontery."

That lackey of the Soviet authorities, Nehoda, writes:

"Unfortunately those to whom the poet's relatives handed over his manuscripts have not regarded this proviso. Symonenko's mother told me, 'I thought I was delivering the manuscripts into honest hands.' And so she was astonished and filled with indignation when

she discovered that foreign radio programmes had quoted and commented in every possible way on his diaries and on his unfinished and therefore as yet unpublished poems."

"There certainly can be no doubt", Nehoda continues, "that we have many friends abroad, too. And we rejoice that they take such an interest in the achievements of Soviet Ukrainian poetry. But apart from our friends, we also have abroad many malicious adversaries. It is these very enemies who have got a footing in radio programmes and publishing companies financed with American dollars and who are disseminating lies to be consumed by the fickle. These venal men have seized possession of the poet's diary notes and are construing them falsely by tendentiously quoting those sections which can be employed in such a way as to show the poet in a light which suits their own foul and selfish objects. They speak of a 'forbidden book' of Symonenko's, which we, the poet's friends, in all truth know nothing about, for such a book simply does not exist!

"The people in New York and Munich who are mourning Symonenko and are supposed to be horrified at his fate conceal the fact that the poet was greatly loved in Soviet Ukraine and that after his death books were published in honour of his memory which are encountering more and more grateful readers in Soviet Ukraine. But enemies are enemies! What else is to be expected of them? But I and those who share my opinions are disgusted by something else: the behaviour of many of our people here at home, who, as it turns out, are nursing a cheap and scandalous 'glory'; they wish, rather belatedly, to have as if they were the poet's friends and are shamelessly determined to set themselves up as interpreters and editors of his poetic legacy. Are these people aware of the unfavourable light in which their anti-social deeds are going to appear?"

So, according to Nehoda, these Ukrainian writers are merely "pursuing a cheap and scandalous 'glory'." So they are not the poet's friends, but simply individuals who "wish, rather belatedly... to set themselves up as interpreters" and are not entitled to make any pronouncement on the legacy of the poet! They are forbidden this honour! To these people, we are told, the poet addressed himself, when he wrote that "the forbidden reading of another's diaries is an Everest of effrontery." From this, one would infer that the only people who are honest are the very people from whom Symonenko hid his diaries, those who, after his death, declared his works to be "immature", since the author had "made mistakes in them", for which reason they could not be printed! The only people who are "honest", then, are those who have usurped the right to set themselves up as a genuine interpreter and editor of the poet's legacy, who receive their orders from the Soviet Russian secret police. Why is it, indeed, that certain of Symonenko's works could only appear abroad? Nehoda, servant of the KGB, does not explain this.

A POET REBELS

VASYL SYMONENKO'S WORKS SPREAD ILLEGALLY

In the last few years it has been possible to hear a whole series of opposing voices from the Soviet poets' camp. "Angry" young poets have been hurling at the Kremlin walls verses against the dead despots, full of accusations, nausea, insults and shame. Many of Stalin's old bards changed the colour of their skin overnight and became fanatical enemies of the — no longer dangerous — dictator.

Not all the young poets of the USSR have given way, begging forgiveness and swearing loyalty to the Party and to Socialism. Some of them marched into battle — and as it was impossible to get their works, verses of protest and accusation, printed legally, they transferred their base of publication within the Soviet Union!

No other Soviet poet had dared to attack the preying Soviet Russian System so bitterly and so uncompromisingly before as did Symonenko. Political poetry — formerly it was known as "social criticism" — is for Soviet citizens a fire in which they can burn more than their fingers...

All the same Symonenko's poems have become well-known not only in Ukraine but in other satellite countries too. Copies, mostly hand-written, circulate among the young in universities and secondary schools. Not so long ago some well-thumbed copies found their way into the West, and a series of poems and extracts from the poet's diary were published by a Ukrainian weekly appearing in Munich.

It is for a later age to judge Symonenko's revolutionary poetry from the artistic point of view and to analyse it by exclusively literary standards. Today we cannot but be fascinated by the fact that such revolutionary poetry, directed against the Soviet Russian dictatorship and disseminated illegally, exists at all! Peering into the "tortured eyes" of "Mother Ukraine", Symonenko sees "blood-red lightning" flashing with "revolutions, upheavals, and battles at the barricades." This is no longer the superficial, shallow opposition which appears in anti-Stalinist tirades, and leaves Communism itself without a graze. It is not refinement of the system, but its damnation and destruction, which Symonenko demands! The destruction of Soviet Russia's prison of nations, governed by demagogues and liars, and by executioners.

Vasyl Symonenko is a Ukrainian poet, and the happiness and liberty of his native land are for him the highest of values. Ukraine is for him "prayer" and "eternal desperation", but he confesses proudly:

Out of love for Thee I sow pearls in man's soul.
Out of love for Thee I think and create,
Let Americas and Russias be silent,
When I speak with Thee, Ukraine! . .
Ukraine, Thou art my prayer,
My eternal desperation.

.

Let the clouds burst into flame,
Let them hiss insults — I don't mind!
I shall fall as a drop of blood
On Thy sacred banner, O Ukraine.

The life and works of Symonenko are a sign not to be overlooked of the strengthening of Ukrainian national aspirations to independence. The dead poet's popularity is evidence of intellectual and political unrest, of general dissatisfaction, of the great malaise of the Ukrainian population. No one wants to know much, if anything at all, about the "elder brother", as the Russians are in the habit of calling themselves.

The Russification of all sectors of life which has continued since Stalin's death is meeting with more and more solid resistance not only among students and poets, but often assumes the form of open rebellion. "Eyes westwards", says an old saying of the westward-looking Ukrainian lore. This saying has a distinctly stimulating sound for all nationally conscious and proud Ukrainians, whose sovereign state was liquidated by Stalin's Red Army in 1919.

Wolfgang Strauss in the *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*

"THE CRY DIED ON HIS LIPS"

"Revolutionary poems of young Ukrainian circulated illegally — Opposition to the domination of Bolsheviks and Russians" — A report by Eugen Libauer. *Volksbote*, No. 15, April 15, 1965.

There is another kind of angry young poets in Soviet Ukraine. They possess by Soviet standards extraordinary courage, for they do not distinguish between the crimes of Stalin's era and those of Lenin's era. Crimes are still crimes, even if the criminals do behave as if they were Stalin's enemies. One of the least timid of these poets was the lyrical poet, essayist and journalist Vasyl Symonenko, a young Ukrainian. He compares the Soviet Union to a city of permanent horror, consisting only of prisons and torture-chambers, of executioners and condemned men

.

Where the warder jangles his keys,
and the protecting gate creaks.
Apparitions with bloody swords
in coats as black as the night
play with oddly-shaped balls,
with heads guillotined from the shoulders.

Blood flows beneath phlegmatic ramparts,
The cry dies on the lips.
A century's scorn and outrage
cause the dead to turn in their graves.

.

("The Gate")

Symonenko's hate is directed in particular at the degrading exploitation of the peasants, already deprived of land and property. In his poem "Zlodyi" (The Thief) he puts himself on the side of a poor old kolkhoz peasant who has been brought before the court to be sentenced, because in his need he has taken home a few ears of corn from the fields. For Vasyl Symonenko it is not the accused who is the true thief but the accuser, the judge — the Bolshevik Party! So the poet makes his accusation:

Where are they — the fat and grey,
Tongue-tied demagogues and liars,
Who have throttled the peasant's faith,
Pushing their way to office and rank?

It is they who belong behind the prison-bars,
It is they who ought to be put on trial,
Thrown into jail for daylight robbery!
What, too little evidence? There's evidence enough
Of rags of stolen faith and hope.

Vasyl Symonenko was born in a Central Ukrainian village in 1935. He attended a secondary school and then studied journalism at Kyiv University. In Cherkassy on the Dnipro he worked as editor of a young people's magazine. He hated the Bolshevik ideology, because he loved life and liberty.

And on 8th October 1962, the poet noted in his diary:

"I am rising up against a new religion, against hypocrites who are trying — not without success — to transform Marxism into a new religion, into a straitjacket for learning, for art, and even for love... If Marxism cannot resist the mad onslaught of dogmatism, then it is doomed to become a religion. And no teaching may dare to exercise a monopoly over the intellectual life of mankind."

Symonenko's first book of poems, "Tysha i Hrim" ("Silence and Thunder") appeared in 1962. He became famous at once among the Ukrainian young. The Party shuddered. When Symonenko presented his second volume of poems for publication a year later, the censors went into action: its publication was forbidden. In spite of this the poems from "Bereh chekań" ("The Shore of Waiting"), as the second work was called, soon became known. Students and secondary school children learn them by heart and declaim them at secret gatherings. On handwritten broadsheets, Symonenko's verses wander through Ukraine and even emerge in the university cities of some of the satellites, where they find enthusiastic readers and disseminators.

The popularity of Symonenko among the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples is founded on the fact that the poet expresses his indignation against Russian domination and against Muscovite colonialism, and exalts patriotic love. Symonenko is an intellectual champion of genuine national independence for his great motherland and of the other countries on whose territory Russian tank divisions are stationed and Russian secret agents are obviously at work. In one of his poems, Symonenko makes this cry:

"Let Americas and Russias be silent,
When I speak with Thee, Ukraine!..."

Ukraine was for Symonenko the land of "Revolutions, upheavals and battles at the barricades." Symonenko suffered terribly because of his people's lack of freedom. But he was never able to see his people in the radiance of true freedom, for at the age of only 29, the young poet died of cancer on 13th December, 1963. Whether or not his passionate call will be heard depends alone on the will to freedom of that younger generation to which Vasyl Symonenko himself belonged. There is cause to hope.

M. STYRANKA

The Problem of National Liberation Movements in Soviet History

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, one of the highest Soviet political leaders, A. I. Mikoyan, criticised the situation which arose in the field of history under Stalin. He was alluding to the subordination of the history of the non-Russian people to general Russian history. He said: "There are many Ukrainian historians who could write the history of the Ukrainian Socialist State much better than many Russian historians who would have done better not to have concerned themselves with this matter."

Since then nine years have passed. But there is still no objective Ukrainian history based on historical sources. The Ukrainian Marxist historians who created a Marxist history of the country in the twenties have not been rehabilitated. Among them was the Kyïv historian M. Yavorsky who, while considering Ukrainian history from the Marxist standpoint, presented also the national viewpoint.

Many Ukrainian historians who tried to take up research again in a more independent form had no great success. As is well known, after the 20th Party Congress they planned to increase the number of workers in the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, to transfer the archives which referred directly to Ukraine from Moscow and Leningrad to Ukraine, to obtain permission for foreign travel, to undertake the investigation of the documents referring to Ukrainian history in all foreign archives, and to publish a 12-14 volume history of Ukraine and a new periodical. Years have passed without a single item of this programme being carried out.

It is well known that the historical works published in Ukraine at the present day with regard to conception and research into historical truth do not differ much from those published in Stalin's time. Moreover, old Stalinist theories of the history of the "voluntary accession" of non-Russian peoples to Russia, the "progressive" significance of this accession, the superiority of Russia culture over other cultures, etc., survive in so-called Leninist forms.

To what extent these historical theories worked out under Stalin enjoy the support of the regime despite destalinization is shown by the conference of the Learned Council of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which was held in Moscow at the end of 1964. One of the principal themes was the national question in Russia during the Revolution of 1917 and particularly the history of the national freedom movements.

The meeting took place under the motto of destalinization as is clear from the introduction of the president of the council, I. I. Mintz. Mintz indicated two fundamental errors of the personality cult which relate to the history of the national freedom movements before and after the revolution of 1917: first, the Stalinist historians maintained that the national freedom movements of the non-Russian peoples of Russia were exclusively bourgeois which contradicted the Leninist thesis of two tendencies in every nation, namely the proletarian and the bourgeois. A second error arises from this, namely, that every freedom movement which is not led by the Communist Party is to be considered as bourgeois, nationalist and hostile to the socialist revolution.

From the proceedings of the conference it is obvious that the present official view of national freedom movements does not differ very much in practice from the Stalinist attitude. It is opposed to the unofficial views of many historians who hold more independent theories.

We give here some examples of trends of thought from the proceedings which on the one hand are in support of the Stalinist thesis of the bourgeois character of the national freedom movements before and during the revolution in Russia, and on the other hand we give illustrations of independent tendencies which represent a revolt of many historians from the national republics, which were criticised and condemned at the conference.

The paper read by the Ukrainian historian from Kharkiv, S. M. Korolivsky, "The Ukrainian National Movement at the time of the Preparation and Execution of the Great October Revolution" may serve as a classical example of the "modernised" Leninist view of the national freedom movements. While supporting the new trend, he condemned officially the errors of the Stalinist period in historical writings on the nationalist freedom movements in Ukraine. Simultaneously he attempted to prove that the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation was social rather than nationalist. In his opinion, only the bourgeois nationalist Ukrainian intelligentsia wanted independence. In trying to follow the present Party-line on historical research Korolivsky concealed the fact that every national freedom movement is led by an active minority. He also did not mention that the national consciousness of the Ukrainians was only formed very slowly under the Tsar and only fully developed during

the Revolution. A further proof of this is that the government of the former Ukrainian Central Council enjoyed the support of the masses.

From the way in which Korolivsky spoke about the problem of the Ukrainian Central Council it is clear that there is a tendency among Ukrainian historians to revise their attitude to the Central Council. Korolivsky claims that its policy in the early period of its activity was militantly democratic. "But that is no reason to change our final opinion of the Ukrainian Council. Its national policy cannot be separated from its general policy, which was, however, of a counter-revolutionary nature right from the beginning of its activity."

To what extent these views conflict with those of many other Ukrainian historians can be seen from the paper read by the Lviv historian H. N. Slupko. Referring to the destalinization of the theories on national freedom movements, Slupko attempts to re-habilitate a number of Western Ukrainian political organizations which were active at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as during the struggle for independence. He particularly mentioned the Lviv Ukrainian Supreme Council which decided national policy; the military unit, the Sich Riflery, which fought on the side of the Austro-Hungarian Empire against Tsarist Russia during the first world war; and the former socialist Peasant Party, the so-called Radical Party.

Slupko's statements attracted strong criticism from the party politicians. One of them, S. K. Osechynsky, accused the above-mentioned organizations of espionage for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. That is an illustration of the kind of "historical argument" they continue to use in the USSR.

But Slupko's speech at the conference was not the only one. A similar tendency to revise historical reports of national freedom movements can also be seen in the speech of the Bashkir historian, B. C. Yuldabashev, from Ufa. He spoke of two trends in the "national movement of the Bashkirs on the eve of the October Revolution", one reactionary and the other progressive. In opposition to the official Soviet declaration that the entire Bashkir freedom movement was reactionary, Yuldabashev tried to prove that the national freedom movement under the leadership of Balidov was supported by the whole population.

This too attracted sharp criticism. But a large number of the historians from national republics supported both him and Slupko. Thus they attacked the official Soviet thesis of the progressive process of the accession of non-Russian peoples to Russia. The Kirghizian historian, M. S. Dzhunusov, drew attention to the fact that in the discussion of the so-called progressive significance of accession the other side of this process is very often neglected, that is, the national

suppression in Tsarist Russia and the national freedom movements aroused by this suppression. Dzhunusov's views were shared by the Kazakh historian, P. H. Tsaluso, who analysed the colonial policy of the Tsar, C. T. Tursunov, from Tashkent, S. M. Dubrovsky and others. Dubrovsky pointed out that one must give up the formula of the double-sidedness of the Tsarist national policy, which according to him, was from the economic point of view progressive, in the countries incorporated in Russia, but in other fields reactionary.

The Conference of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow (see "The National Question on the eve and during the preparation of the great Socialist October Revolution", in the "History of the USSR", No. 5, 1964) reveals two conflicting trends in present Soviet historical studies. As a result of the fact that the regime had been losing its sharpness and also through the increase in the number of younger historians in the national Soviet republics, efforts were made to examine the falsified and distorted national history. The best proof of this is the demand to re-habilitate the national freedom movements.

On the other hand, regardless of the official destalinization policy, even in the field of history, the Party is surreptitiously trying to keep the old course in history. This was created in the national republics after the abolition of free thinking under Stalin and formed an unbroken continuity between Tsarist and Soviet historical study. This course ignored all historical events on the territory of the national Soviet republics relating to struggles for independence and exclusively stressed their "voluntary" accession, their friendship with the Russian people from time immemorial and the progressiveness of Tsarist rule.

All the present Soviet theories on the growing closer together of the nations and the gradual disappearance of national differences in the USSR are based on this pseudo-history. This course also corresponds with the Russianization policy which the Soviet régime is systematically carrying out in the national republics. Many chauvinist Russian Bolshevik politicians associate voluntary accession with voluntary dissolution of the nations, of course for the benefit of so-called Soviet culture and the Soviet people.

It is perfectly obvious that naked Russian imperialism is hidden behind this international cloak. People in Ukraine and other national republics are well aware of this. We have seen how opposition to this imperialist policy, especially among the younger generation, has been growing in recent times. This generation got rid of its fear of the Stalinist terror. The attempts to open new path in national historical studies mentioned above must be considered as part of this opposition.

Taras SHEVCHENKO

Translated by Vera Rich

IN THE FORTRESS

(A cycle of 12 poems, written in May, 1847, when Shevchenko was in prison, awaiting trial on account of his adherence to liberal and democratic principles, and for his membership of the illegal Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, which upheld these ideals.)

I.

All alone, all alone,
Like a stem sere, unwanted;
The Lord gave me no luck,
Nor good fortune granted.

For the Lord only gave,
Beauty, hazel eyes shining;
But I wept them away
In a girl's lonely pining.

No kind brother have I,
Nor dear sister had ever,
Among strangers I grew,
I grew, knowing love never.

Where's a bridegroom to court me?
Kind folk, where d'you tarry?
There are none — all alone...
None will seek me to marry!

II.

Wooded gullies around,
Gravemound in the steppe looming;
Rising up from the mound,
A grey Cossack, bent, gloomy;
Rising nightly, he roams
In the steppe, as he goes
Sings, he sings, sadly mourning:
"Earth they heaped up of yore,
Then went homeward once more,
No one now is recalling.
Cossacks then, fifteen score,
Like to glass, rose no more,
But the earth will not pall them.
For the false Hetman gave
Christian folk as yoked slaves,
Sent us forth as their drovers:
Then this land, this our own,
Was with native blood strown,
Brother murdered a brother;
Drank the blood of a dear
Brother, hence lie we here,
In this cursed gravemound ever!"...
He grew silent, and grieved,
Heavy on his pike leaned,
Standing high on the gravemound;
On the Dnipro he stared,
Weeping, burdened with care,
Loud lamented the waves' sound.
From beyond Dnipro's flood
Echoes rang through the wood,
Loud the third cocks were crowing,
Gone the Cossack from view,
Gully shook through and through,
And the gravemound quaked, groaning.

III.

It does not touch me, not a whit,
If I live in Ukraine or no,
If men recall me or forget,
Lost as I am, in foreign snow, —
Touches me not the slightest whit.
Captive, to manhood I have grown
In strangers' homes, and by my own
Unmourned, a weeping captive still,
I'll die; all that is mine, I will
Bear off, let not a trace remain
In our own glorious Ukraine,
Our own land — yet a stranger's rather.
And speaking with his son, no father
Will recall, nor bid him: Pray,
Pray, son! Of old, for our Ukraine,
They tortured all his life away.
It does not touch me, not a whit,
Whether that son will pray, or no...
But it does touch me deep if knaves,
Evil rogues lull our Ukraine
Asleep, and only in the flames
Let her, all plundered, wake again...
That touches me with deepest pain.

IV.

"Don't leave your mother!" They all warned you.
But you went off, left her behind.
Your mother sought you — did not find,
Until she ceased her seeking mournful;
Grieving, she died. Long since, there waned
All sound there, where you once were playing,
Your dog went roaming somewhere, straying,
And in your house are broken panes.
Now lambs, the shadowed orchard haunting,
Graze there by day, while in the night
Owls sadly hoot there in their flight,
Little repose to neighbours granting.
Henbane choked periwinkle planted
For your bride-wreath, now, hid from sight,
It waits you vainly. In the spinney,
The fresh clear pool, where you went swimming,
Goes dry, where you bathed long ago.
The spinney's grieving, drooping low,

No birds are heard now in the spinney,
You took them with you when you went.
In the ravine, the well sags, tilted,
The willow withered, drooping wilted,
And with thorns and briars is quilted
The path where once your way you went.
Where did you journey, swiftly hieing,
To whom did you migrate, far-flying?
Among strange folk in a strange land
Whose heart do you delight? To whom,
Do you cling, lovingly, your hands?
My heart tells me that in a palace
You live in luxury; no regret
For your old home plagues you with malice.
I pray God that no grief beset
You, nor disturb your slumbers ever,
Nor find you within palace walls,
So that you blame the Lord God never,
Nor curses on your mother call.

V.

"Why to the gravemound roam you always?"
The mother asks her child, imploring:
"Why are you weeping at each step?
Why night on night have you not slept,
My grey-winged dove, my dearest daughter?"
"Yes, yes, mamma!"

And off, straight after,
And Mother, as she waited, wept.

Not the dream-grass on the gravemound
Nightly blossoms granting, —
But a maiden, young, betrothed,
A guelder-rose is planting.
And she waters it with tears,
The Lord above entreating
That He will send the rain at night
And dewdrops falling sweetly,
So that the guelder-rose take root,
Spread branches wide and shady,
"Then, bird-like, from the other world,
My darling will fly, maybe;
And to him, in his woven nest,
I too shall go flitting,
And in the guelder-rose my love
And I shall softly twitter;

Hymns of praise shall sing to God,
To quiet converse given;
Together, in the morning, we
Shall fly away to heaven."

And the guelder-rose took root,
Spread branches wide and shady,
And for three years to the gravemound
Roamed the betrothed maiden.
But the fourth year... Not the dream-grass
Nightly blossoms granting, —
A maiden with the guelder-rose-tree
Weeping and lamenting:

"Guelder-rose, guelder-rose,
Tall and so broad,
Not cool water before sunrise
On you was poured!
Bitter tears in wide rivers
Have flowed upon thee,
From these tears, people spread evil
Rumours of me.
The young girls turn on me,
Their friend in past time,
And they turn on this fair guelder-
Rose-tree of mine.
Wrap thou this poor head of mine,
Bathe it with dew,
With thy broad branches hide me
From the sun's view!
In the morning, folk shall find me,
Mock me and jeer;
And thy broad branches, children
From me shall tear! . ."

Early-morn, a songbird twitters
In the guelder-rose-tree;
'Neath the guelder-rose, a maiden
Slumbers, never rouses:
In her youth she has grown weary,
Evermore she drownses...

Behind the mound the sun was rising,
People rejoiced, from sleep they leapt;
Still Mother lay not down to slumber,
For her child she waited supper,
And waiting, bitterly she wept.

VI.

Once three pathways, broad and wide,
Met upon the plain;
Into foreign parts, three brothers
Set out from Ukraine.
And they left an aged mother,
One a wife beside,
One a sister, and the youngest
Left his chosen bride.

The old mother planted three
Ash-trees in the meadow,
And her son's wife planted there
A poplar tall and slender,
And the sister by the valley
Set three maples shady,
And a guelder-rose was planted
By the betrothed maiden.
But the ash-trees did not root,
And the poplar withered,
The three maples withered up,
The guelder-rose has wilted.
The three brothers do not come,
Their mother weeps them still,
And the wife weeps with her children
In a house grown chill.
The sister weeps, she goes to seek
Her brothers among strangers...
And the young bride? In her coffin
Quietly they laid her...

The three brothers do not come,
They roam the world, forlorn,
And three pathways, broad and wide,
Are overgrown with thorns.

VII.

To M. I. Kostomarov

The joyful sun its face has hidden
Among the joyful clouds of spring;
And to their guests, shut tight within,
A drink of poor weak tea they've given,
To change the guard the order's bidden,
Guards uniformed in azure trim.
Now to the door, by keys close-battened,
And to the bars across the pane
I've grown accustomed; to me came
No grief for my long-since begotten,
Long-since deep buried, long-forgotten
Bitter bloodstained tears of yore, —
So many of my tears were poured
On the vain field. If rue had sprouted
At least, but nothing grew at all!
And then my village I recalled:
Whom did I once leave in past days there?
Father and mother in the grave there...
And my heart burns with sorrow's gall,
For no-one will recall me ever...

I see: thy mother, thine my brother,
Than the black earth blacker far,
Walk, worn and tried by sufferings heavy...
I pray to Thee, Lord God, I pray!
To sing Thy praises I'll cease never,
That with her I share not today
This my prison, these my fetters.

VIII.

Beside the house, the cherry's flowering,
Above the trees the May bugs hum,
The ploughmen from the furrows come,
The girls all wander homeward, singing,
And mothers wait the meal for them.

Beside the house a family supper,
Above, the evening star appears,
The daughter serves the dishes here;
It's useless to advise her, mother,
The nightingale won't let her hear.

Beside the house, the mother lulls
The little children for the night,
Then she, too, settles at their side.
And all is still... Only the girls
And nightingales disturb the quiet.

IX.

Early-morning, at first dawning,
Recruits from the village strode,
In the lad's wake followed sadly
A girl, lone, along the road.
Her old mother hobbled after,
In the field to overtake her, —
Caught her up, led her away;
She berated, scolded ever,
Till in the earth the daughter lay,
Then she, a beggar, went away.

Years went by, and in the village
Naught of change nor newness,
But an empty house was slowly
Tumbling, leaning skewly;

Near the empty house, a soldier
Comes, on crutches creeping,
Gazing on the little orchard,
In the house looks, peeping...
Vainly, friend! No black-browed girl
Will look out from the cottage,
Mother will not call you in
To supper in the cottage.
Long ago, long long ago,
Betrothal towels were woven,
And the kerchief finely figured,
Silk-embroidered over;
He thought to live, to find his love,
To sing to God his praises;
It happened that for him no one
On earth is still remaining.

He sits beside the empty house,
Outdoors, the dusk is creeping,
And in the window, like a crone,
The white owl is peeping.

X.

Hard in captivity... though truly
Freedom was never ours to know;
And yet life went on somehow, though —
There was a field, though strangers ruled it.
But now to waiting life has schooled me,
As for the Lord, for fate of woe.
I wait for it, and, contemplating,
I curse my foolish wits, berate them
That fools could fool them and defraud,
And drown that freedom in the mud.
My heart grows chill in meditating:
Not in Ukraine the grave awaits me,
Not in Ukraine shall I live, awed
With love for people and the Lord.

XI.

Through the broad field he goes,
But no swathes lays he low,
No swathes lays he low, but mountains;
Groans from earth and sea are mounting,
Groans and cries of woe.

By night the owls greet
The old man as he reaps,
Reaper cuts, and takes no resting,
Heeds not any man's requesting,
Useless to entreat.

Do not beg, nor entreat:
No new edge the scythe needs;
Whether township or a townlet,
As with razor, he shaves down there
Everything he meets.

Churl and pot-man besides,
Minstrel-man's orphan guide;
The old man hums at his reaping,
Piles the swathes in mountains steep, from
Tsar turns not aside.

Nor from me will he turn,
Among strangers cut down,
Behind prison-bars he'll choke me,
None will raise a cross as token,
None for me will mourn.

XII.

Shall we ever meet again,
Or have we parted now forever,
Carrying to the empty plains
Love's word, truth's word, to the deserts?
So be it! She was not our mother,
Yet we had to pay her honour!
Such is God's will...

Obey it surely,
Be humble, seek the Lord in prayer,
Mindfully of one another;
Love your dear Ukraine, adore her,
Love her... in fierce time of evil,
In the last dread hour of struggle,
Fervently beseech God for her.

Yuriy LYPA

HANUSSIA

Sleep on a July night was warm — it exhaled acacian blossoms.

In the schoolhouse in the village of Lishchyny it was quiet. Grandmother Koretska was sleeping in the chamber, for it was hot. Mokryna had found a resting place in the kitchen beside Hanussia's door.

Hanussia was a school teacher; she was nineteen. Suddenly she awoke and sat up in bed: it seemed as if some hundred shoemakers were hammering soles. Dark night, the village of Lishchyny was sleeping, but what was the meaning of all that trampling? The whole schoolyard was full of it.

"Mokryna?"

Mokryna was not in the kitchen.

She opened the window. Out there it was night; a crowd was gasping — men of some sort or another. They were either harnessing or unharnessing horses in silence.

"What do you want, comrades?"

"We are not comrades", they answered softly.

"All right then, gentlemen?"

They reflected a moment. "We are not gentlemen either", they replied.

"How shall I address you, then?"

They thought a moment: "Call us friends."

"All right then. What is it you want, friends?"

And there was a whole crowd — head upon head.

"We have just arrived. Your villagers have called us. We are to smoke out the revolution committee. And here we are... now they are to issue ordinances concerning the distribution of the land..."

The voice wanted to add something funny — but it left off; the word froze. Suddenly the dawn broke through and bells began to ring.

"They have ignited the rick of hay by the pond; probably they are notifying the other villages."

The sparks and flames rose up like a pillar to the crystal-clear sky. As an answer, the sound of far-off bells was heard.

Editor's note. Yuriy Lypa (1900-1944) — Ukrainian poet, writer and publicist, physician by profession, author of two collections of poems, the novel "Cossacks in Muscovy" (1934), short stories and publicistic works, "The Destiny of Ukraine", "Black Sea Doctrine" and "Dismemberment of Russia." He joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) as chief of the medical service of its Southern Zone, and was killed in fighting in August, 1944, in the Carpathians.

"The village of Verbizhne is calling us — has announced itself." And suddenly, angrily, "Get going, Gray!"

The crowd dispersed. Fewer and fewer voices, trots of horses, snorts. The schoolyard was empty.

Hanussia stood at the window; in the schoolyard there was no longer a living soul to be seen. Only on the edge of the village the sparks of the rick of hay, which was dying down, were gradually sinking and becoming more horizontal.

"O Miss", — behind the back of Hanussia, who was a tall girl, the stooped, fearful figure of Mokryna appeared. Out of fear she appeared to get smaller and smaller. "O Miss, their leader has come!"

"Whose leader?"

"The insurgents' leader."

In the candle light he appeared tired; he was tall, with deep-sunken eyes, and completely covered with dust. He must have ridden very fast.

"Well now, Miss", he smiled, "don't you tell anyone about it, otherwise it'll be very bad. I, however, will sleep in the schoolroom under a bench by the window. Maxym has set off for Verbizhne. He will give me notice when the time has come. And three of my boys will be in the garden — do you hear, Miss."

"Perhaps you would like a glass of water or some tea. Have you come a long way?"

"We don't drink any water — only schnaps, Miss", laughed the tall, dark man.

"Wash yourself, drink something..."

"We drink only schnaps", he joked and sank down, was already asleep by the window. Was he so tired?

She approached him.

He breathed quietly. He had a finely cut nose, black brows. She stepped up to him very close; the spots on his sleeve were still quite damp.

Like a bird he had plunged in here and now he was sleeping like a bird clawed to a tree in the street.

*

The times were so strange. A beggar requested sleeping quarters for the night — if one turned him away, then the house was set to flames on the following morning. Somewhere in the world a monstrous babe was born, bellowed like an animal and drank blood. A coffin came floating down the Ros'; people wanted to open it, but it wouldn't yield. "This coffin is on the way to my son", was written on the coffin. A Communist fired and blood came out. In the cemetery in Piskivtchany a grave figure renewed itself: first it turned gray — and then golden all over: the head, the body, the angel. Suddenly, the villagers of Piskivtchany threw themselves into the snow, into the dirt on their knees, and one of them began to read prayers aloud.

And they cried out to him, 'Baptize our children, baptize them; we do believe that there is a God.' And everyone was baptized; the cripples were healed, and a girl went around dressed in black, for supposedly she had arisen from the dead.

Hanussia recalled it, for it had been her first year in the country, when the villagers of Piskivtchany had wound their way through the village streets, carrying icons, kissing one another and asking forgiveness. And they had sung the song of the resurrected man:

'Terrible, fearful time of death
For those who live in sin.
God, you my God,
Why have you forsaken me?'

And the communities had risen one after the other; the people had cried out demandingly and had marched shoulder to shoulder, like a warm herd, to the Josaphat valley, where the Day of Judgment was to take place.

And Hanussia recalled how they had arrived in Lishchyny with the grave figure one March morning. The smell of the sheepskin coats had been already coming in from far off, and the distance had been filled with their plaintive song: 'Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah!'

On that occasion, Hanussia had been standing on the high bank of the Ros', which was carrying ice-floes. Suddenly, she had noticed that all the hills, fields and roads to Lishchyny were black with masses of people.

Hanussia had seen the village Soviets marching out to meet them, bringing the people to a standstill and trying to persuade them: 'What are you doing? You are stupid.' Upon this, all of them, as far as one could see, had fallen to their knees. The grave figure had lifted itself up above their heads, as if to bless, and the people had begun to repeat: "Our Father who art in Heaven..." And the village Soviets had gone away; they had disappeared — all that had remained was the Lord's Prayer, which had echoed everywhere between heaven and earth with great power. Beneath them the earth had rumbled. Hanussia had held her own legs firmly and had held her eyes shut in order not to run after them. And as she had opened her eyes again, she had seen the turbid water of the Ros' beneath her feet. Effortlessly and quickly the dirty waves had been carrying the ice along. One ice-floe alone had held close to the bank; it had turned upon its axis; it had trembled from the foaming force of the deep riding waves that had raced past it.

*

Acacias blossom around the schoolhouse. Somehow they were different this summer, hung with umbels, raising themselves like pillars into heaven, giving forth a sweet smell. It seemed that

someone was whispering 'Hanussia' from the flowers... but there was no one there...

For if the tender girl had heard the whisper, she would have sprung forth from behind the window and run there barefooted. And her hair would have appeared livid in the glow of the moon. But she had seen this picture only before her inner eye and had buried it deep within her heart, like something stolen, full of danger, alive.

And all of a sudden the insurrection of the villages, began. The blossoming wall trembled, exploded, crumbled, and through the heavy umbels, the wheels of carts with iron fittings, rattled very close. Hunched over men with short, cut-off rifles across their knees were sitting on them. Then they sprang to their feet, came closer, encircled everything — they, "the friends."

And day and night one could see high gallows on rafts floating down the Ros'. One after the other they came floating down — undulating, rocking. From both banks more were pushed off. The water carried them through all Ukraine, as far as the Black Sea. And when the vultures flew away from the hanged ones, deep, black spots remained behind; the mutilated body turned itself; a small placard dangled on its breast; upon it was written: 'Bolshevik, don't ever return to Ukraine', or 'This is Commissar...'

He, the leader, came by shortly — somewhat hunched over, tall, finely cut nose; the expression of his face was somewhat contemptuous.

"This is for you, Miss."

He smiled and gave her some chocolate.

"Thank you."

The taste of the chocolate was warm, a little salty, almost like blood — as if the aroma of the acacias, a contemptuous smile and the rocking of the gallows were contained in it.

"In a little while, Miss, I am leaving. Maxym is already behind Bilokosyntsi. We are nothing — vagabonds, Miss."

And again this smile, the brows black and white, shining teeth. He went out quickly; he did not glance back. He almost ran. He was certainly always on horseback, always in a state of alarm.

They, these men, probably take a woman, throw her across their saddle in front of them, press her against them without smiling, and speak without caressing. These men, they rode and their eyes were ruthless. But suddenly one of them would turn pale; he would reel and fall out of the stirrups somewhere in the steppe, and the horse would carry the woman who lay across the saddle farther, ever farther...

*

Granny Koretska was old and her eyes had become pale; her memory was failing, but she still smiled at this world, although she

had already gone through eight decades and a black bonnet covered her head.

Today, the evening behind the window was blue. Granny sat down at the old, yellow piano. She could only play a single old waltz: "Joy and Love."

This evening Hanussia knew everything about the tall dark man: Institute of Technology, Kyiv, Blahovishchenska Street; also where his grammar school was located. She smiled and looked at him. He looked at her, got up and asked her to dance.

Joy and Love.

Granny didn't know anything else. The senile fingers glided over the keys awkwardly, like those of a child; the eyes which had become pale smiled.

Yes, yes, she knew — it was an old waltz. She also divined what the two were talking about. The two of them were surely talking about the same thing that young people had talked about in her days.

Joy and Love.

And the old woman's fingers ran over the yellowed keys awkwardly, but eagerly. Hanussia lay in bed and reflected — the beats of the waltz still sounding in her ears. Actually, these were not thoughts — it was the waltz, flowing gold and scent.

Everyone was sleeping.

But who was walking about in the attic? Soft. Perhaps Mokryna? "Mokryna?"

Mokryna was not in the kitchen — but a flickering flame burned in the attic. The steps creaked; it smelled of dried chaff and a sultriness oozed down.

He stood beside the chest which had been broken open and took out silver and other valuables.

He turned about and pulled the pistol. He became pale.

"Don't make any noise. We can't continue without money. I have to leave you already, Miss."

But Hanussia was not afraid of the pistol. Hanussia looked at him and told him, speaking almost into his lips: "Why did you break open the chest? I would have opened it for you."

He embraced Hanussia and a sweet, dark curtain slowly enveloped the world. And she did not feel anything else, only salt on her lips and passion, and steps descending the stairs.

For a while she stood at the head of the stairs and peered down into the darkness. For a moment she closed her eyes. From there the river which had expanded over its banks was looking at her. The rapid, forceful masses of water plunged down upon one another; ice flowed by and look, a small floe, which was still trembling near the bank, broke away now and swam always more quickly, quickly. Without a bank.

Prof. R. SMAL-STOTSKI

The Destruction of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR

There have been several occurrences in the national cultural life of enslaved Ukraine which give us considerable cause to be troubled.

The Communist Party requested the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Committee for the Co-ordination of Scientific Research to provide the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party with plans for the centralized control of all scientific and social disciplines. We must bear in mind that these include Philology, Linguistics, and History, disciplines which are of supreme importance for all the colonial peoples enslaved by Moscow.

Of course, the Communist reactionaries who occupy the Russian Academy of Sciences did this without delay — in fact, with considerable haste. Their outlines formed the basis of a sort of *Ukaz* of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Council of Ministers of the USSR of 11th May 1963 entitled *Towards the Improvement of the Work of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the analogous Academies of the Union Republics* (published in the official news-sheet of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1963, No. 6, pp. 3 and 12-15).

This decree limits the rights of all the Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics, in other words, the Academies of the fourteen countries subjugated by Moscow, and makes over strict control of all natural and social sciences within the Russian imperium to the Russian Academy of Sciences.

In this way the Academy of Sciences of the USSR became a central censor and control-point of the Russian Communist Party, whose task it is to supervise the Academies of the non-Russian peoples, which have now been robbed of every scrap of freedom and all scientific initiative: academic freedom is completely unknown.

These Academies have simply become executive organs, bureaucratic administrative institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR has worked out new charters in which this centralization can be clearly observed. It has also taken into its "care" not only the Academies of Sciences of the non-Russian Union Republics, but also all Soviet research institutions and all those higher educational establishments which have been guilty of any "deviations." The History department of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and all scientific advisory bodies have been placed under the control of the new Section for Social Sciences,

which is responsible for general political and ideological surveillance, and has become the censor for social disciplines throughout the USSR.

Thus it is quite clear that all the historians of the non-Russian colonial peoples, together with their Academies of Sciences, who might have been able to develop some weak initiative of their own (following the well-known "thaw" of 1956) have been subjected to total censorship. Any "liberalization" has come to an end. Nowadays one must "keep quiet and not answer back", as the sad truth is so brilliantly expressed in Russian.

In this way the Russian Academy of Sciences of the USSR has taken over the entire planning of research work in every scientific field, and all the non-Russian Academies of Sciences simply have to submit without complaint to permanent censorship and control of all their work by the Russians. What is more, the non-Russian Academies have been made fully dependent on the Russian Academy of Sciences with regard to materials, technical equipment, and even the building of new blocks. The Russian Academy even has the right to take all decisions concerning the scientific and administrative apparatus of the non-Russian Academies and to appoint their directors. Even ordinary members and corresponding members must have their membership confirmed by the Russian Academy of Sciences.

What Stalin could only accomplish by a bloody reign of terror, his successors have been able to achieve with a mere decree — to secure the complete centralization and censorship of all the non-Russian Academies of Sciences.

The Russian imperialists are obviously principally concerned to bring the subject-matter of historical studies under their strict control. And in this respect they have been brilliantly successful in fulfilling all the hopes which they had placed in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In the journal *Istoriya SSSR* ("The History of the USSR"), 1964, No. 1, is to be found the following: this history is to be circumscribed by research into "the regular development of society and the transition from one social-economic system to the next, the laws which govern the development of Socialism and its transition to Communism, the history of the 'October Revolution', and the history of the 'Great Fatherland War' from 1941 to 1945. It will be concerned with the history of towns and factories, the 'history of the international workers' movement and of national liberation movements', Soviet politics from a historical point-of-view and Soviet international relations. Finally studies will include ethnogenesis and the history of how nations have been formed, the culture of the world, and the story of historical studies." All these "researches" are really aimed at throttling the study of the real history of the non-Russian colonial peoples and at accelerating the formation of a single "Soviet nation."

Philology and Linguistics will be made up of such subject-matter as will assist in reaching the same goal. This is to involve the annihilation of the Ukrainian language, which was condemned to death in the new Communist Party Programme.

These are the realities which independent and free Ukrainian scholarship must take into consideration, and which render it essential that a special congress for the defence of the Ukrainian nation of our independent scholars in the Free World be convened as soon as possible.

Taras Shevchenko in Georgia

The Central Library of the Georgian Academy of Sciences has brought out a bibliography of all the works of the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko which have been translated into and published in the Georgian language and of the literature about him which appeared in Georgian between 1861 and 1961.

The purpose of this bibliography is to be of assistance to the reader in the study of the life and works of the great poet, who has always greatly aroused the interest of the Georgian public.

The first part of the bibliography lists all the Georgian translations of his works, the second, Georgian literature written about the poet, and the third the poetry of Georgian poets which has been dedicated to Taras Shevchenko.

The material is given in chronological order, and arranged alphabetically in Georgian and Ukrainian in the index of contents.

In 1881 the poem "The Working Woman", translated by the Georgian writer N. Lomaury, was published in "Iveria", the newspaper of the great Georgian nationalist politician I. Chavchavadze.

In 1886 the Georgian poet M. Gurieli translated the poem "The Thought" — "The Days fly by, the Nights melt away", and this appeared in the periodical "The Theatre." In 1893 the poem "The Winds Blow" was printed in "Iveria" in the translation by the writer S. Khundadze.

Since that time many of Taras Shevchenko's poems have appeared in the Georgian press, and articles have very often been published about his literary and political activities and his significance in national life.

On 6th October 1890 there appeared in "Iveria" an appreciation of the great merits and significance of the Ukrainian poet. On 2nd January 1909 the newspaper "Our Voice" published the great

Georgian poet A. Tseretheli's memoirs of Taras Shevchenko, whom he had known personally. They had often been together at Kostomarov's home in St. Petersburg, where Shevchenko had given lectures. A. Tseretheli wrote that he had become politically nationalist under Shevchenko's influence, and these memoirs called forth great enthusiasm in Ukraine.

In 1911, the fiftieth anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's death, the Georgian press devoted long articles to him.

The Georgian educationist J. Gogebashvili published the article "A Little Letter about a Great Poet" in the "People's Daily" and the article "Taras Shevchenko, the great poet of Ukraine" in the periodical "Nakaduli."

The Georgian pedagogue and politician A. Garsenianishvili gave talks in extra-mural classes in Kutaisi about Taras Shevchenko and published the article "The Significance of Taras Shevchenko's Poetry" in the newspaper "Kolkhida."

His book "The Poet of Ukraine — Taras Shevchenko" appeared in 1912.

In 1914, the centenary of Taras Shevchenko's birth, there appeared in such Georgian newspapers and periodicals as "The Voice of Truth", "The People's Daily", "The Shield", "The Community", "The Thought", "Theatre and Life", "The Rock", etc., detailed articles about the poet.

Even today in Georgia many translations of the works of Taras Shevchenko are brought out and informative contributions appear in newspapers and periodicals.

The residents of Georgia celebrated his centenary in the great opera-house. There the old poet A. Tseretheli spoke, his awe-inspiring appearance underlined by his snow-white beard and hair. When he said, "I knew this Batko personally...", he was unable to continue speaking, for everyone jumped up, there was a storm of applause, the people shouted for joy, and the newspaper of that time wrote that there was concern, lest the building should fall in.

This was decidedly a Ukrainian-Georgian political demonstration.

In this connection we should like to mention a Georgian who devoted his entire life to Georgian-Ukrainian relations, and who died at the age of 83 in February of this year — Georgi Namoradze.

He studied at the University of Kyiv, where he settled for good. He had a perfect command of the Ukrainian language and had been a regular contributor to Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals since 1907. He acquainted the Ukrainian public with Georgian history and culture and translated the works of Georgian poets and writers into Ukrainian, at the same time publishing articles about the Ukrainian people in the Georgian press.

After the occupation of Ukraine he worked in the State Publishing House, continuing to translate Georgian literature into Ukrainian and to publish it.

RUSSIFICATION DRIVE GOES ON

And now, yet another gloomy picture of the Russification of the Ukrainian school system. Our information comes from *Literaturna Ukraïna* (Literary Ukraine), No. 26. In an article entitled "Concern about the School System" we read the following remarkable statements, made by Ukrainian educationists at a conference at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute for Educational Research in Kyïv on the subject of Ukrainian literature lessons in secondary schools and problems related to these:

"Furthermore, the public is very concerned about the fact that, as participants in the discussion have observed, the number of lessons in the Republic's schools which are devoted to literature, and especially to Ukrainian literature, has been diminishing."

The yearbook *The National Economy of the USSR in 1963* published statistics which showed a steady year-by-year reduction in the number of libraries, clubs and museums in Ukraine and of books and newspapers published in Ukrainian. It is interesting to note that the number of Russian books, newspapers and journals in the Ukraine is continually growing.

In 1950 there were 34,913 public libraries in the Ukrainian SSR, in 1960, 32,642, and in 1963 only 30,799.

In 1950 there were in Ukraine 28,733 clubs and similar establishments, in 1963 only 26,611. In 1950 there were 137 museums, in 1963, 130. The number of theatres sank from 81 in 1950 to 60 in 1963.

In 1958, 3,975 books were published in Ukrainian. By 1960 this number had sunk to 3,844, in 1962 to 3,825, in 1963 to 3,321. In the same period the number of books in Russian increased as follows: in 1958 there were 1,643 titles, in 1960, 4,045 titles, and in 1962, 4,279 titles. The number of journals published in Ukrainian is rapidly decreasing — in 1958 it was 214, but in 1963 only 130. The number of Ukrainian periodicals has also dropped considerably: from 2,715 in 1958 to 765 in 1963. On the other hand the number of Russian-language periodicals appearing in Ukraine increased from 614 in 1958 to 1,601 in 1963.

If we also take into account the fact that irreplaceable books were destroyed in a (deliberately started) fire in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, then the way in which cultural and intellectual life in Ukraine is being laid waste becomes almost unimaginable. In this fire documents were "accidentally" burnt which relate to recent events in Ukraine, and in particular to the liberation struggle which is being conducted against Moscow.

RESOLUTIONS

OF THE TWENTIETH GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN

I.

1. The Twentieth General Meeting of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, after discussing the period passed through by our central social institution in this country, states with pride that for the twenty years of its existence the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (SUB), in full awareness of the needs of our Motherland, has been successfully carrying out its historic task in the organisation and creative building up of the national and cultural as well as social life of the Ukrainian emigrés.
2. At the same time the SUB has been making considerable efforts in support of the idea of liberation and the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its rights to the United and Sovereign Ukrainian State.
3. The SUB has brought up Ukrainian socially and politically active membership aware of their mission in the all-Ukrainian national liberation front.

II.

1. The Twentieth General Meeting of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain sends over the borders of enemy occupations ardent greetings to the Ukrainian People in the Ukraine and in remote places of deportation who continue in various ways to resist the invaders; continue a heroic struggle for the preservation of Ukrainian culture and spiritual achievements and the fight for the liberation of the Ukrainian Nation and its complete Independence and Sovereignty.
2. The Meeting sends its greetings to all brother and sister Ukrainians who live in various countries on this side of the Iron Curtain and earnestly work and aid with devotion the cause of Ukrainian national liberation.

III.

1. The General Meeting of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain sends greetings from the bottom of their hearts to Hierarchies and Clergy of both the Ukrainian Churches, expressing their profound respect and wishing them good health and every success in their priestly work.
2. The Twentieth General Meeting especially rejoices at the nomination of his Eminence Joseph Slipyi, as Cardinal, and wishes him much strength and health in His great historic mission.

IV.

In connection with the twentieth anniversary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, the General Meeting expresses recognition, gratitude and thanks to all chairmen of SUB branches, councils and governing bodies, central and local, as well as to all male and female members of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, for their successful activities in building up this organisation in its present form.

V.

1. The General Meeting takes note of the solemn commemoration, which takes place this year on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of General Taras Chuprynska's heroic death. This event further emphasizes the spiritual bond with the heroic fighters of UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), who continue their fight to the final victory.
2. The General Meeting recommends the commemoration of outstanding historical events, e.g. the thousandth anniversary of Prince Svyatoslav the Conqueror's feats, which falls due this year, in order to manifest the continuity of the historical inheritance and spiritual connections of the

period of the Kievan Princes, the Cossack times, and the newest stage of the struggle for Liberation, as a manifestation of the national ideals of all generations and ages in our hearts and deeds.

VI.

1. In connection with the Twentieth Anniversary, the Meeting urges all members of SUB, all Ukrainian communities and each individual, to step up their activities and initiative in the life of the community, and carry out accurately and diligently their membership duties in the belief that even the least enhancement of the activity of a single member will further the consolidation of our community and our achievements.
2. On the occasion of the twenty year long activity of SUB, marked with positive attainments for the good of all Ukrainians, the Meeting earnestly urges all Ukrainians in this country who do not yet take part in the work of the SUB to join the united friendly community and with joint effort to spread more strongly and more extensively the work for the good of the Ukrainian People and their Liberation.
3. The Meeting expresses joy at the economic progress of the numerous branches of SUB and urges them to relate their work even more to the general requirements of the Central Office, our entire community and the requirements of the Ukrainian national front.
4. In connection with the twentieth anniversary of the SUB the Meeting appeals for a collection to be carried out as a Jubilee Gift for building up the activities of SUB, consolidating the financial basis of SUB's Central Office and starting to look for a Representative House of the Central Office.

VII.

1. The Meeting recommends the paving of the ways for, and giving concrete expression to the collaboration on the cultural, scientific, social and other sectors of national life with Ukrainian institutions and organisations in other countries, especially with a view to strengthening the national unity and solidarity as well as widening foreign contacts of Ukrainians abroad.
2. As regards to so-called "cultural exchange", i.e. contacts with representatives of the enemy Moscow regime in the Ukraine, the Meeting confirms the resolution of the Presidium of SUB's Council in that matter and urges all members of SUB and all Ukrainians to counteract all manifestations of pro-Moscow and pro-Soviet sympathies as well as all other manifestations of the enemy's demoralizing actions in all its forms, and continually strengthen their watchfulness and persistence in the struggle against the enemy's actions, carried out against Ukrainians by Moscow through its agents.

VIII.

1. The General Meeting is glad to notice the efforts and work of SUUV (Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educationists), the SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and boy scouts, and especially the successful progress and popularity among the youth of SUM's home "Tarasivka", and urges all Ukrainians to continue their devotion to this matter with as much work and attention as possible.
2. The Meeting entrusts the new Governing Body to devote much attention to the matter of Homes for elderly Ukrainians and points out the necessity of every possible help, including moral one, to pensioners, so that they may fully participate in the social and public life of SUB.
3. The Meeting notes the useful initiative of UPOK (Ukrainian Educational Council) and the Governing Body of the Shevchenko Library, in organising Ukrainian scientific and educational activities in this country through setting up a centre for scientific work.
4. The Meeting recommends the Central Office of SUB to direct the work of KODUS (Relief Board for Ukrainian Students in Great Britain), so as to

relate its activities to other institutions in connection with students and youth, e.g. UPOK, SUUV, SUM, and the Boy-scout organisation.

5. The Meeting notes with satisfaction the rise in the standard of our artistic teams, especially choirs and dance ensembles. In connection with the new and able young people in this sector, it recommends measures for further expansion, particularly in giving performances for non-Ukrainian audiences with a view to manifest Ukrainian folklore and culture for wider circles.
6. At the same time the Meeting notes the necessity for the advancement and furthering of Ukrainian culture in all its higher forms, e.g. music, painting, sculpture, literature, philosophy and science, and urges all communities not to spare work and effort in striving for further achievements in these important sectors.
7. The Meeting notes much work and effort on the part of the SUB press and other Ukrainian publishing houses and ardently appeals to all patriotic Ukrainians to propagate and assist in the development of our own press and book publishing. — It is especially desirable that "The Ukrainian Thought" should be read in every Ukrainian home and Ukrainian books should take place of honour.

The Meeting appeals to all SUB members to exert all their efforts during this Jubilee year that every Ukrainian family and all single persons in this country should become permanent subscribers to "The Ukrainian Thought."

8. The Meeting recommends the introduction of a custom according to which children and young people should receive Ukrainian children's books, subscriptions to youth magazines, such as "Yuni Druzi", "Krylati", and others on every possible occasion.
9. The General Meeting notes the importance of the activities of the organisation of branches of the Ukrainian Women's Organisation and expresses its wish that the Governing Bodies of SUB branches should render them every possible help.

IX.

The General Meeting takes notice of the importance of the external sector where our activity justifies our stay in a foreign land, and urges SUB branches and their most active members to broaden and strengthen our outside contacts, continually gaining supporters for our struggle for liberation and familiarising British people and other non-Ukrainians with the problems of the Ukraine, its background and history, the true facts about the international situation, the culture and literature of Ukraine.

In this connection the Meeting appeals for the further development and expansion of "The Ukrainian Review" and other foreign language publications.

The Meeting draws attention to the importance of working within the Anglo-Ukrainian Society so that it should rise to an adequate level and accomplish the hopes and tasks entrusted to it.

Among other matters the Meeting notes the useful work of the editor of "The Anglo-Ukrainian News" and urges SUB members to offer him every possible support.

X.

1. The Meeting thanks with gratitude His Eminence Cardinal Joseph Slipyi and Their Graces Metropolitans Nikanor, Maksym, Ilarion, and all Archbishops and Bishops of the Ukrainian Churches for their blessings and greetings on the occasion of SUB's 20th anniversary.
2. The Meeting thanks very much all Ukrainian Central Institutions, Governing Bodies and Organisations in the world, regional organisations and SUB branches, as well as all leading figures of Ukrainians in foreign lands, and our outstanding foreign friends for their sincere words of high esteem and recognition and warm greetings which they had sent to the Meeting.

XI.

The General Meeting expresses sincere gratitude to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, Her Government and the British people, for their warm hospitality to Ukrainians, who live in the United Kingdom. The SUB's General Meeting also sincerely thanks all British political, scientific, and public figures who recognize and support the cause of Ukrainian liberation.

XII.

The General Meeting expresses its firm and ardent faith in the final victory of the Ukrainian truth over the enemies of Ukraine and that, as a result of the work, sacrifice and struggle of all Ukrainians, a Free, Independent, United and Sovereign Ukrainian State will be established in the world. *London, 10th April, 1965.*

NEW YORK NEWSPAPER REPORTS ON UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The Saturday, February 6, 1965 issue of the *New York Journal-American*, one of the largest dailies of the Hearst newspaper chain, carried a three-column feature article on the second page, entitled, "Soviet Tinderbox: Ukrainians Stirred up by Slaying." The article, written by Guy Richards, a well-known columnist and specialist on communist assassinations and espionage activities abroad, deals with the effects and impact upon Ukrainians evoked by the assassination of Stepan Bandera, Ukrainian nationalist leader, by KGB agent Stashynsky six years ago. The occasion was the publication of a book, *Political Assassination*, by Hermann Raschhofer, which deals with the murder of Bandera. The columnist also cites Walter Dushnyck, editor of UCCA publications and *The Ukrainian Weekly*, who was interviewed by Mr. Richards. The article also shows a map of Ukraine.

The article reads:

The itch for freedom is a curiously variable force which has probably caused more wars, upsets and surprises than any other.

Its harvest of surprises is especially interesting. They are rooted to the cyclic nature of the itch.

Not all peoples have it in the same degree. Those who feel it most strongly in certain years of a certain decade may scarcely notice it 10 years later.

The docile aborigines of Australia have never felt it very strongly. Neither have the tribe-ridden Arabs. And the Polynesians of American Samoa were given a sample inoculation and thereafter made it clear, they wanted no part of it.

Many a liberty-loving Frenchman, willing to murder anyone who challenged his right to denounce his own government leaders, wouldn't lift a finger to save the last vestiges of France's overseas empire from passing out of the family.

So the itch not only produces paradoxes. It produces hypocrisies which so aggravate it that it often becomes an epidemic strong enough to spark a revolution.

TROUBLE BREWING FOR THE RUSSIANS

Taxation without representation proved to be the final fuse for our Revolution and now the Soviet Union may be about to endure some of the wracking ordeals suffered, for somewhat different reasons, by the bumbling monarchy of George III.

Ingredients for an explosion are present and are fast building up. In the first place, in the field of nauseating hypocrisy, the USSR is without a rival on the face of the earth.

Here is a nation holding a whole galaxy of captive states in the grip of its army and secret police, while at the same time pretending its heart bleeds for the "liberation" of oppressed peoples everywhere. What a mockery! Look at Hungary.

Red China — every bit as aggressive — has never tried to strain anyone's credulity about being interested in peaceful coexistence with the West.

Secondly, within the broad confines of Russia and her satellites, are millions of people who have always felt the itch for freedom intensely: notably in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the Ukrainian Union Republic and the Tatar Autonomous SSR. Of these, the ones most keenly feeling the impulse at the moment are reportedly the Baltic populations, the Ukrainians and the Tatars.

Thirdly, a fuse has started to burn. It's a lulu and it's burning in Ukraine, the great black earth belt north of the Black Sea which harbours a population of 43.5 million.

Those millions go a long way to feeding the rest of Russia, and ever since the 18th Century days of Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of Ukraine, inspirer of the romantic movement enlivened by the great poet, Taras Shevchenko, as well as of Lord Byron, Victor Hugo, Franz Liszt and even Alexander Pushkin, they've always done their best to kick free from the Russians.

The last time was during the German invasion of World War II. That almost succeeded.

What has relit the old Ukrainian fuse is the combination of a brutal political assassination, a book about it and the elevation in the Russian hierarchy of one of the men who masterminded it.

The assassination in Munich, Germany, in 1959, was that of Stepan Bandera, Ukrainian nationalist leader. He was murdered by a KGB-trained agent Bohdan N. Stashynsky, who used the relatively clue-proof cyanide spray gun.

The book about it is *Political Assassination* by a West German, Hermann Raschhofer. (He writes that the murder caused the CIA to reinvestigate the death of 150 politicians who appeared to have died naturally). It is being distributed in the US by the Boniface Press in Philadelphia, Pa., (Ed.: 5353 Magnolia St., Phila.).

PLOTTER BECOMES DEPUTY PREMIER

The man who helped plan the murder, and who has since risen from KGB boss to deputy premier of the USSR, is Aleksander A. Shelepin.

That trinity — a murder, a book and a high promotion — is reportedly having an abrasive effect in Europe, and especially in Ukraine. It has been translated into several languages. It spells out move-by-move how the murder of powerful insurgents has become a state policy of the USSR; how the opposition (in this case West German intelligence) was deliberately framed to look like the guilty one; and how planners and perpetrators were rewarded.

Bandera was a Ukrainian hero. He was a white flame of the nationalist movement. The dossier of his cold-blooded extermination and of the projected quick follow-up murder of Yaroslav Stetzko, head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations headquartered in Munich, is gaining a prairie-fire readership among those anxious to find real face of the Kremlin under the smiling facade.

The book makes instructive reading for citizens of the Congo, the US, South Viet Nam, Iran and Burundi, to name a few, who have recently lost government leaders via the assassination route.

AN IMPACT FELT IN UNITED STATES

It's having an impact on the more than 2 million Americans of Ukrainian descent who seem to know very well what it means when political assassination is as firmly entrenched as Russian policy as social security is as American policy.

The lesson is being rammed home, too, in their major English-language publications. The Ukrainian Bulletin, The Ukrainian Weekly and the Ukrainian Quarterly Review. The editor of all three, Walter Dushnyck, a veteran of the Army's World War II campaigns in the Pacific, told the Journal-American:

"The Bandera assassination demonstrates the eternal Russian fear of the Ukrainians' loyalty to Ukraine. As long as Ukrainian freedom fighters exist anywhere in the world, the Russian Communist bosses know they're insecure — and they are."

Ukrainian Chronicle

VATICAN PRESS AND RADIO COMMENT ON ELEVATION OF SLIPYJ TO THE RANK OF CARDINAL

Vatican City, Italy — In the official communiqué regarding the nomination of 27 new cardinals by Pope Paul VI appearing in *L'Osservatore Romano* of January 25-26, 1965 Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj was listed in the fourth place, just after the three Eastern-rite patriarchs, who were also elevated to the dignity of cardinal. Metropolitan Slipyj was identified as "Archbishop of Lviv of Ukrainians." According to the Ukrainian Press Bureau at Rome, the nomination of new cardinals was a surprise for Roman circles, inasmuch as it was thought generally that the Pope will not appoint new cardinals until after the termination of the fourth session of the Ecumenical Council. A commentator on the Vatican radio stated that both Metropolitan Slipyj and Archbishop J. Beran were made cardinals in recognition of their loyal fidelity to the Catholic Church. He added that the elevation of Metropolitan Slipyj to the rank of cardinal along with three Eastern-rite patriarchs stresses the growing importance and consideration of the Eastern Churches on the part of the Holy See. He concluded that in "the ecumenical atmosphere of the Ecumenical Council the title of cardinal assumes a fuller significance and loses its exclusively Latin character, becoming thus a mark of participation of Eastern Catholics in the administration of the universal Catholic Church."

"L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO" ON CARDINAL SLIPYJ'S BACKGROUND

Rome, Italy — The February 22-23, 1965 issue of *L'Osservatore Romano*, in a two-page spread carried the biographies and photographs of the 27 new Cardinals named by Pope Paul VI in January, 1965.

The portrait of Cardinal Slipyj appeared fourth (after the three Eastern patriarchs), and his biography, read, in part:

"On December 22, 1939 Msgr. Slipyj was consecrated co-adjutor-archbishop of Lviv with the 'right of succession...' After the death of the Servant of God A. Sheptytsky on November 1, 1944, he became Metropolitan of Lviv (Leopolis), Bishop of Halych and Kamianets, with a title of Apostolic Administrator of the Metropolis of Kyiv... On April 11, 1945 the illustrious and venerable Metropolitan Slipyj was arrested and condemned to eight years of prison and forced labour, which he spent in various camps in Siberia, the Northern regions, Asia and Mordovia. In 1953 he was condemned anew to an indefinite term. A third sentence was meted out in 1957, for seven years of prison and forced labour; and finally in 1962 a fourth sentence to the strictest prison in Mordovia.

"He was liberated in 1963 thanks to the paternal intervention of Pope John XXIII. The release from the unjust condemnation came through the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union on the proposal of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Nikita Khrushchov.

"On February 9, 1963 the Archbishop arrived in Rome among affectionate manifestations. On December 23, 1963 the Holy Father, Paul VI, bestowed upon him the privileges and rights of Major Archbishop, and appointed him the same day a member of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches.

"Thus ended a period of painful manifestation of the great faith and ardent fidelity which the intrepid Pastor has shown to the Holy Mother Church and a deep gratitude to the Supreme Pontiffs, Benedict XV, Pius XI, Pius XII and John XXIII...

"The Holy Father, Paul VI, by elevating him, has demonstrated to Archbishop Slipyj an especial esteem and benevolence..."

CARDINAL SLIPYJ'S ALLOCUTION TO POPE PAUL VI

Rome, N.Y. (A.D.) — During the audience of the large Ukrainian group with Pope Paul VI on February 25, 1965, His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyj delivered the following address:

"Holy Father! When in our humility and modesty we look upon the arena of world events, we see above all the gigantic efforts of Your Holiness to bring about the unity and preserve humanity from conflicts and war, and especially to bring about the unity of Christ's Church, torn by conflicts stemming from human weaknesses and frailties and to restore to Her bosom all and particularly the separated Christian Churches and communities, so that the Church of Christ may have a beneficial influence also upon earthly actions of states and peoples and fulfill in dignity Her tasks imposed by Christ the Lord.

We are happy and grateful to Your Holiness for Your great endeavours in reaching out to our suffering Church and people and embracing them under Your Holy protection.

The political conditions of the past and the fact of being situated at the crossroads between the East and the West, with their often contradictory aspirations, weighed heavily upon our unity and contributed in large measure to religious, political and national strife and discord. And when we look today upon the sad past, we cannot but be most joyfully thankful to the Apostolic See for always striving to strengthen and unite our religious and political forces and instill in our souls the great power of unity. For the wisdom of the ancient Roman adage is that *Ubi est concordia, ibi victoria est* (Where there is unity, there is victory).

In the ancient past Apostle Andrew endeavoured to unite the warring tribes in our land with the help of the Gospel. This word was also preached by Pope Clemens. His remains, found by the Slavic Apostles Cyril and Methodius who went to the Khazars on the Volga, also fulfilled a salutary mission among our people of awakening the veneration of Pope

Clemens, forgotten in the wake of the great folk migrations. His remains, brought to Rome, became a new stimulus for unity with the Apostolic See. It was Princess Olga who first sent her legates through Emperor Otto in 959, asking that Catholic bishops be sent to her land. Subsequently, Papal emissaries came to her grandson, Great Prince Yaropolk, and afterwards on three occasions the Papal legates came to Grand Prince Volodymyr in Kyiv, bringing the remains of Pope Clemens and recalling his martyred death in our lands.

It was for this reason that St. Volodymyr took the relics from Chersones and brought them to Kyiv.

These exchanges of legates by Grand Prince Volodymyr were intended to strengthen the great Kievan State, just as the Church of Christ had already strengthened the peoples of Central Europe.

Then, other important events followed, such as the nomination of Grand Prince Izyaslav and his son, Yaropolk, as rulers of Kyiv by Pope Gregory VII; the nomination of Prince Danylo as King by Pope Innocent IV in 1253; the elevation of Metropolitan Isidore of Kyiv to the dignity of Cardinal; endeavours at the Council of Florence for the restoration of unity of our Church with the Apostolic See; the Union of Brest of 1596, and its (Apostolic See) further efforts for the rebirth of our Church, state and people — relentlessly pursued by the Apostolic See through centuries of history, if occasionally interrupted by man's quarrels and strife.

We cannot begin to enumerate at this audience all of the graces received nor can we fully express our deep gratitude for them.

But ever mindful of all previous graces bestowed upon us, we wish to pay our homage and express our heartfelt filial gratitude for accepting this humble servant into the College of Cardinals and, through the elevation of his modest person, recognize the sufferings of our people!

Your Holiness! Thousands upon thousands of thanks from those who

could come, and even more from those who could not come to Your Holiness and express their deep feelings of love and filial loyalty. In these difficult times the nomination of our cardinal, fourth in history, moved deeply the hearts of our people, grieving and downtrodden, and elevated them in the eyes of other peoples as never before.

Please accept, our Holy Father, from our trembling lips, this heartfelt filial gratitude and kindly bestow upon us Your paternal Apostolic Blessings that we may continue in our work for the strengthening of our unity with the Apostolic Throne."

ADDRESS BY HIS HOLINESS
POPE PAUL VI ON FEBRUARY 25,
TO THE UKRAINIAN
DELEGATION IN ROME

The text of the Pope's brief address was translated from the Italian language and it runs as follows:

"Monsignori, Cardinal,
Brothers and Sons:

In these brief words We wish to express Our great joy in meeting you on this particular occasion.

We wish to share with you Our thoughts and feelings born in Our soul at this joyful moment.

First of all We wish to tell you why We have elevated Joseph Slipyj to the dignity of cardinal.

In summing up these feelings, We wish to tell you that in doing so We wanted to express Our deep respect for Monsignor Joseph Slipyj and for the entire Ukrainian people.

What is binding Us with the Ukrainian people are the unforgettable events of Our life and Our pleasant memories. We had an opportunity to meet personally with Monsignor Andrew Sheptytsky in one of the most difficult periods of his life.

This honour for Us occurred at the time when We stayed in Warsaw for a few months, in the period of your history, when the problem of Lviv and those parts of Ukrainian territory which were subsequently incorporated into the Polish state had emerged in full force on the international political arena. It was at that time that We had ample opportunity to learn about the Ukrainian problems and aspira-

tions, and sufferings of the Ukrainian people.

By elevating to the dignity of cardinal a Ukrainian Metropolitan We wished to attest to the whole Church and the entire world that his suffering, his steadfastness in the confession of Christ's faith and, his heroism are priceless treasures of the universal Church and belong to the history of all ages.

To you, my Ukrainian sons, — scattered throughout the whole world — and We know well how staunchly you preserve your traditions and the special care with which you endeavour to retain your beautiful rite, your language and your culture — We wish to give through the elevation of your Metropolitan before the eyes of the Church and the whole world, a high and authoritative leader on whom you could rely and whom you could trust implicitly.

We also wish to reveal to you Our other intimate thought. When your Cardinal spoke, We could not understand, as We do not know the Ukrainian language. In the past We knew a few Polish words, but today even these few words We *nie pamiętam* (I don't remember — in Polish). But We did understand one phrase of greatest importance which the Monsignor Cardinal uttered in Latin: *Ubi est concordia, ibi victoria est* (Where there is unity, there is victory). This is the very living truth! We wish to reveal that by the elevation of your great Metropolitan to the dignity of Cardinal, We wanted to give to you, Ukrainians, a high spokesman for your unity, to establish a strong center of your religious and national and cultural life. We announce this important truth in the strongest possible manner, my Ukrainian sons: if you are united among yourselves, you will remain nationally alive, you will develop, you will grow in good and great deeds, you will cultivate the virtues of the Gospel, you will possess great power and resistance, which you shall need in order to sustain all the sacrifices, labours and endeavours that the future will undoubtedly demand of you in the struggle for the preservation of your national name.

We have other deep feelings that we wish to reveal to you.

In placing before the eyes of the universal Church and the world the entire Ukrainian people, we had heroic Ukrainian Metropolitan and had have the intention of reviving in the Ukrainian people new and great hopes! Continue your struggle! Lift up your spirits, my dear Ukrainian sons! Work and pray and rely on God! My the Almighty bless your efforts and fulfill your hopes and desires!

Let these words of Our remain in your hearts forever in memory of Our meeting today:

Be faithful! Be strong, brave and steadfast! Pray to God and have faith that the Ukrainian people will not perish, but with God's help and under prudent guidance of your leaders will triumph in victory!"

CARDINAL JOSYP SLIPYJ'S ADDRESS (Extracts)

Solemn Congregation,

After the words of the Holy Father, after such an exhaustive address, it seems to me that I shall hardly have very much to say. The hour which we in all humility are celebrating is so solemn... If we were only concerned about the prisoner, then all this toil and sacrifice, all these tokens of respect, just for the sake of exalting and praising him, would not, you may be sure, be worthwhile. But what is happening today is not happening only for the sake of the person of this unworthy prisoner. It is happening for the whole people, and for this reason alone does the hour deserve to be fittingly celebrated. We want to celebrate it as solemnly as is within our power, so that it remains in the memory of the world to come and in our own memory. It is not only important that the accomplishments of the people, attained through great efforts and sometimes paid for with the sacrifice of blood and human lives, should not vanish, but that they should experience the fitting and conscious esteem of their contemporaries as well as of their descendants. I believe that no one will contradict the statement that this accomplishment which we are living through today belongs to the

great accomplishments of our history, and that great efforts have been made in the past centuries, perhaps far greater than in the present century, which all the same could not be crowned with the success which they merited. I speak today not in my own name as I speak here; I raise my voice aloft today in the name of the people, far away, who have suffered so much and must still bear so much today.

Solemn Congregation, this hour, so clearly and plainly dignified by the Holy Father's words, should be an impetus, a stimulus, or, in the new Ukrainian terminology, a call, a mighty call to unite. For only united, only strengthened, only covenanted, can we attain anything... What I personally fear most of all is that — to give satisfaction to your really cordial and sincere wishes — your poor cardinal is too weak. For just as you rejoice today, and rejoice in the name of all those who send their good wishes — and there were thousands of them, in fact nearly a million, practically from the Caucasus to New Zealand and Australia — so can every single Ukrainian heart rejoice, that there has been an awakening from sloth and a hearkening to Christ's truth.

And now, what can he do, this poor cardinal, who has received all your good wishes and gifts of love? Great deeds are required of him, but his strength is weak and flagging. Solemn Congregation, I give you a no less sincere and no less cordial answer — that such a cardinal will be like his people. If you are great, your cardinal will be great too; if you are small, he will be even smaller! That is the law. Whom he represents, who his following is, like them will his countenance, like them will his brow be before the whole world, not only in the present, but in the future too, and in history...

Sometimes Man has great plans... and is incapable of making a single step. Not only powerlessness does he overcome, but even the impossible, and extols the Grace of God that he can do something for God, for the Church, and for the people.

Such moments used to come more often. But that belongs already to

history, when I took over the Eastern metropolis in the middle of the conflagration of war. The UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army — note) had organized a half-million strong army in the Carpathians, and from the other side the Soviet Armies were approaching. The General Staff turned to me to mediate, for they did not feel justified in taking Ukraine through bloodshed, although they were certain of victory; but on the other hand, our Church was threatened. It was a catastrophic situation not only for the entire people but also for the position of the Metropolitan... And after thorough consideration I wrote a pastoral letter, in which I exhorted the hostile sides to ponder. ... The fate that followed is known to you all... Perhaps it is naïve, perhaps out of place, perhaps incorrect for me to explain myself before you here. But you will understand that you can nevertheless have confidence that promises of castles in the air were not able to lead the Metropolitan from the straight path in the prisons, and this under the most wretched conditions imaginable, that this same Metropolitan, who did not allow himself to be moved by millions of dollars after he had reached freedom — that he did not cast his conscience aside, in order to trade with the possessions of the Church and the people...

Thus shall this hour today, which is so serious — I should like to say menacingly serious with its responsibility — call forth from the depth of our souls a sincere, fervent conviction in our hearts — not to us, not to us, but to Thy Name, O God, be the Glory! May God give our Church, the Ukrainian people, glory and strength! And He will give them to us, if our wishes crave great things...

*

During the celebrations held in his honour in Rome Cardinal Slipyj made a speech. The celebration was opened by the Apostolic Visitor to the Ukrainians in Western Europe, Archbishop Buchko, who in a short but pithy speech described the sufferings of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in general and of Metropolitan Slipyj in particular under Russian occupation

after the second world war. Archbishop Buchko paid homage to Cardinal Slipyj as the shepherd of the Ukrainian Catholic Church throughout the world and gave thanks in the name of all Ukrainians to the late Pope John XXIII and to the present Pope Paul VI, who respectively personally interceded for the freeing of Cardinal Slipyj and raised him to the purple.

Greetings were conveyed by the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, Archbishop Hermaniuk, Archbishop Bukatko of Yugoslavia, Bishop Gabro of the USA, Bishop Kornyliak of Munich and Bishop Horniak of London.

POPE PAUL VI ASSIGNS CHURCH TO CARDINAL SLIPYJ

Vatican City. — By custom each cardinal is assigned a titular church in Rome after the consistory of the new cardinals.

According to this list Joseph Cardinal Slipyj of Lviv, has been given a titular church of St. Athanasius (Greek Rite); Joseph Cardinal Beran of Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, Holy Cross Church in Via Flaminia; Maurice Cardinal Roy of Quebec the Church of the Canadian Martyrs (Rome's Canadian Church); Franjo Cardinal Seper of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, SS. Peter and Paul Church.

The Pope is reported to have selected more than half a dozen modern parish churches, some of them in Rome's populous suburbs or in working-class districts, as titular churches for the new cardinals.

THE LIFE OF UKRAINIAN EXILES

A Ukrainian Catholic College has been founded in Rome.

*

Eighteen Ukrainian bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans took part in the third session of the Ecumenical Council. Only Bishop Prashko from Australia was, for health reasons, unable to attend.

*

A Ukrainian Orthodox College has been opened at the University of Manitoba. This will be the first academic institution abroad at which priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will be trained.

*

Even in Brazil, in the town of Porto Allegre, the Ukrainians have erected a memorial to Taras Shevchenko in the *Ukraina* Square.

*

The 150th anniversary of this great poet has been celebrated all over the world — in the USA, Canada, South America, Western Europe and Australia by numerous academic institutions, by conferences of scholars, and by the issue of publications. The entire international press, except that of Germany, has appreciatively recorded this event.

*

In Munich there was a special exhibition of Shevchenko Literature in German and in foreign languages in the Bavarian State Library.

*

In 1964 the study of the Ukrainian language and literature was included into the curriculum at the Universities of Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal.

*

CHINESE AMBASSADOR LAYS WREATH AT SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT IN WASHINGTON

Washington D.C. — On January 22, 1965 the Washington Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America held a solemn wreath-laying ceremony at the Shevchenko statue. On the initiative of the Washington Branch of the UCCA, "Ukrainian Independence Day" was commemorated for the first time at the statue site. Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the UCCA, initiated the dual observance of "Ukrainian Independence Day" and "Asian Freedom Day." The Hon. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Ambassador of the Republic of China, and the Hon. William G. Bray, Congressman from Indiana, laid the wreaths

and addressed a group of about 100 persons. Dr. Dobriansky also spoke at the observance. Col. William Rybak, President of the Washington Branch of the UCCA, officiated, and Theodore Caryk, of the same UCCA Branch, administered the event. *The Washington Post* of January 22, 1965 reported on the observance.

HOUSE ADDRESSES ON SHEVCHENKO REPRINTED IN BOOK

A valuable document covering all aspects of the erection last year of the Taras Shevchenko statue in Washington, D.C. has been made possible through the efforts of Congressman Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois. The bulk of the documents consists of two addresses by Rep. Derwinski delivered in the House of Representatives, July 7 and September 10, 1964.

Incorporated into these addresses, printed in the *Congressional Record*, are a wealth of material dealing with Poet Laureate of Ukraine, Shevchenko, who died in 1861, and his significance for Ukraine and the Free World.

The material includes the address delivered at the unveiling of the statue by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who called for "a new world movement in the hearts, minds, words and actions of man... dedicated to the independence and freedom of peoples of all captive nations of the entire world."

Also included are the unveiling addresses of Cong. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio, whose interest in the cause of the oppressed nations is internationally known; of Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski of N.Y., who has led the legislative battle for the issuance of a stamp commemorating Taras Shevchenko, and of Rep. Daniel J. Flood of Pa., the House sparkplug in the struggle for the creation of a special House Committee on the Captive Nations.

The remarks of five members of Congress who addressed a special Shevchenko banquet are likewise given: those of Sen. Thruston B. Morton (Ky.); Rep. Roy J. Madden

(Ind.); Rep. August E. Johansen (Mich.); Cong. Barratt O'Hara (Ill.), and Rep. John Lesinski (Mich.).

Also incorporated into Rep. Derwinski's addresses are articles by UCCA President Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, author of the Captive Nations Week Resolution and without whose initiative and direction the Shevchenko statue project would not have come to fruition.

The news echo is well represented with excerpts of the news coverage of the unveiling as well as by special articles (UPI's Neil A. Martin, The Washington Post's Philip Love, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, and Robert J. Lewis).

The free Ukrainian voice in America is represented by the writings of Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki of Marquette University, Editor Walter Dushnyck, Joseph Lesawyer, Executive Director of the memorial committee, and Ignatius Bilinsky, UCCA Secretary.

Remarks of over thirty Senators and Congressmen dealing with Taras Shevchenko also are given.

DESECRATION OF SOLDIERS' GRAVES IN LVIV

From the capital of West Ukraine Lviv, the news has reached us that the Russians have levelled out the graves of dead Ukrainian soldiers in the "Yanivsky" Cemetery. These soldiers died during the First World War in the struggle against Polish and Russian conquerors and found their last rest in separate section of the cemeteries in Lviv. They were members of various military units (the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, Ukrainian Galician Army and the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic). The section of soldiers' graves in the "Yanivsky" Cemetery was particularly well preserved. There were stone soldiers' crosses on individual graves and in the middle was the grave of General Myron Tarnavsky, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Galician Army.

Moscow annihilated the graves just at the time of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the first Ukrainian

military units. It is not known what happened to the military graves in other cemeteries in Lviv or whether they have suffered the same fate as those in the "Yanivsky" Cemetery.

TRIAL OF THE LIBRARY ARSONIST IN KYIV

The fire in the library of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of science in Kyiv, which broke out on 23rd May, 1964, and raged for several days, had its judicial sequel a few months later. The circumstances of the arson, the attempts to keep it secret and finally the judicial proceedings are very reminiscent of the notorious fire in the German Parliament (Reichstag) in Berlin.

At first, the Russians claimed that an "insane" woman had started the fire. Then the Soviet press gave all kinds of details about the culprit who turned out to be a man, the date and place where the trial took place. Finally it clearly emerged at this trial that the arson had been carefully prepared.

The Secretary-General of UNESCO threw a little light on this dark affair. The legal proceedings against the arsonist, whose name is Pogruzhal'sky, were held in Kyiv in September, 1964. The accused and the witnesses received strict instructions from the KGB (the Soviet Russian State Security Police) to give their testimony in such a way that the identity of the criminal would remain unknown outside USSR. The court forbade all those present to make any notes in the course of the proceedings whatsoever.

The Communist tried to depict the accused, Pogruzhal'sky, who was a graduate of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and had studied at two other universities, as a man of a weak character who led an amoral life. He defended himself boldly and cynically, confessing that with the arson in the library in Kyiv he had merely done on a large scale what others had been doing earlier on a smaller scale.

He described in detail before the court how Ukrainian books had been constantly taken away from the Ukrainian Department of the Kyiv

Library or destroyed on the spot, because the Russians considered them "ideologically and scientifically" antiquated.

Priceless works of Ukrainian culture, rare editions and archives were lost in the fire. Among them were the notes of the writer Borys Hrinchenko, the records of the periodical *Kyivska Staryna* (Kyiv Antiquity), the records of the Ukrainian Central Council from 1917-1918, valuable collections of Ukrainian literature since the beginning of the thirties, altogether over 600,000 volumes.

The legal proceedings produced incontestable proof that the arson had been planned and prepared well in advance. The arsonist himself was only a figurehead. Special containers with inflammable material were piled up one after another on the bookshelves. They exploded in stages and the fire-brigade found no reason to hurry.

All this, and the fact that the very department in which the records of the most recent history of Ukraine were kept was destroyed in the fire, provide overwhelming proof that the crime was planned and executed by Moscow.

Moreover, the Moscow libraries are equipped with apparatus which gives timely warning of a fire danger but not those in Kyiv, for such an installation would be too costly for a Muscovite colony.

The arsonist was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Certainly a slight penalty when one remembers that in the Soviet Union even the death penalty is imposed and carried out for trivial economic transgressions. Whether Pogruzalsky will serve the sentence at all is more than questionable. Perhaps he will even receive a decoration secretly, like the assassin Stashynsky? It is not only possible but even very probable.

U.C.C.A. OUTLINES ITS POLICIES

New York, N.Y. — On Saturday, March 20, 1965 the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America held its meeting, which was attended by 43 members out of 60. A series of vital and important decisions were adopted and also

resolutions outlining major policies and objectives of the UCCA were passed.

During the meeting, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, UCCA President was the principal speaker, who gave a report on the activities of the UCCA and presented a 10-point program of UCCA policies to be followed by the organization. Other rapporteurs at the meeting were Dr. Matthew Stachiw, secretary of the UCCA, who dwelt on a series of purposes and tasks which the UCCA is implementing through its Branches and Member Organizations, and Dr. Jaroslaw Padoch, UCCA treasurer, who reported on the Ukrainian National Fund and outlined a series of proposals aiming at the substantial increase and stabilization of the budget of the UCCA.

In his 10-point program, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky gave an outline of the basic objectives of the UCCA:

- 1) The UCCA's primary objectives is to work for the contribution to national security of the USA, as this organization by its very functioning and purpose is an American organization with membership hailing from those of Ukrainian descent;

- 2) Decisive defeat of Russian Imperio-Colonialism not only in the interest of Ukraine and other captive nations, but also for US security and that of the free world as well;

- 3) Maintenance of world-wide contacts with free Ukrainians and contacts with non-Ukrainians as well, working with them toward the attainment of the ultimate objectives, but always with American orientation;

- 4) Cooperation with other American ethnic organizations which have the same over-all objectives in defeating Russian communist imperialism and establishing of genuine freedom everywhere;

- 5) Avoidance of myopic involvements over territorial problems with various neighbours, keeping always in mind that the victory over Russian communism has a priority over all other problems;

- 6) Advancement of Cold War Strategy Idea in opposing a "peaceful coexistence" policy of the Russian brand, and rejecting "contacts" on any official level;

7) Rejection of common guilt of uninvolved Russian people for the crimes committed by their totalitarian masters;

8) The necessary dismemberment of the Soviet Russian empire as a prerequisite of lasting peace in Europe and Asia;

9) Intensified policy for national self-determination, which today constitutes a veritable "nuclear spiritual device." The UCCA in advocating this policy is aware that the non-Russian nations of the USSR, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan and others had already self-determined themselves when they established their independent states in 1918-1921;

10) Work toward a gradual federation of Europe and Asia, with all nations preserving their national and cultural identities and independence.

(Special resolutions on the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate and the policy of "contacts" with the Red emissaries coming here from Ukraine and the USSR, which were adopted at the meeting, appear below).

RESOLUTIONS OF UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

I. Resolution On Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate

The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, convening on Saturday, March 20, 1965 in New York City and hearing the report and statement of policy of the UCCA made by its president, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, adopted unanimously the following resolution:

1) The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, speaking on behalf of over 2 million American citizens of Ukrainian descent, expresses its heartfelt gratitude to His Holiness Pope Paul VI for his recent elevation of the Most Reverend Joseph Slipyj, Archbishop-Major and Metropolitan of Halych, to the dignity of Cardinal, thus bestowing a great and signal honour on the Ukrainian Catholic

Church, on His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyj and on the Ukrainian people generally.

2) The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America expresses hereby its whole-hearted congratulations and best wishes to His Eminence, Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, on his elevation to the rank of Archbishop-Major and the dignity of Cardinal, the highest distinction of the Catholic Church, in recognition for his fidelity to the church, for which he suffered great hardships and persecutions by his Russian communist jailers for 18 years.

3) In view of the fact that both the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church play increasingly important and outstanding roles in the life of Ukrainians in the free world, the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America calls on all members of the UCCA to cooperate closely with their respective church hierarchies so as to strengthen the church in all its domain and ramifications.

4) The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America expresses its firm hope that in view of the recognition accorded the role of the Eastern Churches during the third session of the Ecumenical Council last fall in the Decree on the Eastern Churches, consideration be given to establish a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, the more so that of all the Eastern Churches the Ukrainian Catholic Church is the largest numbering over 5 million faithful. Thus the Ukrainian Catholic Church would have a solidly assured place within the universal Catholic Church throughout the world.

5) The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America expresses the hope that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will strive to establish a Ukrainian Orthodox Patriarchate, which the Board of Directors of the UCCA considers to be extremely important from the viewpoint of the general Ukrainian cause.

II. Resolution on "Contacts" with Red Emissaries

The UCCA, for the necessary purpose of organizational strength and stature, must advance the operational principles of coping with the question of establishing contacts with any cultural delegations from behind the Iron Curtain. These principles are:

1) No member organization or group of UCCA may provide any public forum for any such Red delegation or member thereof, and

2) No official in any UCCA member organization may enter into any contacts with such Red representations in any public context or circumstance.

If any UCCA organization or official finds it difficult to avoid such indulgence in such "cultural contacts", he or it should out of a sense of moral responsibility to UCCA and its membership resign or separate itself from the work and life of UCCA. Contravention to these operational principles of UCCA can only lead to action for such resignation or separation by the executive committee of UCCA.

Book Review

Adam B. Ulam: "THE NEW FACE OF SOVIET TOTALITARIANISM", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963, pp. 233.

The author tries to get at the root of Russian imperialism, in this cause under the mask of Russian totalitarianism. The Russians have always strived to extend the borders of their empire in all directions and they have done this under various camouflages. Russian pan-Slavism is to be regarded as one of these screens. It caused great confusion particularly among the Slavs cruelly oppressed by the Turks. Later the pan-Slav idea was replaced by communist propaganda which really served the same aim of Russian imperialism.

After their victory in 1945 and the expulsion of the German element behind its borders of the 13th century, the Russians were able to concentrate on the liquidation of the Ukrainian danger which existed outside the

Russian sphere of influence in the West Ukrainian territory. Thus for the first time in Russian history there was a long occupation of Ukrainian East Galicia (p. 138). The existence of large Ukrainian and White Ruthenian territories outside the borders of the USSR from 1921 to 1939 was a thorn in the flesh for the Russians and so they were determined to liquidate the potential Ukrainian Piedmont. This could not be done before the suppression of Poland (p. 145).

The book is indeed not original in its attitude to centuries-old Russian imperialism but is nonetheless interesting as it describes the basic principles of Russian imperialism with great clarity, though not exhaustively.

W. K a p o t i v s k y j

Arthur E. Adams: "BOLSHEVIKS IN THE UKRAINE — THE SECOND CAMPAIGN, 1918-1919", Yale University Press, New Haven, 1963.

In his book the author has summarized the revolutionary events of 1918-1919 in Ukraine without discussing the same events outside the Ukrainian ethnographic territory. One could assume from this that Adams has fully covered the Ukrainian political problems, but unfortunately this is not so. It is certainly true that the situation in Ukraine at this time was confused. Communist and White Russian troops under General Denikin were roaming across Ukrainian

territory, committing anti-Jewish outrages (which were unfortunately unjustly attributed to Ukrainian troops) and oppressing the peaceful population very severely.

The author states that the period from November 1918 to June 1919 in Ukraine was very rich in important events. He claims that after the defeat of the Central Powers by the Entente a vacuum was created in Ukraine. This does not quite correspond to the facts for the Ukrainian directory then

came to power in Kyïv (Kiev). On the other hand Adams' statement that Moscow immediately hastened to occupy Ukraine with its own troops is true. For this purpose a so-called Ukrainian Military Revolutionary Council was created in Ukraine before the arrival of the Red Russian troops. The position of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine at this time was precarious.

The author emphasises the nationalism of the Ukrainian peasants, who hated the largely foreign urban population, and the lack of a strong local communist movement in the country. Moscow's attempt to establish itself in Ukraine was synonymous with a foreign invasion of Ukraine.

Only the use of a strongly centralized authority helped the Russian com-

munist to gradually occupy Ukraine. The Russian Communist Party actually became a militarized phalanx of the Red Russian conquerors of Ukraine. Only in this way were the Russians able to defeat Ukraine.

The book is equipped with an extensive documentation which is unfortunately too often used one-sidedly and the whole political history of the years 1918-1919 is to a great extent distorted and misrepresented. The author ought to have concentrated more on the discussion of Ukrainian affairs and not written about phantom governments in Ukraine. For otherwise he views the revolutionary events in Ukraine in 1918/19 as a part of the general Russian revolution.

W. L u z h a n s k y j

Yaroslav Bilinsky: THE SECOND SOVIET REPUBLIC: THE UKRAINE AFTER WORLD WAR II. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1964. XVII+539 pages, map, 35 statistical tables, chart, notes (78 pp.), appendices, bibliography (61 pp.), glossary, index.

The best description of this book is to be found in the title itself. It is a sound and clear exposition of the Ukrainian situation since World War II, which sheds much light on the nature of Ukrainian nationalism and on the Soviet nationality policy in Ukraine. The book covers an enormous field but emphasizes the kind of practical information the student needs. Written with a scholarly vigour, deep insight, and a freshness of approach the book by Prof. Bilinsky has been the most competent and comprehensive treatise on the post-war Ukraine and will remain long as a reference book for all students of Ukraine. In a larger sense, however, the book may also prove invaluable for those who are interested in the Soviet policies and techniques employed in the submission of the second largest non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe.

It is obvious on every page of the book that Professor Bilinsky was the man to produce such a book. Dr. Bilinsky has been a native of Ukraine and has read widely in many languages. He has done justice to many different aspects of the problem and has spared no pains in treating his subject from every conceivable

angle. His meticulous attention to detail and accuracy in presenting the bewildering array of facts, has been imposing. From the first to the last chapter the author has set critically a vast amount of material of transcendent interest to the student, the material which has hitherto been inaccessible to the student or could have been obtained only with a great expenditure of time and labour. Thus Prof. Bilinsky's treatment has been based not merely upon the usual sources of information available to a scholar, but also upon a unique collection of press-cuttings, pamphlets, privately owned documents — many of them of extreme rarity — as well as on personal interviews, and on a large body of statistical information, acquired not only from official censuses, but also from the sources which could not even have been suspected of containing statistical information. The excellent documentation and profuse bibliographical notes indicate that the author's research has been exhaustive, that no evidence has been passed by as being meaningless, that every bit of information has been dealt with the critical skill and extraordinary subtlety. The author's own discourse has been like a torrent

at times turbid with excess of facts, at others resplendent with enthusiasm, and always impressive in its urgency. Whether one agrees with the author or not, one has to concede that the author is treating his subject with a wealth of knowledge, that his discussion is exceedingly stimulating and thought provoking, and that the author is expertly qualified to write about his subject. The result is a singularly varied and illuminating contribution to political science. In his revised edition of the book on *Ukrainian Nationalism* (2nd rev. ed. Columbia, 1963), the top American expert on Ukrainian nationalism, Prof. John A. Armstrong calls for the reader's attention to Dr. Bilinsky's unpublished dissertation (it developed into the book under review) by stressing it as "the most comprehensive and most objective account of postwar nationalist activities" (p. 291) in his discussing the UPA activities after the war. However, this discussion is only included in one chapter of Dr. Bilinsky's book — out of ten.

Here it must be said of Dr. Bilinsky's book that the facts relating to his recondite subject were presented and organized lucidly and helpfully. While the main body of the book has been organized in ten chapters, much of additional documentation and critical discussion of important topics have been placed in appendices bearing the numbers of the chapters. The following table reproduces the organization of the book:

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK (Abbreviated)

Chapters:

- I. Soviet Policy: Historical Survey
- II. Ukrainian Nationalism
- III. Integration of Western Ukraine, I
- IV. Integration of Western Ukraine, II (UPA and the Underground)
- V. Soviet Linguistic Policy
- VI. Taras Shevchenko
- VII. Soviet Interpretation of Ukrainian History
- VIII. After Stalin's Death
- IX. The UkrSSR in International Affairs
- X. Conclusions

Appendices:

- I-1 Terms "nation" and "nationalism."
- I-2 Resolutions of the CC CPSU
- I-3 The Jewish Question
- I-4 Definitions: Fatherland and Culture
- I-5 The Crimea
- II-1 Definition: Nationality
- III-1 Bukovina, Transcarpathia
- IV-1 Sources on the Ukrainian Underground
- V-1 Definition: Native Language
- V-2 New Data from the Census
- VI-1 CC CPSU Theses on Shevchenko
- VI-2 Party Line on 100th Anniversary
- VI-3 Attitude toward Russians
- VI-4 Shevchenko's biography as taught in Grade VIII
- VI-5 Herzen and Shevchenko
- VI-6 Shevchenko's evaluation by Tsarist Police
- VIII-1 Chairmen of Economic Regions in 1957
- VIII-2 Chairmen of Economic Regions in 1962
- IX-1 Exchange between Diefenbaker and Podgorny on the Floor of U.N.
- IX-2 International Role of the UkrSSR in School Discussion
- X-1 Questionnaire and Interview Data

The book provides a picture of the political and social situation in Ukraine since World War II and a revealing critique of the Soviet policies in different fields of the national life. While the discussion of some chapters (Linguistic, Literature, History, International Policy, etc.) has to be left to the experts, this reviewer will present some remarks on the Chapter IV, "Integration of Western Ukraine II, Armed Resistance — The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Underground" (pp. 111-140) and the corresponding Appendix IV-1 on "Sources of the Ukrainian Underground" (pp. 417-422). Though the amount of time this reviewer had since his last publication on the UPA ("Soviet and Satellite Sources on the UPA", in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in U.S.*, vol. IX, 1961, No. 1-2, pp. 234-

261) to pursue research on the UPA has been limited, but basing discussion on his personal experience with the UPA and on intimate of all sources concerning it, this reviewer would like to point out to Prof. Bilinsky that (a) he was overcautious both in the presentation of the theme and in conclusions; (b) he disregarded inevitable connections between the UPA struggle and strikes and uprisings in the Soviet concentration camps in 1953-1956, which were performed largely by the former UPA and underground fighters in collaboration with numerous inmates of non-Ukrainian nationality. Strikes and uprisings in the Soviet concentration camps have an immense literature, written by former concentration camps inmates and eye-witnesses: Dr. Scholmer, Fuhrmann, Piddington, Varkonyi, John Noble of Detroit, Rev. Walter Ciszek of Fordham University, and treated in the documentation, published by the International Commission in Paris, which investigates practices of concentration camps. Among others, it is interesting to point out that this kind of literature and documentation concerning the USSR, has not found attention of the compiler of the recent "Bibliography" (Paul Horecky), which allegedly included all important books in English concerning *all* aspects of life in the USSR. Books by Piddington, Noble, Rev. Ciszek were originally published in English; book by Dr. Scholmer was translated from German into English and published in the United States and in Great Britain. The Scholmer's book published in the U.S. contained some interesting omissions from the original, which could well illustrate the attitude of the publishers toward the liberation struggle of the non-Russians.

On the basis of the evidence contained in the sources on the UPA and Ukrainian underground (Soviet, Polish, emigré, recent reports) this reviewer has been inclined to advance a different evaluation of the UPA than that advanced by Dr. Bilinsky and formulate it in the following points: (1) Not only a psychological "place d'armes" has been retained by the UPA in Ukraine, but also a

physical, real "place d'armes", which means that the underground continues to exist in accordance with the predictions of such of its revolutionary ideologists, as P. Poltava, O. Hornovy, and others. Its existence has been hidden behind other forms of action than those employed 15 years ago, which is acknowledged by Dr. Bilinsky but also by recent Soviet defectors like Dr. Rathaus; (2) The psychological and the physical "places d'armes" of the Ukrainian underground have been extended over the entire Soviet Union. The underground ceased being an isolated case of Western Ukrainian resistance, but became international in its scope, reaching from Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania to the Baltic countries, the Caucasus, Siberia, and Turkestan. The Ukrainian underground was powerful enough to enlist the non-Ukrainians into the struggle: Balts, Cossacks, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Poles, Germans, British, Japanese, and others. In Ukraine, the continuance of its existence prevented a wholesale deportation of Ukrainians, planned by Stalin after the war, and reported by Khrushchov at the XX Congress of the CPSU; (3) By its extension into the Soviet concentration camps, by its continuation of the struggle in the form of resolute strikes and uprisings after Stalin's death, by its possibility to enlist non-Ukrainians into the struggle, the Ukrainian underground became famous in the entire USSR. Having been in Ukraine and in the concentration camps the first and preeminent instance of the organized anti-Soviet resistance, the Ukrainian underground challenged the terroristic apparatus of the Kremlin and showed that terrorization has its limits, and that beyond these limits terrorization may reverse with full force, strike at the apparatus, and destroy it. This was a reason why despite all violent crushing of strikes and uprisings (tanks used against defenseless women in Kingir, bloody suppression of the Norilsk uprising after three months of its duration), the Soviet terroristic apparatus was compelled to bring about the relaxation of terror, the liquidation of camps, the release of their prisoners (cf. *Encounter*, II, 1956).

"We held the Kremlin in fear for a week", recalls the Detroit, John Noble, in his book on Vorkuta uprising, but this was not an isolated case. Strikes and uprisings initiated by the former fighters of the UPA and Ukrainian underground were mushrooming over the vast expanses of the Soviet slave empire, proving the Kremlin's inability to cope with the situation. This was the beginning of the *destalinization* process in the USSR which has as yet not been completed. The initial stages of this historical process took place in Ukraine where young boys and girls of the UPA challenged the Soviet power with a profound disregard for personal consequences at least during ten years after the war, as Dr. Bilinsky tries to prove in his excellent book.

These and other reservations which may be possible in regard to other parts of the book, in no way tend to disparage upon its profound value. On the contrary, they prove that the

critical part of the volume has been masterly, that Prof. Bilinsky has been giving a cautious estimate of what he writes in the book and has treated his difficult subject not with the aloofness of mere erudition. And the Ukrainian problem has truly been difficult (and it is getting more and more difficult the longer the American political science delays the need for its understanding and evaluation). To deal lightly and in a few words with the problem of THE SECOND SOVIET REPUBLIC and with the stubborn problem of UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM conveys a most inadequate impression of the negligence *rebus in arduis* and calls for a discovery of the Ukrainian problem being so important at the present day. In his book, and there is no doubt about it, Professor Bilinsky succeeded in leading the beginner along the first paths of the needed discovery and should be commended for this.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Low Sh a n k o w s k y

Helmut Günther: "HEISSE MOTOREN — KALTE FÜSSE, EINES KRADMELDERS FAHRT ÜBER BELGRAD NACH MOSKAU 1941" ("Warm engines — cold feet. The trip by a dispatch rider to Moscow via Belgrade, 1941"), Kurt Vowinkel Verlag, 1963, 256 pp.

The book deals with the violent events of the first years of the Second World War with much humour but also with a certain dose of sadness. A German dispatch-rider describes his adventures on the road from Belgrade to Moscow. Sometimes he makes fun of the commands of the authorities. On his journey to the north he also found himself in Ukraine where he got to know a peacefully living Ukrainian family. The mother told the German that her son and daughter-in-law had died in the famine of 1923/4. The young German involuntarily asked himself: "How much suffering and cares must these two people (father and mother) have behind them already? How much still lies before them?" The Ukrainians who during their long history have never felt that they belong to Russia, must have had to bear much in their national pride in the past. For centuries they have been trying to create an independent Ukraine through

hard and difficult struggles. The "Muscovites", as they called the Bolsheviks, knew that and many punitive expeditions were necessary during the Bolshevik era to bring the Ukrainians to their senses (p. 139).

On the departure of the German soldier from the hospitable Ukrainian family one learns that "these hours, which were like a memory of my own country, of my parents' house", were for him unforgettable (p. 140).

On page 158 one reads the following: "On our journey we had come through nice, clean villages, friendly people nodded to us and greeted us as liberators from the Bolshevik yoke. When we stopped the commander was given bread and salt by the inhabitants. Here in Ukraine rations were improved with milk, eggs and butter. Cornfields bordered our way. Here one could live! In 1941 the population was distinctly friendly to the Germans. More than once we learnt that Ukrainians, especially young men,

asked us for weapons. They had avoided service in the Red Army or had deserted and wanted to travel with us as quickly as possible to fight against the "Muscovites." It was obvious that here lived a type of men that had nothing in common with the Russians in the Smolensk district. What a decisive error it was not to have adopted this attitude of the Ukrainians emerged later. Many German soldiers were to die because of this miscalculation."

This soldier had learnt how to value the leadership of the German policy of the time (not that of the German Army) very accurately.

The error unscrupulously committed by the National Socialists during the second World War in East Europe has taken its terrible toll on Germany. This book has something to say about this. And its point lies in these remarks.

V. Zatserkovnyj

Albert Mahuzier: "LES MAHUZIER EN U.R.S.S.", Presse de la Cité, 116, rue du Bac, Paris, 1963, pp. 311.

The Mahuzier family had for a long time wanted to visit the "exotic" country ruled by the Russians and called the Soviet Union, for themselves. Their journey through the USSR served to satisfy their curiosity with regard to personal experience in the Soviet Union. Neither politics nor business were the driving force of the Mahuzier family's adventure in the country ruled by the Kremlin. The remarks of the Mahuziers on all that they saw and experienced in the USSR are therefore frank. We shall reproduce here a few interesting statements made by this family on the Ukrainian problem in the USSR.

They write about their crossing of the Russian-Ukrainian border. Here nothing indicated a real state boundary as is usual in Western Europe. One finds only a propaganda banner carried by two "brothers", Russian and Ukrainian. This symbolizes a fraternization between the Russians and the Ukrainians. There is no customs post or anything like that to be seen. Thus the border is purely symbolic and nothing more. The Russians constantly remind the Ukrainians of the "brotherly" union of Ukraine with Russia in 1654 (p. 259).

The nature of Ukraine and of Russia are clearly distinguished from one another to an incredible extent (p. 260). The capital of Ukraine, Kiev, is a very beautiful town; Moscow is not quite clean and gloomy in comparison. Moscow is extremely noisy. 50% of the Ukrainian capital city of Kyiv consists of green parks. The Ukrainian women in their beautiful embroidered dresses are clean and charming. They are undoubtedly very proud of their capital (p. 215/6). The West Ukrainian capital Lviv is neglected and is rather inaccessible for foreign tourists. It is very sparsely lit at night (p. 206).

The Mahuzier family state with astonishment that in Crimea, which belongs to Ukraine, lessons in Ukrainian are given only three times a week, although foreign languages, such as English, German and French, occupy a privileged place in the teaching syllabus. Indeed, they even want to introduce Arabic lessons (p. 251/2). Mahuzier cannot understand that Ukrainian is so scandalously neglected in Ukraine.

V. Ivonivsky

THE SHARE OF UKRAINE IN THE INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF THE USSR IN 1964

The sign () denotes that data are not available.*

<i>P r o d u c t</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>% of USSR output</i>
Electric power — billion kw/h	459	87.3	19.0
Petroleum — million tons	224	5.6	2.5
Gas — billion cu. metres	110	35.6	32.4
Coal — million tons	554	187.0	33.7
including for coking	134	74.5	55.6
Pig iron — million tons	62.4	31.3	50.2
Steel — million tons	85.0	34.6	40.7
Finished rolled metal — million tons	57.4	23.8	43.2
Steel tubes — million metres	1,273	292	22.9
Iron ore — million tons	146	80.3	55.0
Mineral fertilisers — million tons	25.6	5.8	22.7
Chemical means for the protection of plants (in conventional units) — thousand tons ...	160	22.4	14.0
Synthetic resins and plastics — thousand tons	720	*	*
Chemical fibre — thousand tons	361	38.6	10.7
Caustic soda — thousand tons	1,153	150	13.0
Calcinated soda — thousand tons	2,700	843	27.9
Sulphuric acid — thousand tons	7,647	1,778	23.3
Automobile tyres — millions	24.4	2.2	9.0
Turbines — million kW	13.2	4.2	31.8
Turbine generators — million kW	12.8	*	*
Electric motors (A.C.) — million kW	28.7	4.9	17.1
Large electric machines — thousands	*	5.4	*
Power transformers — million kV/A	*	43.9	*
Metal-cutting machine-tools — thousands ...	184	23.5	12.8
Automatic and semi-automatic lines for engineering and metalworking — sets ...	222	27	12.2
Forge and press machines — thousands ...	34.2	5.9	17.2
Devices — million roubles' worth	1,800	272	15.1
Metallurgical equipment — thousand tons ...	232	111.7	48.1
Petroleum equipment — thousand tons	140	15.0	10.7
Chemical equipment — million roubles ...	342	106	31.0
Diesel railway engines — sections	1,484	1,410	95.0
Motor vehicles — thousands	603	45.8	7.6
Railway goods wagons — thousands	*	18.0	*
Tractors — thousands	329	115	35.0
Tractor ploughs — thousands	178	85.9	48.2
Tractor drills — thousands	235	79.0	34.9
Beet harvester combines	18.3	12.2	66.6
Excavators — thousands	20.2	6.0	29.7
Paper — thousand tons	8,000	175	2.2
Cement — million tons	64.9	10.9	16.9

<i>P r o d u c t</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>% of USSR output</i>
Sectional reinforced concrete — million cu. metres	50	7.7	15.4
Building bricks (without those produced by collective farms) — million cubic metres	33	6.5	19.7
Tiles — millions of standard tiles	4,000	487	12.2
Soft roofing — million sq. metres	995	309	30.0
Window glass — million sq. metres	186	44.6	24.0
Fabrics — million sq. metres:			
cotton	5,368	169	3.1
wool	471	29.8	6.3
linen	544	23.7	4.3
silk	827	47.5	5.7
Garments — billion roubles	9.2	1.7	18.4
Hosiery — million pairs	*	260	*
Knitted underwear — million items	640	136	21.2
Upper knitwear — million items	153	27.3	17.8
Leather footwear — million pairs	474	92.6	19.5
TV sets — thousands	2,500	463	18.5
Radio sets and radiograms — thousands ...	4,800	373	7.8
Household refrigerators — thousands	1,134	200	17.6
Household washing mashines — thousands	2,900	274	9.4
Household vacuum cleaners — thousands ...	*	180	*
Motorcycles and scooters — thousands	687	23.1	3.3
Bicycles and mopeds — thousands	3,600	752	20.9
Furniture — million roubles	1,700	361	21.2
Pianos — thousands	*	26.0	*
Meat (without slaughter by collective farms and household production) — million tons	4.2	0.9	21.4
Sausage products — thousand tons	1,500	271	18.1
Fish and sea animal catches — million tons	5.2	*	*
Butter — total — thousand tons	952	*	*
Butter (without production by collective farms and household production) — thousand tons	841	202	24.0
Whole milk products calculated in milk — million tons	10.4	1.9	18.3
Cheese (without collective farm and household production) — thousand tons	256	*	*
Granulated sugar — total — million tons ...	8.2	4.7	57.3
including from sugar-beet	7.0	4.3	61.4
Confectionery goods — thousand tons	2,300	448	19.5
Vegetable oil (without collective farm and household production) — thousand tons ...	2,200	630	28.6
Canned food — billion cans	7.4	1.8	24.3
Soap (calculated in that containing 40% of fat acids) — thousand tons	1,900	291	15.3

Livestock population

(Estimated for the end of 1964)
(millions of heads)

<i>All categories of farms:</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>% of USSR</i>
Cattle	87.1	19.8	22.7
including cows	38.7	8.5	22.5
Pigs	52.8	38.3	72.5
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(Based on official reports in *Radyanska Ukraïna*, Nos. 23 and 25, January 30th and February 2nd, 1965).

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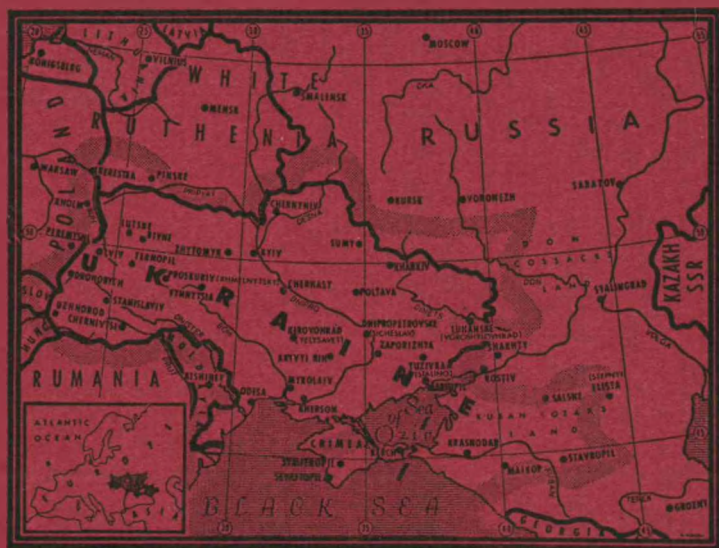
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THE BALANCE-SHEET OF TWENTY POST-WAR YEARS

This year we mark the twentieth anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe. This anniversary already prompted a number of studies on the past two decades and the prospects for the future. It seems, however, that it would be of considerable interest to learn what is the current balance sheet of achievements and failures in the postwar world during the last twenty years and to see to what extent the hopes and expectations of peoples were realized (if they were realized at all) in the course of this relatively long political development.

As we still remember, the end of the World War, first in Europe and shortly afterwards in Asia, was greeted by peoples throughout the world not only with a great joy but also with great expectations that a lasting and just peace would follow and that a new political order would guarantee freedom and independence for all the nations.

In 1945 such an attitude was fully justified psychologically and politically considering, on the one hand, the immeasurable wartime sufferings, sacrifices and losses and, on the other hand, the promises and declarations regarding the ultimate war aims, made by the leaders of the Western powers.

The expectations, however, were not fulfilled. Although it is true that the world in general is at peace, the permanent tension and a permanent danger of outbreak of a new world war indicate that our globe continues to remain a powder keg which could explode at any time. Twenty years ago peoples of the world were able to crush Nazi Germany and her allies, but during the last two decades they were not able to secure lasting peace and to solve problems which became an inseparable part of the postwar international scene immediately after the armistice was signed in May, 1945.

Today it is obvious that by their victory the Western powers cleared the way for another enemy of the democratic way of life. This enemy today presents a **much** greater danger to the whole world than the combined forces of the Axis powers presented twenty or twenty-five years ago.

During the last twenty years a new totalitarian super-power, the Soviet Russian empire has emerged and achieved its apogee. It confronts the free world, its wartime allies, with a dangerous and

aggressive policy clearly aimed at the destruction of the democratic system in the world and the establishment of the communist totalitarian order directed by Moscow.

It is beyond any doubt that the policy adopted by the Western powers during the last World War created all the necessary conditions for the Soviet Russian empire to withstand successfully the fury of the German onslaught. In the postwar years it permitted it to enlarge its territory, to spread its influence and to secure for itself strategic strongholds in Europe and Asia.

The Western leaders, and especially the American policy-makers of that period apparently were not able to conceive of the Soviet Russian empire, replacing Nazi Germany, as a grave threat to the European and global balance of power. As a result, they did not use their tremendous military power in order to eliminate the danger of the Russian imperialistic expansion in the same way as they eliminated German imperialism.

After all, in 1945 the Soviet Russian empire was considered as an ally and nobody at that time was prepared to withstand its imperialistic and aggressive plans. On the contrary, this Russian imperialistic policy was accepted and explained as an attempt to secure for the Russian empire the so-called legitimate defence lines. Accordingly, the inclusion of a number of formerly independent nations of Eastern and Central Europe into the Russian sphere was considered as a justifiable political and military development to such an extent that even the anti-communist leaders of these nations were pressed by the Western powers to accept Russian supremacy and domination.

In retrospective, one can observe that this wholesale sacrifice of the nations of Eastern and Central Europe which was done by the Western powers in order to buy the goodwill of the Russian communist rulers was not only morally wrong, **it was an irreparable political mistake.**

Being anxious to return, as soon as possible, to the normal peaceful life and accepting at face value the Soviet promises and commitments, the Western powers gave up ground under Moscow's pressure in Europe and Asia. At that time the Western leaders were not prepared to see or understand the real nature and the real aims and goals of Moscow's policy and they did not realize that, as a result, the security of the Western world has been jeopardized.

This attitude of the Western powers was expressed by President Roosevelt's closest adviser, Harry Hopkins, who later wrote about the mood of the American delegation after the Yalta conference in February, 1945:

"We really believed in our hearts that this was the dawn of the new day we had all been praying for and talking about so many years. We were absolutely certain that we had won the first great victory of the peace — and, by 'we', I mean **all** of us, the whole

civilized race. The Russians had proved that they could be reasonable and far-seeing, and of us that we could live with them and get along with them peacefully for as far into the future as many of us could imagine."

It took, as we know today, not years but a few months only to prove how deeply unrealistic and based on wishful thinking was the Western policy in relation to the Soviet Russian empire. The Western dream of post war peace and big power cooperation was shattered as soon as the Soviet Union started to impose communist regimes in occupied countries of Eastern and Central Europe. It refused to fulfil its own commitments, made at Yalta and on various other occasions as far as the future of the liberated peoples was concerned.

Under the pressure of the Soviet Russian empire in the postwar years the United States and other Western powers were compelled to change their attitude toward the Soviet Union and to develop a new policy in order to meet its challenge. This new period in the relations between the Western world and the Soviet bloc, which began with the proclamation of the Truman doctrine in 1947, continues to the present days and is well known as the period of the Cold War.

Confronted with various Russian tactical and strategical manoeuvres, the Western powers, however, have shown relatively little initiative and, first of all, they did not challenge Russia's supremacy in Central and Eastern Europe. On the contrary, in order not to increase tensions and not to jeopardize chances for some kind of agreement leading to peace, they adopted a policy not to irritate the Soviet leaders. Accordingly, the West has tried consistently to avoid the question of the Russian territorial annexations and violations of various agreements, and especially, the question of the nations subjugated by Russia.

Thus Moscow has been given a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe. As a result, the Soviet regime was able not only to overcome all the internal difficulties, wide popular discontent and even armed resistance and to retain its control over its vast colonial empire. Also it stepped up the well planned subversive activities throughout the world trying to disrupt the Western alliance and to undermine the positions of the Western powers.

During Stalin's era Soviet Russia formed a hard core which in addition to the Soviet Union included the satellite countries from which revolutionary communism could spread all over the world. Stalin's successors went much further by the implementation of a plan to create a large zone of, so called, neutralist states of Europe, Asia and Africa in order to provide the Soviet bloc with an adequate shield and to push back the defence lines of the West. At the same time, using its fifth columns, Moscow has supported and promoted the so-called liberation wars in strategically important areas, thus forcing the Western powers to resort to military action in places

deliberately chosen by the Soviet leaders and on the Soviet terms. The events in Southeast Asia are the newest and most striking examples of Soviet tactics and, on the other hand, of the ineptitude and inadequacy of the Western policy in dealing with Moscow.

Taking into account such unfavourable balance sheet of achievements and failures in East-West relations since the end of the last World War, one can see quite clearly the urgent necessity for the United States and the Western powers to give up the policy of merely countering the Soviet moves. They should develop and implement their own active and constructive political programme in dealing with the Soviet Russian and Communist threat in order to regain the initiative and to put the Soviet leaders on the defensive.

The policy which is based upon a premise that "the United States should limit its concern with Soviet behaviour to international situations and not attempt to alter the internal organization of the Soviet Union", or that "U.S. should consider Eastern Europe as a legitimate area of concern, but should not actually encourage internal crises",* is doomed to failure. The last two decades have proved beyond any doubt that the United States and the Western world in general have no other choice except to initiate a well planned offensive against the Soviet Russian empire. They should exploit politically to the utmost all the internal difficulties of the Soviet bloc and its weakest points, especially the popular discontent and the desire of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia to regain their freedom and political independence.

A Western anti-Soviet political warfare is the only answer to the Soviet Russian "export of Communist revolution" and of the so-called national liberation wars.

The Western policy-makers should understand that the Soviet Russian imperialism cannot be contained in any way and that the Soviet leaders will not give up their plans of further expansion. Also they should understand that the cold war with the Soviet bloc cannot be won in some peripheral "hot war", like, for example, in South Vietnam or in another similar territory.

Twenty years of postwar experience as well as almost fifty years of the experience of various nations of Eastern Europe indicate that there is no other alternative for the West except the policy aimed at the liquidation of Soviet Russian colonial empire and at the liberation of all the nations under Russian domination. Such a constructive policy is also the only alternative to the nuclear war and the prerequisite of a **better future** and lasting peace.

*) Cerf, Jay H. (ed.) Strategy for the 60's, a summary and analysis of studies prepared by 13 foreign policy research centres for the United States Senate. New York, Praeger, 1961.

Anniversary of Martyrdom

Ukrainian Bishops arrested Twenty Years ago by Soviet Secret Police in Collusion with Moscow's Orthodox Patriarch

On 11th April 1945 the Soviet Russian secret police, arrested five West Ukrainian Catholic prelates in Lviv and Stanyslaviv. They were Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj and Bishops Hryhoriy Khomyshyn, Nykyta Budka, Mykola Charnetsky, and Ivan Lyatyshevsky. Some time later the Polish Communist government also arrested Bishops Joseph Kotsylovsky and Hryhoriy Lakota in the West Ukrainian town of Peremyshl, which Moscow had ceded to Communist Poland, and shortly afterwards handed them over to the Soviet Union. The Russian Communists dealt with the Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Carpathian Ukraine and Slovakia in the same way a few years later.

Thus the Russian Bolsheviks disposed of the leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the use of sheer force, in order to prepare the way for its liquidation, for its "re-unification" with Moscow's Orthodox Church. This meant that the Ukrainian Catholic Church was made subject to the supreme ecclesiastical authority of the Russian Patriarch of Moscow and russified in the same manner as the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church under its Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky had been in 1930's.

Secret court proceedings were staged by Soviet Russian military justice in Kyiv against the wrongfully arrested Ukrainian prelates. The prelates were sentenced to many years of imprisonment and slave labour. Their path of suffering was marked by grave mistreatment, violent assaults, and torture. As true martyrs for the Christian faith the prelates remained faithful to their Church and to the Ukrainian people even until their physical annihilation. They have gone from us without having betrayed their faith. There remain alive only Metropolitan (now Cardinal) Joseph Slipyj, and Bishop Vasyl Hopko, who is still suffering in prison.

By employing naked force the Red Russians destroyed the outward aspects of the Ukrainian Catholic Church's existence as early as March, 1946, when a pseudo-synod of the Church was convened at Moscow's bidding in the West Ukrainian capital, Lviv. Nevertheless the Soviet news agency TASS in Moscow could not avoid officially announcing two years later that only then did the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the "Ukrainian SSR" cease to exist. And as far as one can gather day by day from the Soviet Russian press, this same Church **still** exists today — underground. The modern catacombs of the Church both in the Ukrainian SSR and in the entire Soviet Union provide us with an example which speaks for itself.

B. STEBELSKY

MOSCOW'S ATTACK AND UKRAINE'S RESISTANCE

Do the policies of Khrushchov, Brezhnev, and Kosygin really mean a return to Leninism? I group these three together, as Khrushchov's successors, who were also his assistants in the formulation of the decisions of the XXth, XXIst, and XXIIInd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are continuing to adhere to these resolutions. Indeed, not only do they adhere to the resolutions of these Congresses, and in particular, to the CPSU Programme adopted at the XXIIInd Party Congress, but are bringing them right into everyday life. I will go as far as to say that they really are returning to Leninism, but to a Leninism which is less elastic than that of the New Economic Policy; nevertheless, the way which the USSR is at present following is indeed the way of Leninism! But this assertion brings no smiles to our faces, for apart from a few phrases which may delight the totally blind, this return does not augur anything better than Stalinism provided. To be sure, methods are a little different, but the aims have not changed.

It was indeed Lenin who proclaimed the right of the Soviet Republics to self-determination even up to secession. The same Lenin declared that it was the purpose of Socialism not only to get rid of the fragmentation of mankind into small states and the divisions between nations, not only to bring the nations closer together, but also to combine them (*Works*, Vol. XXII, p. 135). This same Lenin, and with him the Leninist creators of the new Party Programme, declared that the languages and cultures of all peoples should be fully developed during the phase of the construction of Socialism — but these are phrases which bind nobody to anything, for this phase is only to be a temporary one on the road to the final goal of Socialism and Communism, since "the working masses will, after their liberation from the yoke of the bourgeoisie, strive to be allied and combined with the greater Socialist nations."

The great difference between the tactics of Stalin and Lenin is illustrated in a characteristic declaration given by the latter on the subject of language policy, one of the problems to be solved in connection with the nationality question in the Russian empire: "We are of the opinion that the great and mighty Russian language does not need to be learnt under the threat of the whip... we do not want to drive anyone into Paradise with a stick."

It is on such remarks of Lenin's that the so-called nationality policies of the Leninists rest; the Programme of the Communist Party is built on them.

However, these Leninists confirm in their Programme that the development of national languages and cultures is to be understood as a *rapprochement* with the Russian language and culture. Any other way of understanding the development of national languages and cultures is only the result of the efforts of reactionary forces attempting to cause hostility between nations and to prevent that co-operation and friendship between peoples which is to lead to the building of Socialism and of human society, i.e. to the final melting together of the nations.

The recognition of the Russian language as a second mother-tongue for all the peoples of the USSR and as an international language within the USSR is regarded as a phenomenon of progress along the road to the merger of nations. According to official statements, the Russian language is the most developed of the languages of the USSR and the best means to the cultural development of individuals of all peoples. The Russian language is the language of the proletariat, which through the means of Russian has created the best examples of international "people's" culture. Only through the international Russian language, it is said, are the cultural amalgamation of the peoples of the USSR and their development possible.

To this end a new law on the school system and on the language of instruction in the USSR has been introduced. In accordance with this law, the parents decide which shall be the language of instruction of their children. The law effectively does away with the law on the national official languages of the peoples of the various republics and the compulsory learning of the national languages. The consequences of this law are shown by a report in *Kommunist* (2/1964):

"There were 1122 children, of whom 976 were Kirghiz, in the school named in commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Komsomol in the Kochkorka district of Kirghizia. At the request of parents and pupils, the language of instruction was changed to Russian."

These methods have not only been used in Kirghizia. They are employed in all the national Union Republics, including Ukraine. "At the request of parents" Russian schools are in the majority in all large Ukrainian towns. Russian is also being introduced as the language of instruction in *kolkhoz* schools wherever enough parents can be found to agree to the replacement of Ukrainian by Russian.

The other factor which is bound up with this alteration of language policy is the Communist system of exploiting the wealth of the so-called Republics. Under the cloak of "friendship between nations and technical assistance" the Russians are pushing masses of people from one area to another. According to official statistics, the proportion of Ukrainians in the population of the Komi ASSR (in the north of the

Soviet Union) is about 10 per cent. Ukrainians also constitute a considerable proportion of the population in Kazakhstan, Siberia, in the Urals, and even in Karelia, and in what was formerly German East Prussia and now forms the Kaliningrad region. In all these areas they have to have their children educated through the medium of Russian, for outside the Ukrainian SSR there exist no Ukrainian schools. Outside Ukraine there is no Ukrainian theatre, and no Ukrainian journals are published. Only in Moscow there is a single Ukrainian bookshop, which has to satisfy the needs of 5 million Ukrainians outside Ukraine, since no literature is published in Ukrainian outside Ukraine itself.

This process is developing in accordance with the plans of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose aim it is that the national republics should be transformed into multinational republics. All the republics apart from the Russian SFSR changed in national character between the census of 1939 and that of 1959. The proportion of Kazakhs in the Kazakh SSR fell to 30 per cent, so that Kazakhstan now has a Russian-Ukrainian majority, and the majority language is now Russian. The proportion of Russians in Ukraine doubled during the period between the censuses; from three-and-a-half million in 1939 the figure rose to 7 million by 1959, so that the language of these privileged people now reigns not only in official quarters, but also in the cities, and even in the villages in many areas. This Russian element occupies the highest posts and working positions in Ukraine and in all the Union Republics. The primary factor in this situation is not so much the exploitation of the oppressed nations but above all political and cultural control of them as part of the movement in the direction of fusing together the whole empire.

At this point I should like to mention the notorious question of editions of Ukrainian books and of the Ukrainian press, which has even found its way into the newspapers. The editions of books have been limited to such an extent that the Ukrainian language is not only being silenced on the streets but also in print. In this new stage in the construction of Communism it is planned to drive Ukrainian from writing, out of the theatre, off the screen, and even from the atmosphere. Ukrainian is limited even in Ukraine's own schools to a few hours per week. Limits are placed on the Ukrainian language in many pedagogic and other university departments. Specialist scientific and technical skills have to be learnt by Ukrainian students in Russian. Russians manage theatres, film studios and radio stations, which either use Russian or mispronounce Ukrainian by applying Russian pronunciation to Ukrainian words, or bastardize Ukrainian with Russian words. These methods are applied to various information media and even to whole newspapers.

Nursery school education is given in Russian. The school departments of the *Knigotorg* bookshops are managed entirely by Russians.

Not only matters relating to the editions of books, but even to individual sales are dictated by Russians. These "creators of Socialism" block the publication of Ukrainian books and prevent them reaching the masses. It was recently reported in the press that it is impossible in the Dnipropetrovsk region to buy a copy of Shevchenko's *Kobzar*, although 150,000 copies of the jubilee edition of Shevchenko are still lying in the stock-rooms of the bookshops. Hundreds of thousands, even millions of books are rotting away in the cellars of bookshops — books in Ukrainian, withheld from their readers...

The practical side of the process of "amalgamating the nations" was the deportation of the population. The process is now being brought to fruition by the institutions whose job it is to organize work and production. Young people are dispatched to the job straight after they have completed the ten-year school or vocational school, or have been discharged from the Army. No one may choose his own place of work — he is simply dispatched to a job. In this way Russians, Belorussians and Georgians are settled in Ukraine, whilst Ukrainians and others arrive in the other republics. Torn away from their homelands, they marry foreign wives before they manage to reach home again. If they do not return home, they are lost to their native land. If they do return, they add to the foreign element in Ukraine or whichever non-Russian republic they come from.

The 1959 statistics show that the most mixed marriages are to be found in the Ukrainian SSR; of 1000 marriages, 263 are mixed, while in the villages, 50 out of every 1000 are mixed. The latter statistic is lower than those of certain other republics. But this is no comfort, for the rural population of Ukraine is only one half of the whole.

Furthermore, this very population, the purest Ukrainian population, which is concentrated in the villages and on the collective farms, lives in such grave economic conditions that every man who is educated and capable of work does his best to free himself from the slavery which exists on the farms. In order to save himself, he must go to the city. And this does not always mean that he can settle in the Ukrainian Republic. There is a tendency in Ukrainian cities not to accept individuals who have not been officially sent to work. So his journey leads him beyond the frontiers of Ukraine.

For this reason we must take into account the fact that besides young people herded together in various places by the government there do also exist contingents of so-called voluntary emigrants from Ukraine. This situation is confirmed by the population statistics for Ukraine, which show a very similar structure to those for Russia in the age-groups over nine years of age, but a great difference amongst the under-nines; in relation to other age-groups this group is one-fifth smaller than in Russia. If we assume that the proportion of war victims was the same for both countries, we are still left with a population drop amongst the under-nines to account for in the last

ten years in Ukraine. Why? The answer to this question is simple. The normal population increase cannot continue in Ukraine, for children are born of young married couples, and young people are being "exported" from Ukraine. The younger generation of Ukrainians is having its children outside Ukraine, in many cases within mixed marriages.

This phenomenon is the product of a conscious Russian plan directed towards the mixing of the peoples and their Russification. It is the task of the arts and of scholarship to fix, to justify, and to glorify this process. Literature, painting, music, and the cinema are to represent the "romance of the construction of Communism." "Literature and art are to be brought nearer to life and Socialist Realism."

What role is the Ukrainian people playing in this extraordinary battle? This is a question which can be very briefly answered. The Ukrainian people offers resistance. On the surface it is fulfilling the plans forced on it, but underneath it is sabotaging them just as it has sabotaged the agricultural system of the collective farms.

It must be said that under these circumstances of complete centralization and nationalization of the means of publication, of complete control of the printed word, the battle takes place in the field of Aesopian language, of symbolic language, and rests on the very dialectic of Hegelian philosophy which is used by the Russian occupational administration. For example, if on the question of language the Russian administrators argue for the international, Russian language and for the melting together of languages, the defenders of the language argue for the necessity of the development of the native language as a prerequisite to this melting together, according to an assertion of Lenin's. Lenin's numerous assertions, expressed during the creation of the Bolshevik empire and intended as propaganda material for use amongst the oppressed nations, lie today in the archives, and are used by Ukrainian scholars as the basis of their demands. Lenin's remarks on the need to cultivate the Russian language are thus used in arguing a defence of the Ukrainian language when it or some national right is under attack.

The writers use every weakness in the state apparatus, whether in connection with alterations in its structure or with some difficulty in foreign or internal politics, to act against the personality cult and against tyranny. By defending the principles of humanity and human dignity, they are at the same time defending the rights of the people, of its culture, and of its development. Citing Russian cultural accomplishments in the fields of language, scholarship, and the arts, they demand that the problem of Ukrainian editions in the fields of language, scholarship, and the arts be reconsidered. They make their appeal in the name of the peasant, in the name of Communism, and even in the name of the struggle against "bourgeois nationalism." Their editions of works on various aspects of culture quote opinions

from forbidden Ukrainian cultural works and thus inform their readers. They struggle for the rehabilitation of writers who have been condemned by the Communist Party and even for the rehabilitation of individual words which have been excluded from the Press and from the Ukrainian language itself. The odd Russian expression "Dobró pozhálovat'" (Be welcome!), which had been forced upon Ukrainians by their Russian overlords in official language instead of Ukrainian "Laskávo prósymo", has now disappeared from the newspapers thanks to the fight which our writers put up against it and other un-Ukrainian expressions. A similar struggle was waged against the officially-sponsored so-called "Green" Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary by Kalynovytsch, which abounded in Russianisms. As a result, the Ukrainian-Russian dictionary compiled by B. Hrinchenko at the beginning of the 20th century was republished at the instigation of the poet Maksym Rylsky. Maksym Rylsky also helped to rehabilitate the name of the poet Oles who died in exile. Antonenko-Davydovytsch fought for the reprieve of the Ukrainian language; the poets Dratch, Lina Kostenko, and Vinhranovsky struggled to stimulate the intelligentsia to make greater demands instead of carrying out the orders of the Party like a dog those of its master. Dratch stood up for the private, personal life of the individual; Vinhranovsky declared that "the forest is our best friend"; and Lina Kostenko condemned the Party and its leadership for the destruction of human dignity, for transforming human beings into clay, for opposing God. The fight for the extension of printed editions and for the sale of books to the masses was started by the writers. In Shevchenko's jubilee year the cry was raised, "The *Kobzar* in every Ukrainian household!" This was the Ukrainians' answer to distortions of Shevchenko published as "commentaries" in Ukraine and the USSR and spread throughout the world. The *Kobzar* was to serve as an answer to these lies.

Ukrainian students collected Ukrainian books and sent them to Kazakhstan. In Lviv, commandos were formed which went from house to house, collecting books, tying them up into parcels, and sending them to remote areas of Siberia and Kazakhstan, where exhibitions were organized and museums established. To these areas travelled Ukrainian theatre companies, ballet companies, choirs, and specially formed groups of writers. In the disguise of propagandists, these representatives of Ukrainian culture supported the Ukrainian character of the emigration in Asia, where their journeys met with great success.

The Press reports such events in the Soviet Union in great detail, and after each such report come the attacks of patriots and representatives of the oppressed nations. Moscow replies to these in her turn with a flood of official Russian colonial propaganda, with quotations from Lenin, the Russian assimilator and builder of the empire. When one set of names is not in the forefront, then

the other fills the gap. If the Russians attack the Ukrainian language, then the name of their spokesman, Academician Bilodid, appears; but as soon as he is silent, Antonenko-Davydovych starts to reply. Each side has massive support. All the supporters are "pillars of culture", but not all of them are working for culture. The situation is exemplified by Shevchenko's story of the two Ivans in his poem *The Great Vault*. One of them is a traitor who assists the Russians; even before he is born, he bites his mother in the womb, and when he is grown up, he helps her executioners to torture her. The other Ivan is his mother's faithful son; he loves her and fights for her. He is ready to endure the worst tortures in order to protect his mother, and cannot be bought by the enemy. The enemy fears him and tries to kill him before the people has the chance to recognize its true defender for what he is.

UKRAINE SUFFERS AND STRUGGLES

The teacher Tatiana Shevchuk, who now lives in a village in Washington State in the USA, emigrated from Ukraine with her parents when she was a small child. Recently she set out on a journey through Ukraine. Mrs. Shevchuk's main interest was in the cultural and intellectual life of her old homeland. "Just how important is this Russification?" wondered Mrs. Shevchuk before she started her journey.

"Just so that you know — I hate the Ukrainian language!" Mrs. Shevchuk heard from a young Russian woman in Odessa — she was well-educated, dressed according to Western fashion, an employee of *Intourist*. The American teacher was deeply shocked, and could not find words to answer. In Kyïv, the ancient capital of Ukraine, Mrs. Shevchuk had another taste of Russification. A (Russian) tourist guide made the following lapidary comments about the history of Ukrainian Kyïv for the benefit of Canadian and American tourists: "This is the second largest city in the USSR. It was here in 988 that the *Russian* Prince Vladimir christianized the *Russian* people in the waters of the Dnieper..."

"I began to cry like a little child", the teacher said later. In Kyïv, however, Mrs. Shevchuk also made the acquaintance of a Ukrainian doctor, who told her, "Moscow has made us very poor. We have been left only with the name of Ukraine. Ukrainian parliament, Ukrainian capital — it's all a façade. In reality Moscow rules here.

Ukrainian is spoken only by our poets, and by the actors on the stage... Moscow russifies everything. Things are worse here now than they were in the times of the Tsars — now they are robbing us of our souls!"

"Tell me, what message from Ukraine shall I pass on to our fellow-countrymen in America and Canada?" asked Mrs. Shevchuk as she was about to leave.

"Tell them, they are a source of great hope for us... If they weren't there, then it would mean the end of us."

"But why that?"

"The Ukrainians are being terribly oppressed at the moment... More terribly than in the times of the Tsars. But the Ukrainians in exile are there to defend us, they are fighting for the victory of justice — and that is a great help to us, because the present government has to take into account world opinion, whether it likes it or not. The Soviet government would like the world to think well of it, and every word about the true state of affairs here in Ukraine which is published in Western newspapers puts it into a delicate situation, so that it is forced not to hold onto us so tight. But you can also tell them, our countrymen, that that they should strive for the same rights for our people as for all the other oppressed nations in the Soviet Union. Tell the world how things really are — how it is in the schools: lessons are given in Ukrainian in only 10 or 15 per cent of the schools; Ukrainian history is not taught at all; the government press, every possible government announcement, the cinemas and so on — everything in Russian only... Our only connection with the rest of the world is the radio broadcasts which get through to us from time to time. People listen to them with immense enthusiasm — whether they are news features, concerts, or even church services. These broadcasts are a great source of mental strength for us."

But it would be wrong to assume that those Ukrainians who feel and think like the doctor quoted above (and their number is increasing year by year) stop at thinking about their compatriots in exile, instead of breaking out of their passiveness and becoming politically active — against the hated regime. Amongst the great mass of the Ukrainian people there are today extremely active cells of unfrightened, self-sacrificing citizens who have already broken through the magic circle of fear, of all-paralysing fear, a relic of the Stalin era.

When one surveys the development over the last few years, over the last few months, of Ukraine and of all the places in the USSR where Ukrainians are forced to live, one can discern that Ukrainian resistance is being carried on with a multiplicity of methods which have already proved themselves in the hard practice of Soviet daily life.

Dr. Alexander Rathaus, former editor of the leading Soviet geographical magazine *Vokrug Sveta*, who succeeded in escaping with his family to the West two years ago, declared that if he were directly asked if there was an active underground movement today, then he would have to answer, yes. Explosions in trains, shooting at passing cars, incendiary bombs thrown into grain-stores, sabotage of important oil pipelines — all this was happening, he said! But Dr. Rathaus questioned the effectiveness of methods of this kind in the liberation struggle. The loss of five, or even of fifty-five, railway trains was no more than material loss for the regime, in the opinion of Dr. Rathaus (who was persecuted by the regime on account of his descent from a rabbinical family). He thought that those underground movements known to him which were attempting to attack Moscow at its most sensitive point had more hope of success — those which attacked “its stability and cohesion in the field of home politics.”

Dr. Rathaus closed his highly informative report with the prognosis that it might well be possible to create a synthesis of the two main modes of resistance — the violent and the non-violent — which would then “free the brave Ukrainian people from the yoke of Russian oppression in the near future.”

A survey of internal political developments in Ukraine reveals what an abundance of resistance methods have made their appearance in Ukraine.

First there were the massed strikes of mine- and pit-workers in the Donets Basin, the Luhansk district and Novochoerkassk in 1962-3 and the spontaneous sit-down strike of the dockers in Odessa harbour. When one remembers that tens of thousands took part in these strikes and that only through naked violence could police and army units drown the workers' rising in blood, then it is clear that these strikes have had the greatest moral effect amongst the working masses of Ukraine — not to speak of the material damage which the Soviet economy suffered. The ghost of fear, the main obstacle to anti-regime activity, had been exorcised. In some cases — in Novochoerkassk and in the Donets Basin — the strikers were even able to disarm members of the “People's Squads” (*Druzhinniki*) and soldiers.

Sabotage by dockers and sailors in Ukrainian Black Sea harbours is another resistance method. Dr. Rathaus named the ships *Kommissar Stepanov* and *Bolshevik Sukhanov*, whose cargoes, destined for foreign countries, were destroyed by Ukrainian resistance groups.

Spontaneous or even organized actions by single courageous citizens who, supported by a small group or organization, follow their consciences and take up anti-Bolshevik activities have increased to such an extent that the local Communist press can no longer ignore them. Attacks on Party functionaries, militia officers, trade union leaders and KGB members are becoming more and more frequent,

especially in the cities. The Soviet railwaymen's magazine *Gudok* of 18th October 1964 reported the death of Party secretary Vakulenko in the Drabiv district (Central Ukraine). The assassin, Ivan Mashkin, was armed with a gun, and was caught shortly afterwards by a police patrol in a wood and shot. Also shot were several lawyers from Kyiv and Lviv who were intending to protest about the oppression of Ukrainians before the Supreme Soviet in Moscow and the United Nations General Assembly.

Growing underground activity by students and secondary school pupils, directed principally against Russification and the suppression of Ukrainian national culture, has also been observed. Students and pupils demonstrated in Kyiv against the arrest of some of their fellows who had taken part in an illegal rally in memory of the Ukrainian poetess Lesya Ukraïnka. Amongst secret groups circulate rare copies of Ukrainian national literature from the pre-1939 period, published in the Polish-occupied Lviv. In the Summer of 1963, when anti-Communist leaflets were distributed in Rostov and the Donets Basin and nationalist slogans appeared on the walls of houses and factories, the local press was forced to admit the existence of numerous underground groups and secret organizations. It is also said that young people are responsible for running miniature radio stations and making up their own broadcasts consisting of talks and music. These secret transmitters have been picked up in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Bila-Tserkva, and in the Donets Basin (reports of these have been published in *Leninskaya Smena*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, and in the trade union paper *Trud*). In March 1963 more than 300 students and several professors from the Polytechnical Institute in Novocherkassk were transferred for disciplinary reasons to Northern Russia; they are supposed to be at the atomic testing ground in Murmansk. According to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of Komsomol, Pavlov, the general unrest amongst Ukrainian young people in Kyiv, Odessa, and other Ukrainian cities has already taken "organized forms."

Camouflaged partisan activity seems to be widespread. It is carried on by country people who pursue their work in the daytime, but take to joint armed action at night. They destroy entire farms, attack lines of communications, assassinate important functionaries of the regime. Several Western tourists, who were driving through the forests of Carpathian Ukraine were witnesses to such an attack. Among them was Shimon Kaluzhny, a salesman from Tel-Aviv. Five miles beyond Uzhhorod he and his American friends ran into a police hunt. Shortly before, Ukrainian partisans had attacked on the same road a car whose passengers must have been a worthwhile object for them. The tourists were requested to take another route. Helicopters, strong army units, frontier guard commandos were patrolling the Carpathian forests in search of the partisan group. In Lviv itself, according to Shimon Kaluzhny, it was generally said that the

partisans had taken to the mountains. A year ago the secret police put on a large-scale hunt for partisan groups operating in the forests around Vinnytsia. The young guerrillas who took to the forests of Kamyanyets-Podilsky were known as the "Children of the Forests."

The underground cells of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) have proved impossible to stamp out. The regime regards them as the pillars of the national resistance struggle. OUN fighters who are captured by the secret police can expect the severest penalty. It has only just become known that there was a battle between the secret police and nationalists in 1959 near Lviv, when seven underground fighters lost their lives in their bunker.

The struggle of the younger generation of Ukrainian poets against Russian colonialism and chauvinism must not go unmentioned. How popular these poet-rebels can become is demonstrated by the example of Vasyl Symonenko, whose poems of freedom circulate illegally amongst students and are hand-copied or primitively duplicated.

The will of Christian believers to assert themselves remains unbroken among both Orthodox and Catholics. They conduct their spiritual battle against the atheist regime not only as Christians but also as Ukrainians. The regime has been forced to act against these practising Christians with terror sentences, press campaigns and even police raids. We must remember the recruitment of the underground monastery in Lviv and the cries for help of the Ukrainian monks of Pochaïv.

Resistance against the Moscow headquarters does not only originate from anti-Communists. Even amongst Party members in the lower ranks of the organization, nationalist tendencies have come to life. They oppose Moscow as Communists and as Ukrainians. The Ukrainian nationalists call themselves *Tryzubnyky*, from "tryzub" — a trident, the national emblem of independent Ukraine.

According to figures given in the Kyïv journal *Ekonomika Radyans'koï Ukraïny* ("Soviet Ukraine's Economy") about 1,162,000 Ukrainians have in recent years been resettled in other Soviet republics. The majority of these emigrants have been taken to the uncultivated areas of Kazakhstan.

Of course, these emigrants have been replaced in Ukraine by Russians and other nationalities, so that Moscow can form a "Soviet nation" from the mixture.

The name of the sculptor S. Lytvynenko has been obliterated from the memorial to the West Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko in the West Ukrainian capital, Lviv. Lytvynenko designed and built the memorial. In this way Soviet Russia has avenged herself on the Ukrainian sculptor, who had emigrated to the West.

Lew SHANKOWSKY

Soviet and Satellite Sources on the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR

LEW SHANKOWSKY, born 1903, a graduate of the universities of Lviv and Warsaw, was associate professor for business administration and foreign languages at institutions of higher education in Poland, the Soviet Union, and in Germany. Front fighter in the ranks of the Ukrainian Army during Ukrainian Liberation War 1918-1920, he was a student at the Ukrainian underground university of Lviv (1922-1924) and a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). During World War II, Prof. Shankowsky was prominently active in the military and political establishments of the Ukrainian anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet underground, and was elected Chairman of the Initiative Commission for the formation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR) of which he became a member (1944). Since 1946 in the West, Prof. Shankowsky has written numerous books, essays, and articles on the history of the Ukrainian Army 1917-1921 as well as on the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian underground in English, Spanish and Ukrainian. Among his contributions we list *UPA* (Winnipeg, 1953, a history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), *Pokhidni hrupy OUN* (Munich, 1958), *Ukrainska armiya v borotbi za derzhavnist* (Munich, 1958), *Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times* (Edinburgh, 1951 — Oleh R. Martovych), *Por la libertad de Ucrania* (Buenos Aires, 1952 — Oleh R. Martovych), *National Problems in the USSR* (Edinburgh, 1953, — Oleh R. Martovych), *UPA ta yiyi pidpilna literatura* (Philadelphia, 1953), *Ukrainian Underground Art* (Album, Editor, Philadelphia, 1953), etc.

EDITOR'S REMARK: This is the revised version of the essay, published in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States*, New York, Vol. IX (1961), Nos. 21-22, pp. 234-61. The revision has tried to include all Soviet and Satellite material on the UPA, published up to the end of 1964.

During and following World War II, active resistance in the Ukraine, against both the Nazi and the Soviet occupation forces, consisted of two elements: first, the military branch of the movement, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA — Ukrayinska Povstancha Armiya), divided into operation groups, tactic sectors, battalions, companies, and platoons; second, the underground network organized on a territorial basis, carrying out various operations behind the lines, such as security service, intelligence and counter-intelligence, logistics, communications and liaison, medical service, and political propaganda. The UPA proper existed until 1946, when its Military High Command ordered that most of the insurgent detachments be disbanded and transferred to the underground network. Although this marked the formal termination of the functions of the UPA, in Ukraine the name UPA has been applied also to the armed underground and is still used by Ukrainian émigrés and in Western literature. This popular name will be used in this article, too, for both the UPA and underground activities.

For the genesis and history of the UPA, which it is impossible to present here even in outline, readers are referred to the several studies published in recent years.¹ The Soviet and satellite materials

1) For the genesis of the UPA, see a documentary account by the wartime leader of the Ukrainian underground, Mykola Lebed, *UPA: Yiyi geneza i diyi u vyzvolnii borotbi ukrainskoho narodu za Ukrainsku Samostiynu* (Sobornu Derzhavu, Vol. I, Nimetska okupatsiya Ukrayiny (Munich, 1946). See, also, his "Ukrainian Insurgent Army" (an address at Yale University), *Vital Speeches*, (XVII, 12, 1957). A serious and penetrating study of Ukrainian Nationalism is John A. Armstrong's *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939-1945* (New York, Columbia, 2nd rev. ed., 1963). A strategic and tactical evaluation of the UPA was attempted by Enrique Martinez Codé in his "Guerrilla Warfare in the Ukraine", *Military Review* (U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, XL, 8, 1960) and in his article in Franklin Mark Osanka, Ed., *Modern Guerrilla Warfare* (New York, 1962), and also in his Spanish book, *La resistencia en Ucrania* (Buenos Aires, 1963). A political and sociological evaluation of the UPA can be found in the article by Yona Liron (as told to Leo Heiman), "I was a Soviet Counter-Insurgent Expert", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York (XIX, 4, 1963); memoirs of the Jews serving with the UPA are given in the article by Leo Heiman, "We Fought for Ukraine! The Story of Jews with the UPA", *ibid.*, (XX, 1, 1964). For accounts of UPA history 1942-1952, see, Petro Mirchuk, *Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya* (Munich, 1953), and Lev Shankovskiy, "Ukrayinska Povstanska Armiya", in Myron Levytskyi, Ed., *Istoriya ukrainskoho viyska* (2nd rev. ed., Winnipeg, 1953, with extensive bibliography) and his summarization in *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom* (New York, 1954). The most extensive account of postwar UPA activity is Yaroslav Bilinsky's thesis, *Ukrainian Nationalism and Soviet Nationality Policy after World War II* (Princeton University, 1959), and two chapters on the UPA were included in his recent book, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine after World War II* (New Brunswick, Rutgers, 1964). For Ukrainian underground publications of the UPA, see, Lev Shankovskiy, *UPA ta yiyi pidpilna literatura* (Bibliography, Philadelphia, 1952) and his article on "Ukrainian Underground Publications in USSR", in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (VIII, 2, 1952). The Ukrainian Underground Art was represented in an album with text

which a Western researcher may use to advantage are first-hand accounts by those who fought against the UPA, press material published during the struggle, and, finally, recent analyses by Soviet or satellite writers who have used some insignificant documentary and archival material for the first time.²

The Soviet and satellite memoir literature is pretty poor — often a cross between eyewitness recollections and pure fiction. For study of the UPA during the German occupation the memoirs of Petro

in Ukrainian and in English, *Hrafika v bunkrakh UPA* (Dmytro Bahlay, Petro Mehyk, Lev Shankovskiy, eds., Philadelphia, 1952). A book of the Ukrainian underground poetry by Marko Boyeslav was translated into Italian by Armando Capri and published with extensive notes by Sylvester Tatuch under the title, *Vergogna a te vile generazione* (Torino, 1960). Documentary material of the UPA was published in the collections: *UPA v svitli dokumentiv z borotby za Ukrainsku Samostiynny Sobornu Derzhavu* (2 vls. Munich, Biblioteka Ukrain-skoho Pidpilnyka, No. 6 and 7, 1957, 1960), *UHVR v svitli postanov Velykoho Zboru ta inshykh dokumentiv z diyalnosti 1944-1951* (Munich, Biblioteka Ukrainskoho pidpilnyka, No. 3, 1956), and *OUN v svitli postanov Velykykh Zboriv, Konferentsiy ta inshykh dokumentiv z borotby 1929-1955* (Munich, Biblioteka Ukrainskoho pidpilnyka, No. 1, 1955). Some important UPA documentary material has been included into *Russian Oppression in Ukraine*, Reports and Documents (London 1962; in German: *Russischer Kolonialismus in der Ukraine*, Berichte und Dokumente, München, 1962). There is a volume of underground pamphlets by Petro Poltava, *Zbirnyk pidpilnykh pysan* (Munich 1959) and the English translation of an essay by Osy Hornovyi, *If War Comes Tomorrow* (Toronto 1953). Another essay of this underground writer O. Hornovy, "The Attitude of the Ukrainian Resistance Towards the Russian People" was published in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (VI, 4, 1950) and in *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom* along with other underground publications. The underground manual of the UPA Guerrilla Warfare by S. F. Khmel, *Ukrainska partyzanka* was published in the Series, *Biblioteka Ukrain-skoho pidpilnyka* (No. 8, Munich, 1959).

A list of sources on the Ukrainian participation in the strikes and uprisings of the prisoners of Soviet concentration camps, was given in Joseph S. Roucek, "The Forced Labour Camps in the Soviet Orbit", *Prolog*, New York (IV, 1-2, 1960), and the documentary evidence adduced in Paul Barton, ed., *L'institution concentrationnaire en Russie, 1930-1957* (Paris 1958). An essay on "Concentration Camps in the USSR" by Volodymyr Kosyk was published in *Russian Oppression in Ukraine*, op. cit. (London 1962) and there is a book by Andriy Mykulyn, *Kontsentratsiyni tabory v Sovyetskomy Soyuzi* published in the Series *Biblioteka Ukrainskoho pidpilnyka* (No. 2, Munich, 1958). The text of the letters smuggled out of the Soviet concentration camps appeared in Stephania Halychyn, ed., *500 Ukrainian Martyred Women* (New York, 1956).

A periodical, *Do Zbroiy*, was published in Munich between 1947 and 1955 (altogether 39 issues published) and was devoted chiefly to the problems of the UPA. Among the memoirs of the former UPA fighters, there are two volumes by Stepan Khrin, and books by Ostroverkh, Hromenko, Mirshchuk, Skorupskiy, and others.

² In the book by the Polish historian General Ignacy Blum, *Z dziejów Wojska Polskiego w latach 1945-1948* (Warsaw, 1960), the documentary material occupies 152 pages. For the documents on the UPA, see esp. pp. 264-72. There is also a book of documents on the Kraków trial of 1947, in which one of the charges brought against the leaders of the Polish nationalist underground was that of co-operation with the UPA: *Proces krakowski: Niepokólczycki, Mierzwa i inni przed sądem Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw, 1948).

Vershyhora³ and Dmitriy Medvedev⁴ are of special importance. Among other Soviet memoirs which concern this problem are those of Sydir Kovpak⁵ and, to some extent, of Anatoliy Shyyan⁶ and A. Fedorov.⁷ Polish-language accounts include books by Jan Gerhard⁸ and Mikołaj Kunicki ("Mucha").⁹ A number of briefer memoirs which appeared in magazines and newspapers will be mentioned in the following pages. In these Soviet and satellite memoirs the UPA is, of course, adversely treated, but they nevertheless serve to clear up some doubtful facts.¹⁰

3) Vershyhora (in Russian Vershigora), born in 1905 in Moldavia, graduated from the Odessa Conservatory and worked as actor and producer in theatres and movies. In 1942-43, as a colonel of the Red Army, he was with the General Kovpak Red Partisan Brigade as its intelligence chief. The title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred upon him in 1944, and, with the rank of major-general, he was appointed commander of the Red Partisan Brigade whose particular task was fighting the UPA in western Volynia. He has written of his personal experiences in *Lyudi s chistoy sovestyu* (Moscow, 1951; available also in Ukrainian and English translations), hereafter cited as Vershigora I; and "Reid na San i Vislu", *Novyi Mir* (Moscow), XXXV, No. 2 (February 1959), 3-79, and No. 3 (March 1959), 24-110, hereafter cited as Vershigora II, No. 2, and II, No. 3, respectively. See also his "Pereprava", *Dnipro* (Kiev), XXXV, No. 1 (January 1961), 15, for a short biographical sketch. Vershyhora's memoir, *Reid na San i Vislu* was published in a book form in 1960 (Moscow, Voenizdat), which is especially revealing on Soviet attitudes toward the UPA.

4) Col. Dmitrii Medvedev (1898-1954) was commander of a Soviet diversionist detachment in the Western Ukraine in 1942-44. His memoirs have been published under the titles *Silnyye dukhom* (2nd rev. ed.; Moscow, 1957), henceforth referred to as Medvedev (first published in 1952); *Eto bylo pod Rovno*, and *Na beregakh yuzhnogo Bugu*, the latter two being of little importance here. In 1953, despite his services to the Beria apparatus, for some reason Medvedev fell into disfavour. On January 24 of that year *Vinnytska Pravda* published a vitriolic review of his book *Na beregakh yuzhnogo Bugu* in which he was accused of "falsification" and of representing various slackers as Soviet underground fighters. After Beria's fall, however, Medvedev was "rehabilitated", and the newspapers and magazines which had published deprecatory reviews of his book recanted. For example, see *Zhovten* (Lviv), No. 11 (1955), pp. 1119-21.

5) Sydir Kovpak, *Vid Putyulya do Karpat* (Kiev, 1946); also available in Russian. Published in English under the title *Our Partisan Course* (London, New York, Melbourne, 1947).

6) Shyyan, *Partyzanskyi kray* (Kiev, 1946).

7) Aleksey Fedorov, *Podpolnyi obkom deistvuet* (Moscow, 1950); also in Ukrainian translation (Kiev, 1952).

8) Gerhard, *Łuny w Bieszczadach* (Warsaw, 1959). The book contains information on the organizational structure of the UPA according to documents preserved in the Archives of the Ministry for National Defense in Warsaw. Col. Jan Gerhard's article, "Dalsze szczegóły walk z bandami UPA i WIN na południowo-wschodnim obszarze Polski", *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny*, Warsaw (1959, vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 304-35) can be considered a sequel to previous article by Gen. Blum. Here Col. Gerhard reproduces an order-of-battle of the UPA, taken from the book by Petro Mirchuk. Cf. notes 1 and 16.

9) Kunicki, *Pamiętnik "Muchy"* (Warsaw, 1959). The author, a Pole, was commander of a Soviet partisan unit which fought the UPA in 1944 and 1945.

10) The case of Kuznetsov and his assassination of the German officials in Rivne (Rovno) may best illustrate the point. Using the German source material,

Press items published at the time of the struggle are the largest part of Soviet and satellite source material about the UPA. They record, for instance, descriptions of actions against the UPA, official communiqués and appeals, including appeals by captured insurgents to their former companions in arms or to private citizens, confessions of captives, reports on conferences and meetings called by the Soviet authorities (at these meetings certain facts were given concerning the action of "the bands"),¹¹ signed pieces by journalists and other writers, and various propaganda materials. The satellite press contained more material of this kind than did the Soviet press. A considerable amount of material on the UPA was published in 1944-1950 in the Western Ukrainian oblast newspapers *Radyanske slovo* (Drohobych), *Prykarpatska Pravda* (Stanyslav), *Radyanska Bukovyna* (Chernivtsi), *Vilna Ukrayina* and *Lvovskaya Pravda* (both Lviv), *Vilne zhyttya* (Ternopil), *Radyanska Volyn* (Lutsk), *Chervonyi prapor* (Rivne), and, to some extent, *Zakarpatska Pravda* and *Sovetskoye Zakarpat'ye* (Uzhhorod). Still more material of this kind was published in the raion newspapers, of which there were 233 in the Western Ukraine in 1947. Among these important sources of material on the UPA are the city paper of Kolomyia, *Chervonyi prapor*, and the Komsomol paper of Lviv, *Leninska molod*. However, little of this material is accessible in the West, since oblast and raion newspapers are, as a rule, not sent abroad. A great deal of material about the UPA in the years 1945-47 was printed as "throwaway sheets", by the newspapers of republic scope published in Kiev. These papers are available in Western libraries but not the "throwaway sheets", which were printed only for the western areas of the Ukraine and were not included in the copies of the newspapers distributed in the central and eastern areas of the Ukraine or sent abroad. It may be assumed that news of the UPA struggle was printed in this form to

Armstrong (p. 156) referred to the Rivne killings as performed by Ukrainian nationalists. Medvedev's memoirs, however, contain disproof. He writes that diversionary action against the UPA was the chief task of his group. Marching through forests and villages of Volynia, the group often masqueraded as a UPA unit (Medvedev, pp. 397, 403 ff.), thus provoking the Nazis to bloody reprisals against the Ukrainian population, especially the Ukrainian nationalists. Medvedev's group was particularly successful in Rivne, where one of his scouts, N. I. Kuznetsov, tricked the Germans into believing that the top German officials in the headquarters of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine whom he had assassinated were actually killed by Ukrainian nationalists (Medvedev, *ibid.*, pp. 284-85).

11) Soviet newspapers carried descriptions of Soviet "Chekist — military operations for the Liquidation of bands" (such was the official appellation for actions against the UPA). For example, the January 14, 1945, issue of *Vilna Ukrayina*, a newspaper appearing in Lviv, reported the liquidation of a "large band" in the Radekhiv area in December 1944, and an "operation" against the UPA battalion of "Khmara" in the Carpathian Mountains, on January 7, 1945. The contention of the paper that "Khmara" was killed in this action is not true. Cf. note 133.

keep it from spreading in the central and eastern areas of the Ukraine.¹²

Some materials from the USSR press were reprinted in Ukrainian Communist newspapers in the United States and Canada, and are thus available.¹³ In addition, these newspapers printed letters to the editor from Ukraine which contained certain relevant facts.

The final group of sources is the research work of Soviet and satellite authors. The lampoon form has, as a rule, been used by Soviet writers on the subject of the UPA, and, in fact, the whole resistance movement. A very important item is the lampoon by Volodymyr Byelyayev and Mykhaylo Rudnytsky, which V. Sarbey, in the foreword, calls a "documentary study" written in "historic and journalistic" style.¹⁴ This general lampoon style marks even those writers who have published under the sponsorship of scholarly institutions and have dealt with problems requiring documentary and scholarly treatment, for instance the numerous works on the collectivization of agriculture or the progress of industrialization in the western areas of Ukraine.¹⁵

¹² The printing of the "throwaway sheets" was discontinued after 1947, since news of the UPA resistance spread widely across the Ukraine anyway. The news was carried back to the central and eastern areas by the starving kolkhoz people who had come to the Western Ukraine (not yet collectivized) looking for food for themselves and their families from the peasants there. Of this pilgrimage it is said in a 1960 Soviet source: "It is high time to examine objectively the negative effect that the 1946 drought had on the later collectivization in the Western Ukraine. At the time of the drought a great number of people came to the western areas looking for bread. This fact was used by Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in their anti-kolkhoz agitation." I. Kh. Sas, "Vysvitlennya sotsialistychnoho budivnytstva v zakhidnykh oblastyakh Ukrayinskoyi RSR", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Kiev), IV, No. 4 (1960), 105.

¹³ Sets of the following for 1944-60 are particularly worth perusing: *Ukrayynski shchodenni visti* (later *Ukrayynski visti*; New York), *Ukrayynske zhyttia* (Toronto), and *Ukrayynske slovo* (Winnipeg).

¹⁴ Sarbey in Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, *Pid chuzhymy praporamy* (Kiev, 1956). Byelyayev, an import from Leningrad, is a Soviet "expert" on Ukrainian nationalism and the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He prepared a scenario for the anti-religious and anti-Catholic film *Ivanna*, which was shown in 1959-60. Among the most productive anti-UPA pamphleteers are Yaroslav Halan, Yuriy Melnychuk, Bohdan Dudykevych, Petro Kozlanyuk, Yuriy Smolych, Oleksa Poltoratsky, poets Dmytro Pavlychko, and Rostyslav Bratun.

¹⁵ For a discussion of literature on the collectivization and "socialist reconstruction" of the Western Ukraine, see Sas, pp. 102-9; and M. K. Ivasyuta, "Sotsialistychna perebudova silskoho hospodarstva v zakhidnykh oblastyakh Ukrayinskoyi RSR", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, III, No. 4 (1959), 3-13. Two books referring to the difficulties of collectivizing agriculture in the struggle against the UPA are M. K. Ivasyuta, *Narys istoriyi kolektyvizatsiyi na Ternopilshchyni, 1939-1950* (Kiev, 1959), and V. P. Stolyarenko, *Sotsialistychna peretvorennia silskoho hospodarstva na Volyni* (Kiev, 1958). Soviet efforts to enlist Ukrainian peasant women in the struggle against the UPA are mentioned by N. S. Polonevskaya, "Meropriyatiya po vovlecheniyu krestyanok v borbu za kooperirovanie selskogo khozyaistva v zapadnykh oblastyakh USSR",

The Polish sources are superior to the Soviet. In the analyses of the UPA by the Polish General Ignacy Blum (who has an M.A. degree in history), despite the generally negative treatment, certain facts are acknowledged which Soviet sources try to distort. In the Polish sources the mistakes and failures of the Poles in the fight against the UPA are admitted, and an attempt is made at a certain objectivity in analyzing events.¹⁶ Czech sources, on the other hand, are full of fantastic inventions about the UPA and the Ukrainian resistance movement that go far beyond the distortions of Soviet authors.¹⁷

Nauchnye zapiski Lvovskogo Torgovo-Ekonomicheskogo Instituta, VII (1959), 42-59.

Difficulties in the industrialization of the Western Ukraine have been presented in numerous monographs, including V. Petrushko, *Rozvytok promyslovosti zakhidnykh oblastey Ukrayiny* (Kiev, 1958). For our topic, the following articles are of importance: N. S. Hurladi, "Deyaki pytannya vykhovnoyi roboty sered robitnychoyi ta selyanskoyi molodi zakhidnykh oblastey URSR v roky pershoyi pislyavoyennoyi pyatyrychky", *Naukovi zapysky Lvivskoho Politekhnichnoho Instytutu*, XLVII, No. 1 (1957), 61-82; I. P. Bohodyst, "Pidnesennya politychnoyi aktyvnosti trudyashchykh u borotbi za zmitsnennya radyanskoho ladu v zakhidnykh oblastyakh Ukrayinskoyi RSR (1944-1950)", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, III, No. 6 (1959), 55-66. See also N. S. Polonevskaya, "Vovlechenie zhenshchin zapadnykh oblastei Ukrayiny v stroitelstvo narodnogo khozyaistva 1946-1950 gg.", *Nauchnye zapiski Lvovskogo Torgovo-Ekonomicheskogo Instituta*, VI (1958), 156-65.

¹⁶ See Blum, pp. 87-131, 200, 214-15, 240, 252-73. See also his "Udział Wojska Polskiego w walce o utrwalenie władzy ludowej: Walki z bandami UPA", *Wojskowy przegląd historyczny* (Warsaw), IV, No. 1 (1959), 3-29 (hereafter referred to as Blum II). In 1958, the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw convoked a session of the Division of Social Sciences with the purpose of throwing some light on the state of the studies in recent Polish history. Proceedings of the Session were published in a book: *Polska Akademia Nauk, Wydział Nauk Społecznych, Sesja naukowa poświęcona wojnie wyzwoleniejszej narodu polskiego 1939-1945. Materiały* (Warsaw, 1959). Many essays of the book have been devoted to the Polish struggle against the UPA, as, e.g., the article by Gen. Ignacy Blum (pp. 241-265), Kazimierz Sobczak, Zbigniew Załucki, and others. However, the best analytical comment on the UPA and the OUN, possible in the contemporary Poland, was written by Major of the General Staff, Wiesław Szuta, "Zarys rozwoju Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii", *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny*, Warsaw (vol. VIII, No. 1, 1963, pp. 163-218). Among Polish memoirs on the UPA struggle, two books are worth mentioning because of their quasi objectivity: Jan Wilczek, *Banda* (Warsaw, 1961, Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej) and Norbert Zenon Pick, *Bój o Wętlinę* (Warsaw, 1960, Książka i wiedza). The latter has been interesting because of the description of the UPA bunker (pp. 101-122). The articles in the Polish dailies and weeklies (*Rzeczpospolita*, *Polska Zbrojna*, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *Horyzonty*, etc.) have been too many to be listed in this place.

¹⁷ See for example, Vaclav Slavik, *Pravá tvář banderovcu: Akce B protiv civilni siti* (Prague, 1948). A film was made on the basis of this book. Also full of outright fantasy — alleged support of the UPA by the Vatican and Catholic bishops for instance — is a work published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (authors A. Svoboda, A. Tuchkova, and K. Svoboda), *Zagovor Vatikana protiv ChSR*, known to me in the Russian translation (Moscow, 1950).

Illustrative of the tendency in Soviet and satellite sources to discredit the UPA and the whole Ukrainian resistance movement is a passage in Vershyhora's memoirs in which an Armenian Communist, a deserter from the UPA to the Soviet partisans, explains the essence of the UPA:

"The most important thing is their hatred of the kolkhoz. It is easy to understand why — in the kolkhoz the kulak sees the embodiment of his death. This is the cause of his hatred of Soviet rule and the Communists. But the Soviet rule was introduced by the Russians, and it seems to the Ukrainian kulaks that the kolkhoz is purely Russian, a Russian national invention. Consequently, their kind of nationalism is class nationalism."¹⁸

The kolkhozy were, indeed, "a Russian national invention", and Vershyhora's personage could hardly find a Ukrainian who would deny it. The Ukrainian people suffered very much through their fierce resistance to this Russian invention, and even the Soviet sources begin some blubbering about the millions of Ukrainian victims of the Stalin-Kaganovich fostered famine to suppress the Ukrainian "kulaks" in 1932-1933. However, in his explanation of the UPA phenomenon, the Vershyhora's personage might have understated some facts. It is possible that a more correct explanation of the UPA phenomenon could be found in the works of Soviet Ukrainian writer, Yaroslav Halan who later perished at the hands of the UPA avengers. This vociferous but short-lived tool of the Soviet anti-UPA propaganda wrote a remarkable pamphlet on "nationalist vampires" in 1946,¹⁹ in which he tried to assess the Soviet difficulties in fighting the UPA. He found them in the UPA having their own "himmlers" and their own "goebbelses", who were not less "cruel" and "mendacious" than "their Hitlerite prototypes." Of course, such an assessment by the chief Soviet propagandist could have been construed as a Soviet confirmation of the efficiency of the UPA security ("himmlers") and propaganda ("goebbelses") apparatuses, which created considerable obstacles to Soviet efforts in combating the UPA, but in the author's designs his allusions had also the purpose to build up some associations in the readers' minds with the Nazi origin of the "nationalist vampires." However, these associations

¹⁸) Vershyhora II, No. 3, 47.

¹⁹) Cf. Yaroslav Halan, "Natsionalistychni upyri", *Radianska Ukraina*, Kiev, August 14, 1946, pp. 2-4, also in all collections of his works. Yaroslav Aleksandrovich Halan (1902-1949) was among the most vituperative antagonists of the UPA, and was fighting the UPA with word and deed. On October 20, 1949, he was killed by the Ukrainian insurgents. Cf. A. Vvedenskiy, Ed., *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 2nd edition, Moscow, 1952, Vol. XI, p. 118. For interesting details on Halan's biography, see, Volodymyr Byelyaev, "Druhe narodzhennya. Zi spohadiv pro Yaroslava Halana", *Literaturna Ukraina*, Kiev, July 20, 1962, pp. 2-3. From this article we learn that Halan's wife was purged and shot by the Soviet security organs, but that this personal tragedy was not able to change the writer's allegiance to communism. Despite this unquestionable allegiance, states the author of the article, Halan was on suspicion by the security organs even in the forties, and was refused the licence for personal arms.

were played down by the author himself when in the further part of his pamphlet he stated that "before the roosters of Bandera came forth from the eggs, the nationalist eggs had long been hatched in the incubator of 'batko' Hrushevskiyi." This is quite a significant admission by the important Soviet source that Ukrainian nationalism has neither been of the Nazi nor of fascist origin but that it has been an outgrowth of the Ukrainian historical process. This direct attack of Yaroslav Halan against the "school" of the prominent Ukrainian historian, Professor Michael S. Hrushevsky, his accusation by the vituperative writer of being the "incubator" for hatching the "banderivtsi" was, however, not only the case of the author's journalistic eloquence. In 1946-1947, along with the struggle against the UPA, the Soviet regime in Ukraine waged on a fierce and relentless campaign against the Ukrainian nationalist tendencies in Ukrainian historiography, literature and arts, theatre and cinematography, and even in the Ukrainian satirical publications. In Ukraine, this campaign was directed by Lazar M. Kaganovich who temporarily replaced Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the KP(B)U* (1947), and whom the contemporary Soviet sources denounce as a "master of intrigues and provocations." According to contemporary revelations, Kaganovich allegedly tried "to convoke a plenary session of the Central Committee having on the agenda the struggle against Ukrainian nationalism", and even tried "to accuse the leading men of Ukraine of this deviation."²⁰ It is worth reminding that in all campaign against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", the "Hrushevsky school" has always been denounced as the chief originator of all "nationalist evils" in Ukraine.

In their subsequent campaign against the UPA, the Soviet propagandists liked to emphasize the UPA's "hostility" to the Ukrainian people. They represented the UPA as the "people's enemy" and tried to avoid everything that might point to any ties of the UPA with the Ukrainian people. Even the name "UPA" rarely could be found in the Soviet memoirs or in the works of the Soviet scholars and publicists.²¹ A pointed instance of such an omission can

*) KP(B)U — Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, regional branch of the CPSU.

²⁰) Cf. Podgorny's speech at the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU as reported in *Pravda*, Moscow, October 20, 1961, p. 3.

²¹) One of the rare exceptions is L. O. Leshchenko, "Proloh chy epiloh", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, II, No. 6 (1958), 139. However, Leshchenko had no choice. He was answering a Polish journalist who not only used the appellation UPA but thought of it as an "embodiment of Ukrainian patriotism." See Kajetan Czarkowski-Golejewski, "Ukraine — Not an Internal Problem of the USSR", *Prolog*, New York, II, No. 4-5 (1958), 53-57. In 1963 Leshchenko published a book, *Z ruin viyny do tryvkoho myru. Ukrayinska RSR na mizhnarodniy areni v period stanovlennya svitovoyi sotsialistichnoyi systemy (1945-1949)* (Kiev, 1963, Derzh. Vydavnytstvo politychnoyi literatury). The source has been important for our topic because it, for the first time, confirms the date of death of the UPA Supreme Commander, Gen. Roman Shukhevych—Taras Chuprynka in March, 1950 (p. 43) and acknowledges the fact that the Soviet

be found in the memoirs of the garrulous Vershyhora. Describing a march of General Kovpak's partisan brigade through the territory in the hands of the Ukrainian insurgents, Vershyhora relates how the train with the wounded Ukrainian insurgents fell into the hands of Soviet partisans. Vershyhora tells of his cross-examination of several insurgents who were seriously wounded and half-conscious. In delirium one of them sang a passage of a Ukrainian resistance song: "Forest is our father, and night is our mother, rifle and sabre our whole family..."²² But Vershyhora purposely omitted the final line of the song, which contains the three letters UPA: "Cossack, leave the girl and go to the UPA — burpgun is your sweetheart now." Vershyhora often uses the *nom de guerre* of insurgent commanders — Mukha, Gonta, Bulba. He also mentions the surname of a Ukrainian leader in the war of the years 1917-20, Symon Petlyura, and the surname of one of the leaders of Ukrainian nationalism, Stepan Bandera.²³ But the UPA is never mentioned. Instead, Soviet sources use designations such as *Bulbiivtsi*, *Melnykivtsi*, *Banderivtsi*, formed from the surnames of various leaders. The main purpose of these methods presumably was to show that the UPA was a private affair of chieftains not supported by the people.²⁴

Concerning the attitude of the Ukrainian people toward the UPA, Soviet and Polish sources disagree. Blum admits that the superior strength of the Polish army and police was in the beginning unable to cope with the UPA because of the wide support the UPA received from the Ukrainian people.²⁵ For the complete liquidation of the UPA on Polish territory, he writes, it was necessary not only to use forces tenfold stronger — 60,000 (with enormous technical superiority) against 6,000 — but also to carry out the so-called "Operation W", that is, a complete evacuation of the Ukrainian population from the UPA operational area, in order to deprive the UPA of the support of the people.²⁶

Once even Vershyhora referred to the scope of the insurgent movement and its ties with the Ukrainian people but only to give his own "dialectical explanation" of it: An argument was brewing between a regular partisan officer, a captain, and a *zampolit* (deputy commissar) named Mykola. The captain was a Russian, Mykola a Ukrainian.

Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia waged on a "common" struggle against the UPA (p. 42). Leshchenko, however, does mention the fact that an agreement of the three powers was concluded for this purpose (the so-called "tripartite pact"). Its existence was announced by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zygmunt Modzelewski on May 7, 1947, and reported by the press agencies (Associated Press, United Press Agency) on May 12, 1947.

²² Vershyhora I, p. 389.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-42, 392-403, 426, *passim*.

²⁴ See Sarbey's introduction to Byelayev and Rudnytsky, p. 18.

²⁵ Blum II, 29.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19 ff.

"...What is it, this — *Banderovshchyna*? Look how many of them are armed. We lick one company and right away another one turns up. They look like full-strength regiments, the peasants, a whole nation..."

"Where did you see the nation?" said Mykola thoughtfully.

"Well, what about the villages? Who came out with clubs, old Berdan rifles, and pitchforks? Who defended the villages?" The captain bristled. "Oh you simpleton! Of course, self-defense with clubs — but against whom? Have you read the instructions of Honcharenko?²⁷ Or the orders of their commander-in-chief Klym Savur?²⁸ It's obviously a Fascist program..."²⁹

Other Vershyhora guerrillas give a more detailed explanation to the phenomenon of the UPA:

"Then this is — the Ukrainian Vendée", said Semen Tutuchenko.

"Vendée or not, it doesn't matter, but it's a new Fascist version of counterrevolution", corrected Tokar, the battalion commander.

"Plus Petlyurovshchyna", added Serdyuk.

"Plus the fifth column", added Brayko.

"Plus Makhnovshchyna", said Kulbaka, bending his finger.

"Plus the Vatican", said Tutuchenko.

"Plus a provocation organized by the Gestapo — butchery among Ukrainians and Poles", added Voytsekhovych.

"Well, and maybe also our failures and mistakes..." said our *osobist*³⁰ lieutenant Zhurkin, as usual with a little touch of criticism...

"But there is still one advantage", said I (Vershyhora), in quite an indifferent voice, "Where the *Banderivtsi* are, there are almost no German-Fascist armies..."³¹

Different explanations of this statement are possible. At the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 the situation was such that large areas in the north-west of the Ukraine were controlled by the UPA, the German occupation forces having been driven away. This was the *Partisanengebiet*, through which the Germans passed only with a large armed convoy. But apparently this was not what Vershyhora wished to tell his readers. He implied, rather, that the Germans had told the UPA to occupy an extensive area so that the UPA would

²⁷) Col. Honcharenko was the *nom de guerre* of Leonid Stupnytsky, Chief of Staff of the UPA group "North." This officer will be referred to later.

²⁸) Col. Klym Savur was the *nom de guerre* of Dmytro Klyachkivsky, commander of the UPA group "North", killed in battle in 1945. He was not, however, *glavkom* (commander in chief) as Vershyhora supposed. See Shantkovsky, p. 735. The recent Soviet sources acknowledge, however, that the proclamation of the Ukrainian State by the Ukrainian nationalists on June 30, 1941 (and the formation of the Ukrainian Government by Yaroslav Stetsko) caught the Germans by surprise. See V. Koval, *V roky fashystskoyi navyaly. Ukrayina v mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh u period Velykoyi Vitchyznyanoyi Viyny* (Kiev, 1963, Derzhavne vydavnytstvo politychnoyi literatury), p. 13.

²⁹) Vershyhora II, No. 3, p. 42.

³⁰) *Osobist* is the Russian slang term for a member of the *Osobyi Otdel* (OO), an officer of the Commissariat (Ministry) for State Security, responsible for recruitment of informers and secret police work within the armed forces and in Soviet institutions, schools, factories, and elsewhere. In the Army (or partisan) units, he was subordinate not to the commander of the unit, but to his own chain of command.

³¹) Vershyhora II, No. 2, pp. 63-64.

have to take over the fight against the Red partisans and, thus, relieve the Germans. He underlined the fact that in order to defeat the Red partisans the UPA collaborated with the German occupiers. More evidence as to how this question is treated in Soviet sources will be adduced later.

Soviet authorities benefited from the brutal policy of the Germans on the Soviet territories they occupied. It is, therefore, not strange that the Soviet saboteur mentioned earlier, N. I. Kuznetsov, did not kill Erich Koch, Reichskommissar of the Ukraine, during a personal meeting at Rivne.³² On the other hand, the appearance of an organized Ukrainian resistance movement must have made Moscow uneasy. Moscow never underrated national resistance movements and their potentialities. We may assume that one of the assignments of the numerous Soviet partisan and saboteur detachments sent to the UPA territory was to learn all about the Ukrainian national resistance movement, its aims, activities, methods, and potentialities.

In 1943, the northwest Ukraine (i.e. Volynia and Polissya which in 1942-1943 were the centre of UPA activities) was invaded by the Soviet partisan detachments under "Generals" and "Colonels" Kovpak, Medvedev, Fyodorov-Chernigovskiy, Fyodorov-Rovenskiy, Saburov, Naumov, Vershyhora, and a host of smaller detachments — all of them subordinate to the "Ukrainian Partisan Staff" headed by an NKVD general, Timofei A. Strokach.³³ In 1943, too, "General" Vasiliy A. Begma was sent to the Rivne *oblast* to direct the Soviet underground organization in the region, formed here, with considerable difficulties by the diversionist detachment of Col. Medvedev and his chief "scout", N. I. Kuznetsov.³⁴ On March 26, 1943, "General"

³²) For a description of Kuznetsov's audience with Koch, see Medvedev, pp. 201-205.

³³) The so-called "Ukrainian Partisan Staff" headed by the veteran *chekist*, Timofei A. Strokach (born 1900), a lieutenant-general of the security police (later a colonel-general), and former Deputy Minister of the Ukrainian SSR, was created in June 1942. See V. Klovov, I. Kulyk, I. Slinko, *Narodna borotba na Ukraini v roky Velykoyi vitchyznyanoi viyny* (Kiev, 1957, Akademiya Nauk URSR, Instytut istoriyi), p. 83. For Strokach's photograph, see p. 165, and, also, Shyyan, *op. cit.*, p. 148. Of Siberian origin, Strokach as many other partisan leaders had a frontier guard background of service with the police forces. In the second half of 1942, because of the military situation in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Partisan Staff moved to Moscow where Strokach fell into conflict with L. P. Beria and was replaced by one of the leaders of Bryansk forest partisans, V. Andreyev. See, his, *Narodnaya voyna (Zapiski partizana)*, (Moscow, 1952, Gosizdat Khud. literatury).

³⁴) Vasiliy Andreyevich Begma (born 1906) was appointed the First Secretary of the underground Oblast party committee (*obkom*) in Rivne in 1943. See V. A. Begma, "Zaklyatyie vrugi ukrainskogo naroda", *Pravda Ukrainy*, Kiev, November 13, 1944, pp. 2-3. See, also, his book, V. Begma, *Zlochyny nimtsiv i narodnya borotba na Rovenshchyni* (Kiev, 1945, Ukrderzhvydav) where the author connects the emergence and the development of the "people's struggle" with the cruelty (and stupidity — L. S.) of the German occupation policies.

Begma was able to convene a Partisan Conference at the village of Dibrovske, Zarichne raion, attended by several Soviet partisan commanders and underground leaders. At the Conference, V. A. Begma and I. P. Fyodorov-Rovenskiy read their papers containing new Soviet directives for the Soviet partisan and underground movement, and resolved to publish underground literature in the Ukrainian and Polish languages.³⁵

It can hardly be doubted that much of the directives, transmitted to the Soviet partisan units and underground cells in the northwest Ukraine, was concerned with their attitudes toward the UPA and the Ukrainian nationalist underground. It must be recalled here that in 1942 the northwest Ukraine was entirely devoid of Red partisans with its countryside firmly in the hands of the Ukrainian armed anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet groups and the large cities in the hands of the German occupation forces which hid there beyond the barricades and barbed wire. The first important Soviet partisan unit which appeared in Volynia in the second half of 1942, was the diversionist unit of the "chekist" Dmitriy N. Medvedev,³⁶ which was

In 1962, along with another partisan leader, Luka Ye. Kyzya, Begma published the book, *Shlyakhy neskorenykh* (Kiev, 1962, Radpysmennyk) which might have been an important source for the study of the Soviet partisan movement if not for the authors' efforts to exaggerate the activities of Soviet partisans and to enhance their own role in the movement. The co-author of the book, a teacher from profession, was a political commissar with the *Za rodinu* detachment of Soviet partisans under the leadership of I. P. Fyodorov-Rovenskiy who, in 1945, perished in the struggle against the UPA. In 1963-1964, Kyzya was the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR's Mission to the United Nations. He is also the co-author of another important book which is cited in this article (cf. note 95), and the author of an unpublished dissertation for the candidate's degree at the Kiev State University, *Partyzanskyi rukh na Rovenshchyni v roky Velykoyi vitchyznyanoyi viyny (1941-1945 rr.)*, in which Kyzya complains of low discipline of the Soviet partisan units. See, M. S. Danylyuk, Ye. V. Syfonova, A. P. Cherchenko, "Ohlyad dysertatsiy, prysvyachenykh pidpilniy borotbi i partyzanskomu rukhu na Ukrayini v roky Velykoyi vitchyznyanoyi viyny", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, (Kiev, 1958, 6, pp. 103-110).

³⁵ See Klovov et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff. For the partisan press, see pp. 156 ff. See, also, I. L. Demyanchuk, *Partyzanska presa Ukrayiny, 1941-1944 rr.* (Kiev, 1956, Vyd. Kyivskoho derzh. universytetu). For clandestine Ukrainian nationalist press, see Lew Shankowsky, "Pidpilna presa v Ukrayini", *Yuvileynyy Almanakh 'Svobody' 1893-1953*, Jersey City, N.J., (n.d., Ukrayinskyi Narodnyy Soyuz), pp. 187-196.

³⁶ For Medvedev's biography, see A. Tsessarskiy, *Chekist: Povest* (Moscow, 1960, Voenizdat). Tsessarskiy was a surgeon with Medvedev's group; his memoir has been important as a sequel to Medvedev's memoirs. Tsessarskiy tells of Medvedev's criticism of L. P. Beria, but they hardly could be possible at the time when Stalin and Beria, holding firmly the strings of the NKGB-NKVD, held the Soviet partisan movement in their hands. See Tsessarskiy, page 309 ff. There should have been other reasons for Medvedev's downgrading in 1953, and this seems to have been the realization in Beria's mind of the fact that the whole mission of Medvedev with all his diversions and provocations was rather on the debit side of the Soviet struggle; it was a failure, and not a success.

parachuted in the area by the Soviet airplanes. The soil of Volynia, however, seemed to him so hot, the mood of its Ukrainian population so hostile to everything Soviet, that he refused to act in the area on his own and looked around for some local support, which would enable him to gain the ground. Strangely enough, Medvedev found this support at the camp of the Ukrainian partisan leader, Taras Bulba-Borovets who in the Ukrainian partisan movement played an independent role, allegedly accepting his orders from the UNR government in exile. At the camp of *Ataman* Taras Bulba-Borovets, Medvedev along with the representative of the Soviet General Staff, Col. A. A. Lukin found the needed hospitality and stayed there for several months, enjoying the protection of their "host" and luring him with the promises of his recognition by the Soviet High Command as the Supreme Commander of the Partisan Forces in Ukraine.³⁷

In his memoirs, Medvedev did not disclose the strange ways which enabled him to reach the camp of the gullible *Ataman* from the

Post-Stalin sources are playing down Beria's role in the Soviet partisan movement, but to an unprejudiced observer Beria's contribution to organizing, directing, and indoctrinating the movement has been evident. It must be recalled that following the German attack on the USSR in 1941, the People's Commissariats of NKVD (Interior) and NKGB (State Security) were united under L. P. Beria who, in addition, was a member and, later, Deputy Chairman of the Council of National Defence to which the Central Staff of the Partisan Movement with its "Ukrainian" branch were directly subordinated. In 1943, Strokach's adjutant, Alexander Rusanov was captured by the Germans and described the channels through which Beria's NKVD-NKGB controlled the Soviet Partisan Movement (cf. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 140). The article in the 2nd edition of the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* on Lavrentii Pavlovich Beria confirmed his role in the Soviet Partisan Movement in which he planted all important *chekists*, Tsanava, Strokach, Medvedev, Saburov, Naumov, etc. (*chekist* is the honorary designation of the members of Soviet security organs, derived from Che-Ka, the original Extraordinary Commission of the early Soviet government operating against counter-revolutionary movements, which was subsequently transformed into the GPU, NKVD-NKGB, MVD-MGB, and KGB), but after Beria's downfall the editors of the *Entsiklopediya* ordered the subscribers to cut out the article and to substitute it by the newly printed article on the Behring Sea. *Sic itur ad astra* in the Russia's USSR.

³⁷ In his memoirs, *Silnyye dukhom*, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-84, Medvedev describes his and Col. A. A. Lukin's negotiations with *Ataman* Bulba. See, also, Oleksander Hrytsenko, "Armiya bez derzhavy", *Ukrayinska zemlya* (New York, 1951, 1, pp. 39-40; 2, pp. 58-59) which is Bulba's version of the fact, as related by the personage, close to the *Ataman*, and witnessing his negotiations with Medvedev-Lukin, and with the representatives of the *Reichskommissariat*. However, the recent Soviet source, trying to degrade *Ataman* Bulba by all means, concentrates only on the Nazi side of Bulba's "forest diplomacy", and refuses to tell the readers how much Medvedev-Lukin owed *Ataman* Bulba for having been able to put their feet on the hot soil of the northwestern Ukraine. See, Yuriy Melnychuk, "Z zhytiya bandytskoho otamana", *Zhovten* (Lviv, 1957, 10, pp. 88-102), reprinted, also in his collection of pamphlets, I. Svarnyk, ed., *Poridnya iyudy* (Lviv, 1958, Lvivske obl. vyd.). For the review on this important collection, see O. Yermolenko, "Spravzhnye oblychchya burzhuaiznykh natsionalistiv", *Vitchyzna*, Kiev (1958, XI, pp. 205-206) in which the author emphasizes Melnychuk's "rich and juicy language, natural style, publicistic sharpness, fine sense of humour."

"great land"³⁸ and to find the needed "hospitality" on his territory. However, from his and Tsessarskiy's memoirs it can be established without any doubt that the "hospitality" was chiefly used for reconnoitring the entire northwest Ukraine and for building up a Soviet underground network in this stronghold of the Ukrainian nationalist forces. The final breach of Medvedev's group with the hospitable Ukrainian *Ataman* came not earlier than after Stalingrad when the services of *Ataman* were no more necessary for Soviet diversionists. Medvedev left Bulba's camp with fight, repulsing the ambush by Bulba's troops at Khotyn, allegedly because *Ataman* Bulba "playing the host to Soviet partisans", was simultaneously "engaged in negotiations with the representatives of the "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" with the purpose of "selling out" the "guests" over to the Germans."³⁹

Having disengaged itself from the cooperation with the *Ataman* Bulba's "army" in February 1943, the diversionist unit of Col. Medvedev started its famous raid in Volynia on its own hand. The direction was the *Tsumansky* forest close to the capital of the *Reichskommissariat* (Rivne-Rovno) where already Medvedev's "legendary scout", N. I. Kuznetsov was acting in the disguise of "Oberleutnant Siebert."⁴⁰ The *Tsumansky* forest became the HQ of Medvedev's group and, here, it was waiting for news from its chief "scout." The news were encouraging, indeed. Nikolay Kuznetsov was able to form in Rivne a Soviet underground cell under certain Novak,

³⁸) In the appellation of the Soviet partisans, the "great land" was the territory of the USSR, which was not occupied by the German armies.

³⁹) See Medvedev, *Silnyye dukhom*, op. cit., p. 135, for the description of Medvedev's disengagement with *Ataman* Bulba in the battle at Khotyn. Bulba's negotiations with the chief of Reichskommissariat's Sicherheitsdienst (SD) Pitz and the chief of its Political Division, Jorgens, have been given by Medvedev as the reason for this "breach in neutrality" (see Medvedev, op. cit., pp. 136-137).

⁴⁰) There is an interesting Polish source trying to enhance the role of the "legendary scout", Nikolay I. Kuznetsov—Oberleutnant Siebert, which is quite frank about the cold-blooded anti-Ukrainian provocations of the "scout." See, W. Malten, *Gdzie jest oberleutnant Siebert?* (Warszawa, 1959, Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej). The source tells us that Kuznetsov's trick with the portfolio led to "punishment by death" of the "prominent banderivtsi leaders" by the Germans (pp. 44-45), and that the "Ukrainian fascists turned deadly pale from fear" (*Ibid.*). On the mass shootings of the Ukrainian hostages in Volynia, on October 15, 1943, see the documentary account of this writer in his "UPA" (op. cit., pp. 675-677). Despite sombre reminiscences of the mass shootings, in which not the "banderivtsi leaders", but innocent Ukrainian men, women, and children became victims of the Nazi mass terror, called forth by the Soviet provocation, the Soviet authorities thought it proper to designate one of the streets in Rivne as "Medvedev street." Recently, also, a monument was erected in honour of Kuznetsov in Rivne on the public square bearing his name. See "Legendarnomu rozvidchykovi", *Molod Ukrayiny* (Kiev), February 3, 1961, p. 4. One is inclined to honour all heroes of all peoples, all creeds, and all times, but the ruthlessness with which the Soviet authorities impose their agent-provocateur upon the Ukrainian people as their "hero", has no precedent either in the ancient nor in the modern history.

which was able to dispose at least of 19 Ukrainian nationalist leaders who were killed by Novak's underground.⁴¹ Kuznetsov himself, in his disguise as "Oberleutnant Siebert" was accepted in audience by *Reichskommissar*, Erich Koch, and succeeded in planting several Soviet spies in the offices of the *Reichskommissariat*.⁴² Besides, Kuznetsov was able to kidnap Gen. Ilgen and to kill or wound several high officials of the *Reichskommissariat*. Finally, he entirely succeeded with his anti-Ukrainian provocation by planting a portfolio with documents of a Ukrainian nationalist and forged letters of his superiors ordering anti-Nazi assassinations in Rivne at the place of one of his own attempts. The Germans believed in Kuznetsov's provocation and the German anti-Ukrainian reprisals started in the whole of Volynia. On October 15, 1943, the Germans ordered mass-shootings of the Ukrainian hostages and in Rivne alone some 500 Ukrainians were shot: the priests, teachers, cultural workers, peasants and tradesmen, men and women, and even children. Reading about the result of Kuznetsov's provocation, Medvedev's group were overly satisfied in their HQ in the *Tsumansky* forest.⁴³

From Rivne Kuznetsov left for Lviv to repeat his provocation in the Galician capital. There he shot the Galician Vice-Governor, Dr. Bauer in the street with the "battle-cry": "Hail to Ukraine", but the Galician Nazis were more prudent than their "Ukrainian" colleagues; they did not order any reprisals against the Ukrainians. In the meantime, Medvedev's group left the *Tsumansky* forest and marched south, again masquerading as Ukrainian insurgents and singing Ukrainian battle songs. This time, however, the masquerading was not helpful enough to pass the territory, saturated with the UPA detachments. Despite its disguise as Ukrainian insurgent unit, Medvedev's group was recognized as Soviet diversionist unit, and wiped out in a battle. Only a few survivors were able to escape with Medvedev to the "banks of southern Buh" where they stayed until the arrival of the Red Army. The debacle of the Medvedev group took place exactly in the same raion of Southern Volynia where later N. I. Kuznetsov with his entourage, found their unglorious end.⁴⁴

⁴¹) See Medvedev, *Silnyye dukhom*, op. cit., pp. 337-340. Novak's underground killed 19 "nationalist leaders" out of 23 who were marked for liquidation.

⁴²) See Medvedev, *Silnyye dukhom*, op. cit., pp. 201-205.

⁴³) See *ibid.*, pp. 284-285. Medvedev's figure, however, of 36 Ukrainian nationalists shot in reprisal, is much too low. Actually there were over a thousand hostages shot in Volynia prisons on October 15, 1943.

⁴⁴) Kuznetsov was later taken prisoner by the UPA and shot. See Lebed, op. cit., pp. 70-71, and Medvedev, *Silnyye dukhom*, op. cit., pp. 470-471. There are numerous though contradictory Soviet reports on the "heroic" death of N. I. Kuznetsov, among others a "documentary story" by Mykola Strutynskyy, "Podvyh", *Zhovten* (Lviv, 1963, 6, pp. 103-124; 7, pp. 6-53; 8, pp. 108-160) with interesting Kuznetsov's photograph (6, 103). A Pole from Volynia, M. Stru-

The debacle of Medvedev's group was not the only case when a Soviet partisan unit perished in the territory in which according to a recent American source "the Ukrainian nationalist partisans (generally without German support) fought a truly bilateral guerrilla war against Soviet partisans."⁴⁵ A Soviet source bitterly complains of the fate of a host of lesser Soviet partisan detachments which found their end in this territory.⁴⁶ However, larger Soviet partisan units, e.g., roving brigades of Kovpak, Saburov, Naumov, Vershyhora did not fare better in this territory; they were either annihilated or driven out by the UPA. In the light of Mao's doctrine on a "perfect partisan war", the Soviet partisans in the northwestern and western Ukraine were not "fish" in the surrounding "water" of the "friendly" population. They could not stand the double pressure of a two-front war against the German occupation forces and the Ukrainian nationalist forces having a full support of the "friendly" Ukrainian population. For an unprejudiced observer it would be interesting to see how the Soviet partisans tried to escape this double pressure and he will be astounded to see that this had been made possible by the Soviet partisan collaboration with the Nazis (both avowed enemies of the Ukrainian people), by their enlisting the help of the Polish nationalist underground,⁴⁷ or even by their negotiating with the

tynskyy enlisted in the Medvedev's underground, but he is not in position to know the details of Kuznetsov's death. For conflicting data on Kuznetsov's capture, see *Robitnycha hazeta*, Kiev (December 24, 1959, p. 4). The circumstances of Kuznetsov's capture and death were not so "heroic" as the Soviet sources have been anxious to show from the perspective of 15-20 years. In fact, N. I. Kuznetsov and his entourage of 2 persons, were apprehended while on the flight from Lviv after the assassination of Dr. Bauer, by what in his memoirs Vershyhora calls "kulatska zhandarmeriya", i.e., the field gendarmery of the UPA. See Vershyhora, *op. cit.*, (II, 3, pp. 85-86). In trying to save his head, N. I. Kuznetsov willingly disclosed the secrets of the Soviet underground to the Ukrainian investigators, gave necessary names, contacts, and alliances, and was instrumental in the destruction of the Medvedev's group by the UPA. His 40 pages long depositions before the field gendarmery of the UPA have been stored abroad.

⁴⁵ See John A. Armstrong, ed., *Soviet Partisans in World War II* (Madison, Wisc., 1964, The University of Wisconsin Press), p. 27. See the review on this book by Luka Ye. Kyzza, *Ukrayinskyy istorychnyy zhurnal*, Kiev (1965, 2, pp. 132-134).

⁴⁶ See I. I. Slynko, "Nepokhytna yednist ukrayinskoho narodu v borotbi proty nimetsko-fashystskykh zaharbnikiv", *Ukrayinskyy istorychnyy zhurnal*, Kiev (1959, 4, pp. 53-64), who lists several commanders, commissars and scouts (among them N. I. Kuznetsov) as "liquidated" by the Ukrainian nationalists. In this connection it is interesting to point out that most official sources, such as, e.g., N. I. Suprunenko, *Ukraina v Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyne Sovetskogo Soyuzu (1941-1945 gg.)*, Kiev (1956, Gospolitizdat USSR) or P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Istoriya Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny Sovetskogo Soyuzu, 1941-1945 gg.*, Moscow (5 vls., Voenizdat, 1961-1963) are also entirely candid in this regard. See Suprunenko, *op. cit.*, p. 271, Pospelov, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 204. Suprunenko's work has also been very frank about the shortcomings of Soviet partisans.

⁴⁷ See Armstrong, *Soviet Partisans*, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16; for an instance of the Soviet cooperation with the Polish nationalist underground, see Oleksandr

Ukrainian insurgents themselves.⁴⁸ All these efforts, however, being much too half-hearted to bring concrete results, had not been able to secure for the Soviet partisans the control of the territory which later served the Ukrainian insurgents as a *place d'armes* for years after the war in Europe had ended with the Soviet victory.⁴⁹

The complicated situation in which the Soviet partisans found themselves in the northwestern and western Ukraine is a sufficient explanation of why the attitudes of Soviet partisans toward the Ukrainian nationalist partisans have been a frequent theme of the Soviet memoirs. So, e.g., in his memoirs Vershyhora writes that Semen Rudnev, political commissar of General Kovpak's partisan roving brigade, received secret directive of the TsK VKP(B), forwarded by the War Council of the Voronezh front, entitled "On Our Relations with the Ukrainian National Partisan Detachments." The directive stated that "the leaders of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are German agents, enemies of the Ukrainian people", but that "some rank and file members of these detachments sincerely wish to fight the German occupation but are deceived by the bourgeois nationalists who have wormed themselves into their positions of leadership."⁵⁰ Further on we learn that General Kovpak's large partisan detachment had special assignments: a quick march to the Carpathian Mountains, demolition of the petroleum industry located in the Sub-Carpathian region, establishment of an army base in the mountains for the Red partisans who would then open a second front against the Germans.⁵¹ But at the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943 when the large detachment was on the territory occupied by the UPA, it found itself sometimes in a very distressing situation. The Soviet partisans were very often shelled and ambushed; smaller partisan sections were liquidated, their reconnaissance units

Saburov, "Tayemnychyy kapitan", *Zhovten*, Lviv (1962, 1-2, pp. 39-130) and, especially, pp. 89-90 for the description of the Polish nationalist unit of Robert Satanowski. Saburov's memoirs, *Za liniyeyu frontu, partyzanski zapysy*, (vol. I, *Partyzanskyi kray*, Lviv, 1953, Knyzkovo-zhurnalne vydavnytstvo) are of little value for our topic; the second volume has evidently never been published. Contrary to Saburov, another Soviet source complains of cruelty, displayed by the Polish nationalist forces in the German service (Polish "dark blue" police) and in the *Armia Krajowa* (Polish Home Army) in regard to the Ukrainian population. See Borys Kharchuk, "Peklo Ivanovoyi Dolyny", *Molod Ukrayiny*, Kiev, (May 11, 1962, pp. 3-4) and in the form of a separate pamphlet.

⁴⁸ For Kovpak's negotiations with the Ukrainian insurgents, see Vershyhora, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 235-238 (Russian edition), pp. 392-399 (Russian edition).

⁴⁹ See Armstrong, *Soviet Partisans*, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The*

⁵⁰ Vershyhora II, No. 3, p. 43.

Second Soviet Republic, The Ukraine After World War II (1964, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press), pp. 111-140.

⁵¹ See Kovpak, *Vid Putyulya do Karpat*; and, also, Maj. Gen. S. Kovpak, "Partisans of the Ukraine", *The Army Quarterly*, XLIX, No. 2 (January, 1945), 188 ff.

either did not obtain any information at all from the inhabitants or were given false leads. Once Vershyhora himself almost perished at the hands of an insurgent in an embroidered shirt — in other words, a Ukrainian.⁵² Vershyhora remarks: "Before, we passed through territory occupied by our adversaries the Germans. There we always considered nighttime favourable for our partisan actions, but with the *Banderivtsi* we are more sure of ourselves in the daytime."⁵³ Marching through the territory of the insurgents in the first half of 1943 (when the UPA was not yet unified), Kovpak's detachment met various "bands", of which Vershyhora said, "Some fight with the Germans, others pretend to fight, still others collaborate with our mortal enemy and (at the same time) try to get in touch with us."⁵⁴

Quite often Vershyhora speaks of negotiations with the Ukrainian partisans.⁵⁵ He states that during the negotiations with General Kovpak's staff the UPA representatives agreed to let General Kovpak's detachments pass through the territory occupied by the UPA.⁵⁶ General Kovpak's staff decided against such a step, fearing an ambush on the part of the UPA and also not feeling strong enough to break through this territory by the use of arms. Kovpak therefore decided to go around the dangerous territory, marching far to the east. This long march was the reason why he did not fulfill his orders but came too late to the Carpathian Mountains. The Germans awaiting him had enough time to prepare themselves for attack; as a result Kovpak's detachment was almost completely wiped out.⁵⁷

⁵²) Vershigora I, pp. 381, 383-85, 388. For the typical Soviet partisan difficulties in reconnoitring among the Ukrainian population (which refused to give the Soviet partisans even the names of neighbouring villages), see a very characteristic detail in Shyyan, pp. 160-161.

⁵³) Vershigora, I, p. 391.

⁵⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 380. Here is a clear allusion to the detachment of Ataman Taras Bulba-Borovets.

⁵⁵) See *ibid.*, pp. 241-42, 396, 398-99; II, No. 2, pp. 38, 45. The reference to negotiations with the UPA commander Berkut (II, No. 2, 38) is particularly interesting in that it confirms that the "tragic death" of the Commander of the First Ukrainian Front of the Soviet Army, Marshal M. F. Vatutin, was caused by Berkut's detachment (cf. Shankowsky, p. 718; also *Ukrainian Resistance* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1949), pp. 88-89). Heretofore Soviet propaganda had not disclosed the fact that Vatutin was severely wounded in the UPA ambush and died of wounds received in this encounter. This was the first confirmation of the fact by the Soviet source; at the time of this writing we have confirmation by Milovan Djilas (see his *Conversations with Stalin*, New York, Harcourt-Brace, 1962, p. 120), by the official history of the war (see P. N. Pospelov, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 78) and in the story of Gen. Kraynyukov in March, 1964, issue of *Ogonyok* (Moscow).

⁵⁶) Vershigora I, pp. 239-42.

⁵⁷) *Ibid.*, II, No. 2, pp. 7-8. Vershyhora is incorrect in his account of the disintegration of Kovpak's group in the Carpathians in July-August 1943. He writes of an encirclement of the group by German and Hungarian regiments

In this light the assertion in a Soviet source that the march around the UPA territory was a heroic achievement on the part of General Kovpak is unfounded.⁵⁸ The justification, in this same source, of the march of Kovpak's detachment through the Zhytomyr and Kiev areas as necessary for the formation of a Soviet partisan movement in the Zhytomyr forests is contradicted by another Soviet source which tells how in this district, at this time, the UPA disguised itself by pretending to be Red partisans.⁵⁹ The fact that the Zhytomyr district was at this time a center of UPA activities was confirmed even by the first of these authors: "*Banderivtsi* bands rule our district — loot the villages and murder the inhabitants. And where are the real partisans? They are not in our forests yet."⁶⁰ General Kovpak's partisans did appear in the Zhytomyr forests, but soon returned to Galicia. The UPA allowed them to cross the Horyn river and on the whole tried to avoid any serious fighting with them.⁶¹ Vershyhora himself confirms this:

We march freely through the steppe in the daytime without even hearing one shot. But when we enter the forest, immediately wood-peckers begin to peck with their machine guns... Upon entering the Kremenets forest, mortars started barking. This was an outpost of an unknown enemy. They fired not with the intention of stopping us but in order to warn their own men.⁶²

After Kovpak's defeat the Ukrainian Partisan Staff (headed by General Strokach) chose the former reconnaissance chief of his detachment, Petro Vershyhora, a Ukrainian, who had survived the defeat, as a commander of a new detachment which had special saboteur responsibilities to carry out against the UPA.

At the end of 1943 General Vershyhora's detachment set out over the old partisan routes, toward the Volynia and the Polissya areas. After the defeat of one of the insurgent battalions, important documents of the UPA fell into Vershyhora's hands. Among these documents were the orders and instructions of Colonel Honcharenko, based on the oral directions of Klym Savur, whom Vershyhora considered the Commander in Chief of the UPA. According to these instructions, detachments of the UPA were not to enter into combat

totaling some 26,000 men, but many of the regiments listed (p. 7) existed only in his imagination; for example, the "14th SS Division 'Galicia'," for which recruitment had at that time just begun in Galicia (see Armstrong, pp. 169 ff.). "General" Krueger, whom Vershyhora has placed in command of the German-Hungarian battle group (II, No. 2, p. 7), was only a Gestapo officer of lower rank and chief of SD *Aussendienststelle* in Stanyslav.

⁵⁸) I. I. Slynko, "Boyovyi partyzanskyi reydyd Kyiv, 1943 roku", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, II, No. 4 (1958), 52-63.

⁵⁹) Mykola Karplyuk, "Osinni noch", *Zhovten*, Lviv, (1956, 7, pp. 32-33).

⁶⁰) Karplyuk, "Osinni noch", *op. cit.*, (1956, 10, p. 65).

⁶¹) Vershyhora I, pp. 396, 398-99, 403. Cf. Lebed, *UPA*, pp. 49-50; Shankowsky, pp. 660-62.

⁶²) Vershyhora I, p. 426.

with advancing sections of the regular Soviet Army but were to wait until "the Army passed further west, then to start activities in the rear." On the other hand, the instructions required very clearly that the "hardest warfare" against the Soviet partisans continue "without let-up." It "is possible", it was explained, "to differentiate between the regular army and the partisans by their outward appearance: the regular army wears shoulder pieces on their uniforms while the partisans have only red ribbons pinned to their caps."

Thereupon, in order to move more freely on the territory of the UPA, Vershyhora ordered his partisans to carry out an "operation disguise" — sewing shoulder pieces on their uniforms and pretending to be the regular Soviet army.⁶³ On January 21, 1944, Vershyhora marched to a territory where "the *Banderivtsi* bands were numerous" and where "small partisan groups were unable to do any work." The reason was that Ukrainian insurgents "knew the territory well and had agents and contacts in all villages... They were skillful in wiping out our small groups in a cruel way... and they had a special fancy for our first-class machine guns."⁶⁴

Vershyhora states later that on UPA territory Honcharenko's instructions were carried out in the beginning and his detachment (passing for a section of the regular Soviet army) was not attacked. The reconnaissance units of the detachment passed without any difficulties through the villages where *Banderivtsi* garrisons were stationed and wounded partisans were discharged.⁶⁵ But after a few days some doubts must have occurred to the UPA staff, because Honcharenko himself went to the village Mosyr (Mosur) where Vershyhora's detachment was stationed, to see "the Red Army", as Vershyhora writes, "with his own eyes." According to Vershyhora's account, Honcharenko was caught by the Soviet partisans while he was trying to shower a "special" section of the detachment with grenades, and after cross-examination was shot.⁶⁶

⁶³ Vershyhora II, No. 2, pp. 67-68. For confirmation of this account, see Begma, p. 2, who quotes an order by Eney (the pseudonym of the commander of a UPA group in the region of Rivne) providing that his partisans should let the Red Army units pass, then attack isolated groups of NKVD and Red partisans.

⁶⁴ Vershyhora II, No. 2, p. 61.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 3, pp. 33-34, 36.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40. Honcharenko (*nom de guerre* of Col. Leonid Stupnytsky, first Chief of Staff of the UPA group "North") disappeared with his son without trace in 1944, while on the march to the Carpathians. It is doubtful, however, that he was caught by Vershyhora's partisans while on a personal intelligence mission in their stronghold. Vershyhora's biographic data on Col. Honcharenko (II, No. 2, p. 68) are also false. Vershyhora portrays Honcharenko as a former corporal in the Polish army and a Roman Catholic. In fact, Stupnytsky, a former cavalry officer of the Russian Tsarist army, served with the Ukrainian army in 1920-21 and was commander of a cavalry brigade in its last raid in 1921. He was a Ukrainian of Greek Orthodox faith, and had been appointed major-general in the UPA.

During the stay at Mosyr, Vershyhora's partisans prepared an "operation" against the UPA forces in the western Volynia region. These forces consisted of an UPA officers' school ("*Lisovi Chorty*") and of the detachment commanded by Antonyuk-Sosenko comprising seven line companies, one cavalry troop, and one Uzbek group.⁶⁷ According to Vershyhora, this "operation" ended with the complete defeat of the "picked Bandera troops" (the officers' school) and the encirclement of Antonyuk-Sosenko's detachment (the nucleus of this detachment did break away). In Vershyhora's account, the defeat was due to the poor fighting quality of the "select troops", and to the betrayal by an Armenian UPA group and also by a Soviet officer who was an instructor in the officers' school.⁶⁸

Nothing is known about the defeat of these "picked troops" of the UPA from other sources. On the contrary, it is known that UPA troops drove Vershyhora's detachment away from the western Volynia region. Vershyhora indirectly acknowledges this in later chapters of his memoirs when describing the death of Sasha Koleshnikov.⁶⁹ It is also known that with the approach of the Soviet regular army the officers' school was transferred with its instructors (mostly former Soviet officers) to the Carpathian Mountains, where they continued their activities. The defeat of the officers' school actually occurred much later (October 1944) as a result of betrayal of one of the school instructors, a former Soviet officer (Katso, an Ossetian).⁷⁰ Did Vershyhora confuse the two events or deliberately create a legend which overrated his achievements? It is interesting that he admits his activities with the UPA had kept his detachment from fighting the Germans. If he had not been so concerned with the UPA, he says, he could have accomplished various strategic tasks such as destruction of a large German airfield at Bila Pidlyaska. The advance of the regular Soviet army was made more difficult by the airplanes of this airfield.⁷¹

Vershyhora deals at length — and for obvious reasons — with the acting commander of the Ivan Bohun detachment of the UPA, Porfir Antonyuk (*nom de guerre* Sosenko and Klishch).⁷² The name of this commander was mentioned in a discussion at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on March 1, 1944, as proof of UPA collaboration with the Germans.⁷³ It is true that Commander Antonyuk had entered into an agreement with units at the rear of the German army in order to get arms for the UPA — in violation of

67) Vershyhora II, No. 3, pp. 67-68.

68) *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, 61-62, 66-69.

69) *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

70) For an eyewitness account see Z. Semeniv, "Druhyi vypusk Starshynskoyi shkoly UPA 'Oleni'," *Do Zbroiyi* (Munich), V, No. 17/30 (1952), 23-34.

71) Vershyhora II, No. 3, pp. 61, 70-71.

72) *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 43, 67, 69.

73) *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 71.

the strict orders of the Supreme Commander of the UPA forbidding any negotiations with the Germans. Neither Vershyhora nor any other Soviet author writes of the fact that on March 6, 1944, a UPA court martial sentenced Antonyuk-Sosenko to death for the violation of the Supreme Commander's orders. The sentence was carried out the next day.⁷⁴

During World War II, both the German and the Soviet occupation forces carried on propaganda against the UPA, accusing it of working for the other side. "Listen to this, Ukrainian people! Moscow gives orders to the OUN!"⁷⁵ proclaimed leaflets of Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, an SS Obergruppenführer and police general, delegated by Himmler chiefly to fight against the "Ukrainian bands." "From secret orders and instructions that have fallen into our hands, we learn that the Kremlin Jews are connected with the OUN, while the OUN pretends to fight Bolshevism. Among the OUN leaders there are Moscow agents who carry out the orders of the blood-thirsty Stalin and his Jewish bodyguards."⁷⁶ An official appeal issued by the government of the Ukrainian SSR at almost the same time "to the inhabitants of the temporarily occupied regions of the Ukraine" reads: "The German bandits are not your only enemy! Your enemy is also the Ukrainian-German nationalist gang. The whole bunch of these *Banderivtsi* have sold themselves to Hitler and are helping to enslave our people, our Ukraine... They are already forming armed detachments, enticing people into them by saying that they are going to fight the Germans. Do not believe them."⁷⁷ This appeal was signed by M. Hrechukha, O. Korniyets, and N. Khrushchev.

The UPA began to be charged with collaboration with the Germans at the end of 1943, at the time the Soviet army was driving the Germans out of Ukraine. A characteristic phrase of this propaganda line was "Ukrainian-German nationalists", which was coined by Khrushchev himself in his Kiev speech on the occasion of the capture of the city on November 27, 1943. He repeated the phrase in his speech to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on March 1944.⁷⁸ It was immediately picked up by the Soviet propaganda apparatus. The historic background for this propaganda line was

⁷⁴) Lebed, *UPA*, p. 73.

⁷⁵) *Orhanizatsiya ukrayinskykh natsionalistiv* (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), leading force and organizer of the UPA.

⁷⁶) Quoted in Lebed, *UPA*, p. 101.

⁷⁷) *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

⁷⁸) N. S. Khrushchev, "Osvobozhdeniye ukrainskikh zemel ot nemetskikh zakhvatchikov i ocherednyye zadachi vosstanovleniya narodnogo khozyaistva Sovetskoy Ukrainy", *Bolshevik* (Kiev), No. 6 (March 1944) pp. 15-16; also published as a separate pamphlet in Ukrainian and Russian, Kiev 1944.

provided by the historian Kasymenko.⁷⁹ In the western areas of the Ukraine the expression was popularized by the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, D. Z. Manuilsky, who used it while addressing a huge gathering of teachers of the western areas at Lviv on January 6, 1945.⁸⁰ The propaganda attack against the "Ukrainian-German nationalists" was carried by the whole Soviet press and radio. The decisions of the May and November plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the KP(B)U and the September plenum of the Central Committee of the VKP(B)* in 1944 refer to the struggle against the "Ukrainian-German nationalists."

Meanwhile the government of the Ukrainian SSR had issued an official appeal "to the members of UPA-UNRA",⁸¹ and during the entire year kept circulating it — in the form of leaflets and posters — on the territory where the UPA was active. This appeal urged the UPA detachments either to pass over to the Red Army of the Red partisans or to surrender their arms.⁸² The decisions of the September plenum of the Central Committee of the VKP(B) on "the stepping-up of ideological-political work in the western areas of the Ukraine" initiated a special propaganda campaign against the UPA on a very large scale. It is described in great detail by a contemporary Soviet writer who calls the campaign "intensifying the political activity of the workers in the struggle to strengthen the Soviet regime in the western areas of the Ukraine."⁸³ Terrorist detachments composed of

⁷⁹ Ol. Kasymenko, "Ukrayinsko-nimetski natsionalisty — naylyutishi vorohy ukrayinskoho narodu", *Radyanska Ukrayina* (Kiev), December 18, 1944, p. 2. Kasymenko is at present director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

⁸⁰ Manuilsky, *Ukrayinsko-nimetski natsionalisty na sluzhbi v fashystskoyi Nimechchyni* (Kiev, 1946). Manuilsky's address was translated into English and published in the English supplement of the Ukrainian Communist weekly in Toronto, Canada, *Ukrayinske zhyttya*. Melnychuk's contention that the appellation "Ukrainian-German nationalists" was widely used by the Ukrainian population (Melnychuk, "Z zhytiya...", *op. cit.*, p. 95) is not true. Its absurdity was obvious to the Ukrainian people who witnessed ruthless Nazi persecution of Ukrainian nationalists and horrible public mass-shootings of the *banderivtsi* on the squares and streets of the Ukrainian cities and towns at the time of the Nazi occupation. Besides, the UPA propagandists cleverly countered the usage of the Communist invented appellation by calling the Communist Party *apparatchiki* in Ukraine by the name of "Ukrainian-Russian nationalists."

⁸¹ *Ukrayinska Narodna Revolyutsiynna Armiya* (Ukrainian People's Revolutionary Army). After the disarmament of the Bulba's group by the UPA on August 18, 1943, the remnants of the group called themselves UNRA.

⁸² Khrushchev, pp. 15-16; Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, p. 194; Lebed, UPA, pp. 69-70. An original copy has been preserved in the Archives of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Central Liberation Council (New York).

⁸³ Bohodyst, pp. 56-66. The resolutions of the CC VKP(B) state: "Without the total and final exposure of the Ukrainian-German nationalists and without liquidation of their influence, the reconstruction of the national economy would be impossible." For the text, see *Bolshevik* (Kiev), No. 17-18 (1944), p. 7.

*) VKP(B) — All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), renamed Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1952.

former Soviet partisans, NKVD troops, and "detachments for war with banditry" of the NKGB began an attack on the UPA simultaneously with the propaganda campaign.⁸⁴ From the descriptions of this struggle in the Soviet literature we can judge the fervour with which the struggle was carried on on both sides.⁸⁵

In the Ukrainian newspapers of December 1, 1944, an "Appeal to the Population of the Western Areas of the Ukraine" called upon "those who (had) lost their way and fallen into the snares of the German agents, into organizations such as OUN, UPA, UHVR,⁸⁶ *Banderivtsi*, and *Melnykivtsi*" to come out "from the forests and their hiding places and report to the Soviet authorities with their 'confession of guilt'." The appeal differentiated between those "gang leaders" who, in one guise or another, served the Germans and "the majority who wanted to fight the German usurper in order to free their land and their country and for that reason joined an organization they believed to be fighting the Germans."⁸⁷ At the same time the appeal was published, the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Lieutenant General Vasyl Riasnyi, instructed the security organs (subordinate to him) to allow all the soldiers of the UPA and of the underground who reported and confessed their guilt to do any civilian work and not to call them to account for their past actions.⁸⁸ This policy line was upheld many times by both Party and government leaders. The last of such appeals was issued as late as February 11, 1956.⁸⁹

The last strong charge against the UPA for supposed collaboration with the Germans was made on October 28, 1945. At a meeting of Party and government officials in Kiev, Khrushchev proposed a toast (just as Stalin did at a banquet for Soviet officers at the Kremlin on May 24, 1945) to honour the Russian people. Of the so-called "Ukrainian-German nationalists" he said: "Contemptible traitors to their own country, they helped the German Fascists to oppress our people. When the Germans were done for, the Ukrainian-German

⁸⁴) See Kunicki, pp. 429-38. For independent evidence of Soviet actions against the UPA, see the book by a Soviet defector, Peter Pirogov, *Why I Escaped* (New York, 1950), pp. 198-205, 302-3, 314.

⁸⁵) For one of the many examples, see the poem "Pisnya komsomoltsiv 1944 roku" by the Soviet Ukrainian poet Rostyslav Bratun, who was a participant in the struggle, in the collection of his verses *Ya syn Ukrayiny* (Kiev, 1958), pp. 111-13.

⁸⁶) *Ukrayinska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada* (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council). For UHVR, see Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-5.

⁸⁷) See Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, pp. 194-195.

⁸⁸) According to Bohodyst, pp. 57 ff., at the same time 32,619 Communists were sent to the western regions of the Ukraine to counteract the UPA.

⁸⁹) Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, p. 194. The Soviet authorities issued eight appeals to the UPA or "remnants of the Ukrainian nationalist bands" asking them to surrender. See Shankowsky, "Istoriya vosmy zvernien", *Svoboda* (Jersey City), Nos. 58-63, March 28-April 4, 1956. See, also, Bilinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-420.

nationalists attempted to hinder the restoration of the nation's economy. They babbled something about a so-called "independent" Ukraine, trying to cover up their ties with the Germans. But everyone knows that the Ukraine is a free Soviet country where everything belongs to the Ukrainian people."⁹⁰

Yet the Ukrainian people knew that many soldiers of the UPA and members of the underground organization OUN were in German prisons and concentration camps, and they could hardly forget the frightful public executions of UPA and OUN members by the Germans which had taken place in city squares.

Probably such propaganda was carried on primarily for foreign consumption. The Soviet government wished to create the impression that the struggle against the UPA after World War II was nothing more than the "purging of Hitlerite collaborators in Ukraine." The aim was partially achieved.⁹¹

All "operations" against the "Ukrainian-German nationalists" were until 1946 personally directed by Khrushchev. The sweeping repressive measures taken in retaliation for UPA agitation at the time of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet in February 1946⁹² failed to liquidate UPA resistance. It was at this juncture that Lazar Kaganovich was sent to the Ukraine to take over Khrushchev's post (that of First Secretary of the KP(B)U, on March 4, 1947).

When in December 1947 Khrushchev once again became the First Secretary of the KP(B)U, he was no longer responsible for the struggle against the UPA. The USSR Ministry of State Security in Moscow was now in charge of the liquidation of the UPA, and Lieutenant General Mykola Kovalchuk, Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, was given this assignment. On December 30,

⁹⁰) *Pravda*, October 29, 1945, as quoted in Vsevolod Holubnychy, "Outline History of the Communist Party of the Ukraine", *Ukrainian Review* (Munich), No. 6 (1958), p. 111.

⁹¹) For example, Sydney Gruson, correspondent of *The New York Times* wrote about the UPA that "it reaches even into the Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Baltic republics of the Soviet Union, but Soviet charges that it is based on pro-German and Fascist elements which sided with the Nazis seem to be true and it cannot be doubted that this prevented it from having a general appeal" (*The New York Times*, June 13, 1946).

⁹²) At that time the UPA waged a propaganda campaign for boycott of the election. See Bohodyst, p. 59. At that time, also, the Soviet propagandists were engaged in a public polemics with the Ukrainian insurgents. See L. Levchenko, "Het na smitnyk istoriyi", *Radyanska Ukrayina*, Kiev, (October 8, 1947) for an answer to the letter, sent allegedly to the Editor by the Ukrainian insurgents. The Ukrainian insurgents used to send their underground publications to the editors of the Soviet newspapers and periodicals, and this was probably the case with the said letter. It is worth noting that the most guarded secret of the Soviet authorities up to this very day, has been the contents of the Ukrainian underground propaganda, which was voluminous at that time. If the contents of the underground leaflets is sometimes given in the Soviet sources, it is distorted beyond the limits of recognition.

1949, an appeal was issued over his signature "to the remaining members of the bands which have been broken up in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR."⁹³

It was at that point that the UPA image underwent a change in official Soviet propaganda. After the defeat of Hitler's Germany, it was pointless to keep linking the UPA with the Germans. By 1948, save for a Czech source which asserted that the UPA was directed by a "secret German General Staff as a sixth column in the struggle against the Soviet government",⁹⁴ the old line had been dropped. The Vatican was chosen as the new culprit, probably because the struggle against the UPA went hand in hand with the struggle against the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Western Ukraine. One Soviet source has stated that after the defeat of the Fascist Germans the Uniate Church became attached to the nationalist underground gangs and, "together with the bourgeois nationalists, began to set fires, commit sabotage, and murder Soviet people."⁹⁵

In the years 1948 and 1949 in Lviv two murders were committed which greatly aroused public opinion. First, the Reverend Havryil Kostelnyk, one of the initiators of the so-called "reunification of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church", was murdered by an unidentified young man as he was leaving the church on August 28, 1948. Soviet propaganda laid the crime to the Vatican, which had allegedly been showing how vengeance fell upon traitors to the Catholic Church.⁹⁶ The second case was that of Yaroslav Halan, who, according to Soviet information, was killed on October 24, 1949, by Mykhaylo Stakhur in collaboration with an underground group headed by Roman Shchepansky, son of a priest, as was another member of the group, a student named Ilariy Lukashevych. This group was exposed by the security organs, brought to trial in Lviv, and sentenced to death.⁹⁷ The trial as well as the court proceedings

⁹³) For the text, see "The Commander of the UPA Has Fallen in the Battle against the Bolsheviks" (editorial), *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (New York), VI, No. 4 (1950), 296-98. Compare with Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, p. 203. The latter authors do not mention the name of Lt. Gen. Kovalchuk, who, as *Smersh* commander at the HQ of the 4th Ukrainian Front during the war, was a close accomplice of Beria and of Gen. V. Abakumov.

⁹⁴) Slavik, p. 9.

⁹⁵) L. Kyzya and M. Kovalenko, *Vikova borotba ukrayinskoho narodu proty Vatikanu* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 221-22. The Authors engaged in the investigation of the Ukrainian-Vatican relations are, however, not able to make distinction between "encyclopaedia" and "encyclical" (*ibid.*, p. 222).

⁹⁶) "Yes, the Popes of Rome know how to revenge", exclaimed Yaroslav Halan after Kostelnyk's death (Halan, *Tvory*, II (1953), 469). The organ of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian language, *Pravoslavnyi visnyk*, published in Lviv, reported in issue No. 7, 1957 (p. 217), the names of four more priests allegedly killed by the Ukrainian underground.

⁹⁷) See Petro Karmansky, "Vatikan natkhennyy mrakobisiv i svitovoyi reaktsiyi", Kiev, *Radyanska Ukrayina*, Dec. 9-13, 1952 (feuilleton), published,

conducted in Lviv and Ternopil were represented in Soviet propaganda as a trial of Vatican agents who conducted terrorist acts against the initiators of the "reunification of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church." The alleged leader of this movement was the Vatican-appointed Reverend Denys Lukashevych, father of Ilariy Lukashevych.⁹⁸

Thus the Vatican was blamed for the activities of the UPA in the years 1949 and 1950. Czech and Soviet sources even mention a special agent sent by the Vatican to the UPA — the Reverend Tomyslav Kolakovych, who, according to these sources, was welcomed in the Carpathian Mountains with great pomp by Stepan Bandera.⁹⁹ The UPA raids in Czechoslovakia were supposedly conducted under the protection of bishops and priests,¹⁰⁰ what is more, by Vatican command, the UPA left Poland and went to the Ukraine to "continue sabotage and terror against the Soviet rule and to hinder socialist reorganization in the countryside."¹⁰¹ According to Soviet sources, the Vatican was especially interested in the UPA opposition to such "reorganizations."¹⁰² This interest was brought to the attention of the whole Ukraine through the film *Nad Cheremoshem*, based on a book of the same title by Mykhaylo Stelmakh.¹⁰³ The film shows

also, in a pamphlet form in 1953. It is characteristic for the life under Russian Communism that for vilifying the Vatican in the Soviet Ukrainian Press, the Soviet authorities chose an old Ukrainian poet, Petro Karmansky who had lived in the Vatican for years. The Soviet authorities forced the octogenarian to write a book, *Kriz temryavu* (Lviv, 1955, primarily published in *Zhovten*, Lviv (1955, 9, pp. 73-96; 10, pp. 66-105) in which he was ordered to vilify his former benefactors. It is no wonder, therefore, that the old poet ended his life in an asylum. For the circumstances of Halan's death, see, also, Kyzya and Kovalenko, *op. cit.*, p. 224 ff., and Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-77.

⁹⁸ See *Vilna Ukrayina*, Lviv (October 17, 1951) and, also, Kyzya and Kovalenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. There is some basis for a conjecture that Bandera's killer in 1959, Bohdan N. Stashynskyy, was preeminently helping the Soviet security organs in tracing Halan's assassins in the Ukrainian nationalist underground. For Stashynskyy's case before the German Court, see Hermann Raschhofer, *Political Assassination. The Legal Background of the Oberländer and Stashinsky Cases*, Tübingen, 1964. Fritz Schlichtenmayer, Publisher.

⁹⁹ Kyzya and Kovalenko, pp. 228-29; and Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, pp. 173-74. The fabrication is evident in light of the fact that since his release from the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen in 1944, Bandera was not even for a day in Ukraine.

¹⁰⁰ D. E. Mikhnevich, *Ocherki po istorii katolicheskoy reaktsii (iyezuity)* (Moscow, 1955), pp. 378-79).

¹⁰¹ D. I. Pokhylevych, *Pirdyvna diyalnist Vatikanu v krayinakh narodnoyi demokratiyi* (Lviv, 1953), p. 42.

¹⁰² Ivasyuta, "Sotsialistychna perebudova silskoho hospodarstva", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, III, No. 4, (1959), 8.

¹⁰³ Stelmakh, *Nad Cheremoshem* (Kiev, 1952; also in Russian, Kiev, 1952). Reviewing the film in *Iskusstvo Kino* (Moscow), No. 5 (May 1954), pp. 73-78, A. Poltoratsky called the film "characteristic of the struggle which went on in the western oblasts during the early postwar years, and to some extent is still going on at present."

that the UPA resistance to collectivization in the Hutsul area in 1948 was directed by Vatican agents who had their headquarters high in the Carpathian Mountains in a Catholic monastery.

In the Western Ukraine the population of Bukovyna, Volynia, and Polissya is Orthodox. And yet a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Mariya Myketey, stated in 1960 that the Ukrainian population in the Bukovyna region which was in favour of the kolkhoz was in 1948 still being terrorized by local *Banderivtsi*.¹⁰⁴ In a Soviet book about a stronghold of Orthodoxy in Volynia, the Pochayivska Lavra, we read: "The Father Superior of the Pochayivska Lavra, Prokip Ivashchuk, beginning in 1946-47, had very close ties with the OUN and for this was sentenced by a Soviet court." Further:

The *Banderivtsi* cutthroats who, directed by foreign imperialists, committed unprecedentedly brutal deeds in the West Ukraine received a great deal of support from the Pochayivska Lavra. Father Superior Myroslav Shymansky from 1950-51 on had close ties with the remaining OUN underground and supported the *Banderivtsi* gangs. After the defeat and liquidation of the gang Father Superior Shymansky was brought before a Soviet court, tried, and punished for his great crime.¹⁰⁵

Thus, according to this Soviet source, the superiors of the Orthodox Pochayivska Lavra were in no way discomfited by the fact that the UPA received orders from the Vatican.

Neither were the masters of the Kremlin who perfectly knew that their propaganda line about the UPA relying on the Vatican for support, was a hoax, as had been the former "line" on the support by the German occupants. No one better knew than the bosses in the Kremlin that the UPA enjoyed no outside support, even not in a moral sense. However, in 1951, the Kremlin became quite perturbed with the provisions of the *Mutual Security Act*, and, especially, with amendments to the Act, proposed by Rep. Kersten. The Soviet feared that important allotments of American money in accordance with the provisions of the *Mutual Security Act* might have been used for strengthening the resistance movements behind the "Iron Curtain." The Soviet propagandists immediately started a counter-action by complaining of "yellow devils of the Wall Street" who, allegedly, took over command of the "remnants of nationalist bands." In a series of articles in the Soviet Ukrainian press, the canard about "one hundred million silver pieces" which the "modern Judas", the "business-like Truman destined for buying the Soviet people", found a wide circulation.¹⁰⁶ However, the discovery of the new bosses for

¹⁰⁴ Myketey, "Knyha virnyi suputnyk", *Zhovten* (Lviv), X, No. 11 (1960), pp. 150-152.

¹⁰⁵ V. P. Andriyevsky, *Pro Pochayivsku Lavru* (Kiev, 1960), pp. 35-36.

¹⁰⁶ For samples of "literature" on the *Mutual Security Act*, see O. I. Poltoratsky, "Sto milyoniv serebrennykiv", *Radyanska Ukrayina*, Kiev, January 4, 1952; Semen Zhurakhovych, "Vony pochuyut nas cherez okean", *Radyanska Ukrayina*, Kiev, June 15, 1952.

the UPA in the "American imperialist camp", was actually not a new invention; it has its own history, going back for years to the beginnings of the UPA in Volynia.

The presence of "Ukrainian-American" and the "Ukrainian-Canadian" nationalists in the UPA in Volynia in the years 1942-43 is mentioned by Medvedev. Those "Ukrainian nationalists brought up in the taverns of Berlin, in pubs and bars of Ottawa and Chicago, persons without a passport, without a homeland, subjects of the international black market, rascals, ready to sell themselves to the Gestapo or the Intelligence Service or the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other espionage organization", spoke a language which was "a mixture of Ukrainian and German", difficult to understand. Another feature which marked these men was their "manicured fingernails which were considered by these bandits a sign of special refinement."¹⁰⁷

Byelyayev and Rudnytsky declare that the American imperialists became sponsors of the UPA very early:

Even during the days when the Soviet artillery was concentrating its fire on Berlin, the archives of the German Gestapo and espionage center, together with all the lists of secret German-Fascist agents, were taken on trucks to Schwarzwald (West Germany). There in an out-of-the way thicket a motor transport headed by prominent Gestapo men met an American transport of Studebakers behind whose wheels sat the henchmen of the American espionage CIC. All the Gestapo and Abwehr materials were carefully taken down from the German trucks and loaded on the American trucks. American intelligence had taken possession of Hitler's and Himmler's materials in order to conduct a secret war against the USSR. United States intelligence took under its wing groups of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who were also used by the chief of the Central Intelligence Agency in West Germany, Reinhardt Gehlen.¹⁰⁸

A British journalist, Ralph Parker, in his book *A Plot against Peace*, published in 1949 in Moscow, told how the American consul in Bratislava aided UPA detachments to cross the mountains of Czechoslovakia to meet their "new bosses of the American intelligence" organization.¹⁰⁹ Similar reports were spread by the already mentioned book of Slavík and a film *Operation B*, which was based on this book.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ See Medvedev, *Silnyye dukhom*, op. cit., pp. 80, 82. For corroboration, see Saburov, op. cit., p. 72. For "fingernails", see Medvedev, *Silnyye dukhom*, op. cit., pp. 405, 426. Medvedev's frequent preoccupation with the non-existent "manicure" of Ukrainian guerrillas indicates the author's obsessional state in regard to "lacquered fingernails." Even the corpses have "lacquered fingernails." Here is a special case for a psychoanalytic treatment: "Krutikov crawled through the bush and saw nothing but the trees... Suddenly he stopped breathing. Something stiff halted his movement. It was a corpse. Krutikov set his eyes at the contorted fingers and saw red lacquered nails before him. Manicure! He crawled forward again, feeling his forces returning to him..." (loc. cit., pp. 425-426).

¹⁰⁸ Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, p. 208.

¹⁰⁹ Known to me in the Russian translation, *Zagovor protiv mira* (Moscow, 1949).

¹¹⁰ See Byelyayev-Rudnytsky, p. 210.

In reality, in the struggle against Moscow and Moscow's East European satellites — Poland and Czechoslovakia — the UPA was left quite alone and had to depend on its own strength. This fact is indirectly acknowledged by Soviet writers themselves in that they speak of "Anglo-American" commissions, but not of aid, to the UPA. "With the consolidation of Soviet power and with socialist reorganization", writes Bohodyst, "the defeat of the remaining gangs of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who after World War II entered the service of the Anglo-American imperialists and on commission of the latter continued subversive work in the Western Ukraine had special importance." The defeat was made possible, Bohodyst writes, "as a result of successful collectivization, (by virtue of which) all class roots of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists were destroyed." The Sixteenth Conference of the Ukrainian Communist Party (January 25-28, 1949) mentioned in its resolutions that as a result of all-round collectivization "the kulaks have been liquidated and a decisive blow thereby dealt to the remaining bourgeois nationalists, the bitterest enemy of the Ukrainian people."¹¹¹ In particular, collectivization in the Western Ukraine deprived the UPA of food supplies on which it depended.

However, the completion of collectivization in the Western Ukraine and the liquidation of the UPA, according to the Soviet press, did not mean the end of activities of the underground. In March 1954 at the Eighteenth Conference of the Ukrainian Communist Party O. I. Kyrychenko warned all party organizations in the Western Ukraine that they should "constantly be prepared to carry on a struggle against the remaining OUN members, not allow them into the kolkhozes, factories, or schools where they could carry on their work. Constant vigilance is the most important requirement for all party groups."¹¹² It was stated in a 1959 article that "the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists changed the methods of their hostile activities against the Soviet regime; they began to infiltrate various Soviet institutions such as economic organs, cultural and educational

¹¹¹) Bohodyst, pp. 61, 66. In his article, Bohodyst gives interesting figures about the Soviet mobilization of forces to achieve the collectivization of the Western Ukraine. For this purpose as well as for the purpose of combating the UPA, 32,619 Communists were imported into the Western Ukraine in 1946 (cf. p. 57), and 120,000 activists were mobilized in 1948 (*ibid.*). The number of the *Komsomoltsi* (Communist Youth) was 25,838 in 1946, 90,000 in 1947, and 170,000 in 1950 (cf. p. 58). In 1944-1946, 23,300 teachers, librarians, and Pioneer leaders were imported into the Western Ukraine; the number of Communists increased 2 1/3 times, and amounted to 74,280 members, among them, in the countryside, 37,915 members (cf. p. 60). The recent Soviet source, P. I. Denysenko, "Vidbudova ekonomiky i kultury v zakhidnykh oblastyakh Ukrayinskoyi RSR", *Ukrayinskyi istorychnyy zhurnal*, Kiev (1964, 5), states that in 1944 there were organized 203 groups of self-defence with 23,000 fighters, and 3,000 groups of assistance with 27,000 fighters.

¹¹²) *Radyanska Ukrayina* (Kiev), March 24, 1954, p. 1.

institutions, and schools in order to save the remaining members of the OUN and to harm the Soviet people."¹¹³

From time to time the Soviet press mentions instances of the detection of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists", of infiltration from abroad, and of the detention of dangerous state criminals at the border (even the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, A. Brovkin has written on the last subject).¹¹⁴ In May 1954 Ukrainian newspapers printed a communiqué of the Army Tribunal of the Kiev Army Command about the death sentence of Vasyl Ostapovych Okhrymovych, one of the leaders of the OUN and a member of UHVR. According to this Communiqué Okhrymovych was sent by American intelligence into the Ukraine in order to "collect information and to prepare and execute acts of sabotage and terror." Until the day of his arrest Okhrymovych tried to carry out these instructions, "and many times he spoke by radio with the American espionage centre which is located in West Germany."¹¹⁵

Recently a campaign has been conducted to discredit the UPA and Ukrainian nationalism by staging public trials against former, and present, members of the nationalist underground. The defendants have been charged with heinous crimes. In the four or so trials reported in the Soviet press, all the defendants have been sentenced to death.¹¹⁶ Letters from the Ukraine and Poland refer to other such

¹¹³) Bohodyst, p. 66. An attempt at systematic enumeration and characterization of the "remnants" of Ukrainian nationalists and of their activities, can be found in two articles of 1958 by the chief Soviet expert on nationalism, I. Kravtsev, "Komunistychnye vykhovannya trudyashchykh", *Radyanska Ukrayina*, Kiev (December 11, 1958, pp. 3-4), and, *idem.*, "Podolannya natsionalistichnykh perezhytiv — vazhlyve zavdannya internatsionalnogo vykhovannya trudyashchykh", *Robitnycha hazeta*, Kiev (December 17, 1957, pp. 2-4). For highly significant attack against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists", see his article "Natsionalny komunizm — ideolohichna dyversiya imperiyalizmu i yoho ahentiv v robitnychomu rusi", *Komunist Ukrayiny*, Kiev (1957, 7, pp. 26-36). See, also, his pamphlet *Razvitie natsionalnykh otnosheniy v SSSR* (Kiev, 1962).

¹¹⁴) Brovkin, "Sorok let na boyevom postu", *Pravda Ukrayiny*, November 13, 1957, p. 2.

¹¹⁵) Byelyayev and Rudnytsky, pp. 122-23. The recent book by S. Danylenko, known to me from the abridgment in *Literaturna Ukrayina*, Kiev (see, S. Danylenko, "Dorohoyu hanby i zrazy", *ibid.*, 1962, Nos. 56-60) has much to tell about the "secret paths", connecting the underground in Ukraine with the Vatican and American "intelligence centres" in Western Germany. The source lists Stepan Bandera (killed by the Soviet agent-provocateur on Shelepin's orders in 1959), Mykola Lebed and the "bandit-chaplain", Rev. Ivan Hryniokh as responsible for sending couriers and assassins into Ukraine. The source's allegation that Halan's assassin was sent into Ukraine by the Vatican and American "intelligence centres", seems to contradict all previous informations on Halan's assassination of the Soviet sources. The original book containing some 480 pages, has been unknown to me.

¹¹⁶) *Pravda Ukrayiny*, March 20 and October 24, 1957; and, March 8, 1959. See also Rostyslav Bratun' "Zvynuvachuyemo!" *Literaturna hazeta*, March 3, 1959, p. 4. For the trial of an UPA battalion commander in Poland, see Franciszek Blajda, "Problemy historii najnowszej: Kurennny Zeleźniak", *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Kraków), July 31, 1960, pp. 1-2.

trials, — which were probably reported only in regional newspapers.¹¹⁷ In these trials fictitious or real members of the Ukrainian underground are accused of extreme sadism-torturing, throwing people still alive into blazing houses, hanging children on their Pioneer ties,¹¹⁸ filling wells with the bodies of their murder victims. "Even the darkest epoch of the history of man — the Middle Ages — cannot show examples of such brutal sadism as the acts committed by the monstrous gangs of the Western Ukraine", writes one reviewer of a new book of Soviet Ukrainian poetry which depicts the "assassins" of the UPA.¹¹⁹

Soviet propaganda has paid much attention to the so-called "Derman tragedy." According to Yuriy Melnychuk, in the village of Derman (Mizoch rayon in Volynia) in 1957 a well was discovered filled with sixteen bodies of persons who were murdered in 1944-45 by Ukrainian nationalists.¹²⁰ At the end of 1957, when four Ukrainian underground members were tried in Mizoch for this crime, they were accused of having killed more than four hundred persons.¹²¹ The same story (filling wells with corpses) was later repeated in the trials of other underground men in Chervonoarmiysk and Belz.¹²²

¹¹⁷ In fictional form, the case of an "American spy" who was caught is presented in Myroslav Fedchyshyn, "Plata za zradu", *Radianska Ukrayina*, June 7, 1957, p. 4. See also Petro Hurinenko, "Mala maty syna", *Dnipro*, XXXII, No. 6 (June, 1958), 68-75.

¹¹⁸ Mariya Myketey, p. 151.

¹¹⁹ I. Svarnyk, "U bystryni zhyttya", *Zhovten*, (Lviv), IX, No. 10 (October, 1959), 149-53.

¹²⁰ See Yuriy Melnychuk, "Dermanska trahediya", originally published in *Zhovten*, Lviv, 1957, and included into his collection of lampoons, *Koly kholone krov v zhylakh* (Kiev, 1960). Melnychuk specialized in writing "documentary stories" attempting at vilification of the UPA, and showing its fighters as blood-thirsty gangsters. The literary magazine appearing in Lviv, *Zhovten* was filled to capacity with Melnychuk's stories of this kind. See, e.g., Yuriy Melnychuk, "Poeta rozstrilyaly nadvechir", *Zhovten*, Lviv (1963, 7, pp. 116-129) also Yuriy Melnychuk, "Trahediya misyachnoyi nochi", *Zhovten*, Lviv, (1963, 8, pp. 102-107). The first story about the assassination of the poet Mykola Maksys by the Ukrainian underground fighters is very characteristic of the conditions under which the Ukrainian underground waged on its guerrilla war against the Soviets in Volynia for years after the end of the war. From the author's presentation of the story one can see that the powerful organs of the Soviet power were really helpless in the struggle against the "nationalist bandits", that despite the "lack of support" by the Ukrainian population which allegedly hated them, the "bandits" were able to control the countryside, and to administer justice in their name. As if there were no Soviet occupation forces in Volynia, the "bandits" were able to move freely, to contact the Komsomol poet at several occasions, and to warn him of severe consequences if his traitorous activities continued. Finally, in 1949 (sic!), after their warnings produced no result, the "bandits" were able to arrest the poet at his home in daytime, and shot him in the evening, after all their attempts at influencing their prisoner had been futile. The story is so remarkable despite its heinous style that if not for its very well-known author, you might rather think of some surreptitious mockery of the Soviet power in

Soviet newspapers also write about connections that exist between the nationalist underground groups and various illegal organizations — Catholic, Orthodox, sectarians — notably the *Yehovisty* (Jehovah's Witnesses), an illegal movement that is supposed to exist in the Ukraine (according to the Soviet press). For example, a former OUN member, M. Hutsulyak from Kutly raion in the Stanyslav oblast, who had been sentenced for anti-Bolshevik activities and after his release had become a member of the *Yehovisty* (said to have administrative headquarters in Brooklyn, New York), according to the Soviet press, stated at his trial: "It is all the same to me with whom I work against the Soviet regime. The OUN no longer exists now, but there is the *Yehovisty* organization which carries on a struggle against the Soviet government, and this will do for me."¹²³ In another case the Russian Komsomol magazine wrote about a former OUN member, Zynoviy Karas, who had been ordained as an Orthodox priest and given a parish in Kazakhstan. There he organized an underground group of

Ukraine. Highly placed in the KGB apparatus, the author was sent to New York to represent the Ukrainian SSR as a member of its Mission at the United Nations, but soon died suddenly after his return home. The reins of the literary magazine *Zhovten* were taken after Melnychuk's death by another antagonist of the UPA, the poet Rostyslav Bratun who was severely censured on party orders by the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine in 1965. See *Literaturna Ukrayina* (Kiev, June 15, 1965) for the text of the "resolution."

¹²¹) See *Pravda Ukrainy*, October 24, 1957.

¹²²) See Bratun, p. 4; also *Pravda Ukrainy*, March 8, 1959. Soviet propaganda never recognizes the slightest possibility that these crimes might have been committed by Red partisans or Soviet sabotage detachments, which very often pretended to be Ukrainian insurgents, by Polish terrorist groups, or by any of the German punitive detachments composed of former Red Army soldiers of various nationalities.

In their memoirs Medvedev and Vershyhora occasionally mention in passing the shooting of their Ukrainian captives (Medvedev, pp. 337-40; Vershyhora, II, No. 3, 69). Vershyhora (I, p. 403) relates the episode of Uncle Mykyta, who on the basis of an agreement between the UPA and General Kovpak came to transport wounded insurgents from Kovpak's camp and was murdered by the Red partisans for no reason at all. The book by M. Kunicki, commander of a Soviet partisan detachment who was instructed by General Strokach and later by General Saburov to operate against the UPA in the Western Ukraine, is a frightful document. He writes frankly that this detachment, pretending to be a section of the UPA, committed anti-Ukrainian provocations. They devastated a few raions in the Western Ukraine, burned whole villages, burned Ukrainian insurgents. The commander himself arrested both the guilty and innocent and sent them to the NKVD. The detachment terrorized the Ukrainian people in Volynia, the Kholm (Chelm) area, and Galicia (Kunicki, pp. 430-33). There is, also, a powerful accusation of the Soviet occupants of cruelty, presented in the document of the Ukrainian underground, known as "The Shame of the Twentieth Century." This document has been included in the book: *Russian Oppression in Ukraine* (London, Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1962), pp. 275-346.

¹²³) See Ya. Vyerov, *Pro sekty i sektantiv* (Uzhhorod, 1959), pp. 27 ff.; Myroslav Boychuk, *Khito taki yehovisty* (Kiev, 1957), pp. 12-26. See also *Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press* (New York), III, No. 4, p. 22; No. 6, p. 21; No. 7, p. 8; Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 23; No. 5, p. 23; No. 8, p. 1.

Ukrainians and Kazakhs and maintained connections with the underground in the Western Ukraine. He was ordered to arm the group and in trying to do so he asked for help from a former member of the underground, a woman, who meanwhile had become an agent of the security organs.¹²⁴ As a result Karas was caught.¹²⁵

Fiction and poetry did not stand aside from these campaigns. At the Fourth Congress of Ukrainian Soviet writers in March 1959, M. Bazhan summarized the efforts of Ukrainian Soviet literature to expose bourgeois nationalists, especially the activity of the Ukrainian underground. After praising the authors Yaroslav Halan and Yuriy Melnychuk, Bazhan said:

The treacherous underground activities of the *Banderivtsi* gangsters and their bloody deeds have aroused the just anger of the Ukrainian people. The truth about these brutes is told in the poem of Dmytro Pavlychko "Assassins"¹²⁶ which is full of hatred... The disgusting *Banderivtsi* underground — those "independent holes" so excellently satirized by the unforgettable Ostap Vyshnya¹²⁷ — are also described by Ivan Tsyupa in his... novel *Nazustrich Doli*.¹²⁸ The third part of Stepan Chornobryvets trilogy, which has a subject similar to that of Ivan Tsyupa's novel, analyzes even more in detail the crimes of the *Banderivtsi* underground.¹²⁹ Among the brutal *Banderivtsi* gangs the part of the "propagandists and ideologists" was played by men like the character Avhustyn Zolotolykyi portrayed by Chornobryvets or... Koshevskyi in Dmytro Derech's novel *Kriz Teneta*.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ G. Akselrod, "S krestom i kastetom", *Yunist* (Moscow), No. 6, 1959, pp. 104-107. See also Yuriy Melnychuk, "Vidpovid fanatykovi", originally in *Vilna Ukrayina* (Lviv) and in *Literaturna hazeta* (Kiev), No. 5, 1957, p. 4; republished in his collection of pamphlets *Poriddya iudy* (Lviv, 1958).

¹²⁵ See also D. L. Pokhylevych, "Uniaty i yikh reaktsiyna rol", *Komunist Ukrayiny* (Kiev), No. 7 (1959), pp. 77-82; and *Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press*, III, No. 9, 23-24.

¹²⁶ "Vbyvtsi", in Pavlychko, *Bystryna* (Kiev, 1959; also in Russian, Moscow, 1959).

¹²⁷ Vyshnya, *Vybrane* (Kiev, 1954; also in Russian, Kiev 1951). Ostap Vyshnya is the literary pseudonym of the popular Ukrainian humorist Pavlo Hubenko (1889-1956), who himself was tried and exiled as a "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist", spent more than ten years in Soviet concentration camps, and was returned from exile only in 1944 with the obvious purpose of using his humorous talents against the UPA. Vyshnya coined the term "Ukrainian independent hole" in ridiculing the UPA underground hide-outs.

¹²⁸ 2nd rev. ed.; Kiev, 1958. Tsyupa (p. 409) quotes an obviously fabricated anti-collectivization leaflet of the UPA: "Soon the Americans and the British will come to us! We shall not wait long! People, do not join the collectives!" It is worth noting that the most carefully guarded secret in the Soviet anti-UPA arsenal is that of the real program and ideology of the UPA, despite the fact that the Soviets undoubtedly have underground publications in their archives.

¹²⁹ Stepan Chornobryvets, *Vyzvolena zemlya*, 2nd rev. ed.; Kiev, 1959.

¹³⁰ Bazhan, in *Literaturna hazeta*, March 11, 1959, p. 2. The Derech novel mentioned was published in Kiev in 1957. It was reviewed by Fedir Shevchenko, "Vid zadumu do yoho vtilennya", *Dnipro*, XXXIII, No. 1 (January, 1959), pp. 156-57.

To Bazhan's list some additions can be made: Vadym Sobko's novel in which the UPA struggle against collectivization and the resistance to recruitment of Ukrainian youths into factory schools (FZN) and the infiltration of the Donets Basin by members of the OUN are described,¹³¹ the previously mentioned novel by Mykhaylo Stelmakh (*Nad Cheremoshem*) as well as his recent prized novel,¹³² works by Ihor Muratov, Valentyn Rechmedin, Vasyl Bolshak, Volodymyr Bablyak, and others;¹³³ there are also numerous short stories,¹³⁴ and essays, pamphlets, feuilletons, and lampoons by Yaroslav Halan, Yuriy Melnychuk, and Petro Kozlanyuk.¹³⁵

¹³¹ See Vadym Sobko, "Nam spokiy tilky snytsya", *Dnipro*, Kiev (1959: 2, pp. 3-75; 3, pp. 9-66; 4, pp. 76-124). Also in book form, Kiev, 1960.

¹³² Mykhaylo Stelmakh, "Pravda i kryvda (Marko Bezsmertnyy)", *Zhovten*, Lviv (1961, 3-6), also in book form, Kiev, 1961. For the description of "banderivets", see *op. cit.*, *Zhovten*, Lviv (1961, 4, p. 78) in order to perceive that even the writers of the calibre of Stelmakh indulge in writing "stupid and grotesque" caricatures of the foes of the Soviet regime.

¹³³ See Ihor Muratov, *Bukovynska povist* (2nd rev. ed.), Kiev, 1959; in Russian, (Moscow, 1958). Reviewed by H. Lenobli, "Nova zustrich z Tanasom Karpyukom", *Prapor*, Kharkiv (1960, 2, pp. 113-15); Valentyn Rechmedin, *Koly zakypala krov* (Kiev, 1958); Vasyl Bolshak, "Nad Zbruchem — sontse!" *Prapor*, Kharkiv (1960, 4, pp. 15-64; 5, pp. 6-45), the author calls his work a "documentary story" and devotes it to the Soviet "celebrity" and friend of N. S. Khrushchev, the Ukrainian corngrower, Yevheniya Dolynyuk who repeatedly had trouble with the Ukrainian underground; Volodymyr Bablyak, *Vyshnevyy sad* (1958), *Cherez horby* (1962), *Bilyy svit* (1962) — a trilogy reviewed by Vasyl Lesyk, "Rozkvit vyshnevoho sadu", *Dnipro*, Kiev, (1959, 2, 148-151). In his trilogy, Bablyak relates of the surrender of the UPA Major Khmara (*Dnipro*, *op. cit.*, 1962, 4, p. 81) in 1950, though the former Soviet sources killed him in a battle in 1945. (Cf. note 11) Bablyak's trilogy contains many details on the Soviet struggle against the UPA. Devoted to the struggle against the UPA are also the works by less important Soviet writer, Nikolay Dalyokiy, *Ne otkrivaya litsa* (Lviv, 1956) and Dmytro Bandrivskyy, *Zapysky vchytelya* (Kiev, 1955), which has the character of memoirs. The third chapter of Bandrivsky's memoirs is entirely devoted to the struggle against the UPA.

¹³⁴ Among more important short stories having as their theme the struggle against the UPA, we list: Roman Fedoriv, "Lyudy sonyachnoho mistechka", *Molod Ukrayiny*, Kiev (238/8981, December 2, 1960, p. 3); Petro Inhulskyy, "Vodospady nikoly ne zamerzayut", *Zhovten*, Lviv (1960, 10, pp. 11-34); V. Krynko, "Hirski stezhky", *Molod Ukrayiny*, Kiev (120, June 19, 1957, p. 3); Vasyl Kolodiy, "Dymova dolyna", *Zhovten*, Lviv, (1960, 10, pp. 111-113); O. Chuch, "Nad Oporom rikoyu", *Literaturna Drohobychchyna*, Almanac, (Drohobych, 1957); A. Khomenko, "Hirskymy stezhkamy", *Molod Ukrayiny*, Kiev (214/8189, October 29, 1927, p. 4); Mykola Dalekyy, "Dovirya", *Zhovten*, Lviv (1955, 9, pp. 52-65); Hryhoriy Kyrylyuk, "Lyudy novoho naftopromyslu", *Vitchyzna*, Kiev (1957, 6, 147-152); Ivan Bahmut, "Podvyh", *Molod Ukrayiny*, Kiev, (55/9054, March 19, 1961) etc.

¹³⁵ In addition to the Melnychuk writings already cited, lampoons are collected in his *Sluhy zhovtoho dyavola* (Lviv, 1957). See, also, his sequel to "Dermanska trahediya", Yuriy Melnychuk, "Z natsionalistychnoyi kalamuti", *Zhovten*, Lviv (1963, 6, pp. 73-79). For feuilletons of Yaroslav Halan and Ostap Vyshnya, see collections of their works (*Tvory*). For a sample of Kozlanyuk's writings, see Petro Kozlanyuk, "Vesna" (first part) *Zhovten*, Lviv (1963, 6, 13-

Occasionally Soviet critics caution against misrepresentation of the UPA resistance. For example, one reviewer wrote of a novel by Valentyn Rechmedin: "It is a relief to see that V. Rechmedin did not use the already very irksome methods of degrading our enemies; he did not present stupid and grotesque caricatures."¹³⁶

Of the fiction about the problem of UPA infiltration, the most interesting is a detective novel written in Russian by Vadim Peunov showing the struggle of the security organs with the Ukrainian underground in the Western Ukraine. For a long time the security organs have been unable to cope with the sabotage and terrorist organization because the leader — Drobot, chief of the provincial health department — was a member of the Party and recipient of a Soviet order. This man, known in the underground as Korshun, had been sent by the UPA during the war to join the Red partisans, win their confidence, and obtain a high post from which he could work for the good of the underground organization. Korshun had carried out his commission very well, and for a long time he was the leader of the underground without any suspicion on the part of the Soviet security organs.¹³⁷

A play on the same subject, "Black Dragon" by Vasyl Mynko, was published in 1958 by the Komsomol magazine *Dnipro*. The black dragon is a nationalist infiltrator, Ihor Shevchuk. Having been commissioned by his organization, he obtained the post of a club chairman and in this position tried to recruit people to "hostile subversive work", namely, to spy and get information about the top secret buildings being constructed in the Haydamaky forest. The infiltrator is shown as a rather charming young man — he is handsome, possesses a good knowledge of Soviet literature and music, captivates the girls, and gets them to fall in love with him. Ihor recruits into his organization former kulaks who have returned from Siberia and former prisoners who had once agreed to work for the Germans. These people betray him. Ihor Shevchuk formulates his credo in a talk with one of his recruits: "My ideal is to see a free and flourishing Ukraine. This is the reason why a struggle is necessary in order to stop the humiliation of the Ukrainians and destroy all that is called communism."¹³⁸

70); continuation of this has as yet not been published. The novel is, however, characteristic for the moods of the Western Ukrainian population after the return of the victorious Soviet Army into the Western Ukraine and under the conditions of the struggle against the UPA.

¹³⁶) See Dmytro Shlapak, "Lyudy z chystoyu sovisty", *Vitchyzna*, Kiev (1958, 9, p. 211). For critical attitude to writings on the Soviet struggle against the UPA, see Anatoliy Shevchenko, "Dokumentalna povist — shcho tse take? Notatky", *Dnipro*, Kiev (1963, 9, pp. 145-150).

¹³⁷) Vadim Peunov, *Poslednee delo Korshuna* (Stalino, 1955).

¹³⁸) Mynko, "Chornyi zmiy", *Dnipro*, XXXII, No. 2 (February 1958), p. 21.

Y. ONYSCHUK

Characteristic Traits of the Russian Psychology

Russia and Russian Communism are still a riddle for the Free World. But there are indications that we are coming closer toward a solution of this riddle.

In the past many students of Russian affairs were heavily influenced by Russian propaganda, non-communist and communist. Therefore they helped, almost unconsciously, in misrepresenting the Russian communist problem to the world. The Free World was continuously told that Russian Communism was an international idea, a creation of Karl Marx; that it had been imported to Russia and forced upon its people.

But now the younger generation of students of Russian affairs and many of the older experts are realizing that Russian Communism was an inherent feature of the Russian character and that behind the communistic slogans there have always been Russian national aims. National interest was the first consideration of the Russians and the communistic slogans have been the tactical weapons for reaching their national aims.

The Free World is becoming now aware that to understand fully the Russian communist riddle you have to begin with a thorough study of unfalsified Russian history and psychology. Nicholas Berdyaev, a Russian philosopher of this century, urged in his writings to find the true ideological basis of the Russian Revolution by firmly establishing the basic elements from which the Russian psychology developed. The character of the Russian Revolution and the real essence of Russian Communism will then be understood, and the prophecy of the Russian writer Feodor Dostoevsky, who predicted the course of the Russian Revolution and the way it was realized, will then be properly evaluated.¹

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was not a creation of the mind of Karl Marx — wrote Berdyaev. It was being prepared for over one hundred years and it was essentially a Russian national matter. It was not an "international conspiracy." Russian Communism — Bolshevism — developed as a fulfilment of the "Russian idea", and

¹) Nicholas Berdyaev, *Dostoevsky*. New York: Meridian Books, 1959, p. 133.

therefore, it had to be victorious. It was inherent in the Russian people and not enforced upon them by some "international conspirators."²

Therefore Berdyaev stressed in one of his books³ that to understand the meaning of the historical developments in Russia you must look for the essential spiritual phenomena of the Russians. Russian Communism in theory and in practice is a social and spiritual phenomenon, said Berdyaev. But its breeding ground was in Russia and from there it spreads throughout the world. The nature of this disease can be understood only by studying the Russian mind and Russian character.

Where does one look for the key to the Russian mind and Russian character? One must turn to history.

The Russian historian V. O. Klyuchevsky (1841-1911) considered that two factors played an important part in the formation of the Russian nation: the racial mixture and nature of the country. This then should be a starting point for the historical formation of the Russian character and mind.

The Eastern Slavs were neighbours of the Finnish tribes in the region of the river Oka and upper Volga. These tribes, especially Muroma, Meria and Ves, were not warriors at all. Tacitus wrote about them that they had neither houses nor weapons. Therefore, their western neighbours conquered them in a peaceful manner during the XIth and XIIth centuries. "Today in central Russia there are no living remnants of these tribes", wrote Klyuchevsky, "but they left their memorial in the geographical nomenclature. On the wide area from Oka to the White Sea we find thousands of non-Russian names of cities, villages, rivers and places."⁴

Because of this racial mixture the Russians inherited predominantly Finnish anthropological traits.⁵ The Finnish language of these tribes influenced the development of the Russian language, a fact which can be evidenced in its phonetic characteristics and in the introduction of hard consonants and inharmonious groups of consonants and vowels.⁶

The customs and beliefs of these tribes had a deep influence on the Russians as well. The Russians developed a specific attitude to religion; for the Russian Christian and pagan institutions did not exclude each other at all.⁷

²) Nicholas Berdyaev, *The End of Our Times*. New York: Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1933, pp. 127-148.

³) N. Berdyaev, *The Russian Revolution*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1932.

⁴) V. O. Klyuchevsky, *Sochineniya. Kurs Russkoy Istorii*. Moscow, 1956, edition, Vol. I, pp. 293-294.

⁵) Klyuchevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁶) *Ibid.*, pp. 297-300. Also Gregor Alexinsky, *Modern Russia*. London: T. Fisher, Unwin, 1913, p. 27.

⁷) Klyuchevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-305.

According to Klyuchevsky, the way of life of these Finnish tribes became the basis for the formation of Russian society. The characteristic feature of the Finnish aborigines was that they did not display any indication of social differentiation, such as a division into upper and lower classes. The entire population seemed to be simply a uniform peasant mass.⁸

Out of that encounter of the Slavic and Finnish elements there grew, according to Klyuchevsky, "a three-way mixture": 1) religious which became a basis for the mythological outlook of the Russians on the world; 2) tribal, from which an anthropological type of Russian emerged; and 3) social, which in the composition of the population of the upper Volga gave a decided superiority to the peasant classes.⁹

This racial mixture of the Slavic and Finnish elements was the beginning of the formation of the Russian nation, and this racial mixture served also as a key factor in the formation of the Russian psychology.

From the blending of the widely different races, the Russian character inherited very marked contradictions: contradictions in the way of thinking, contradictions in feelings, and in temperament. Berdyaev, while writing about F. Dostoevsky, underlined this apparent feature. He found that the Russian was always striving for extremes and that he classified himself as a nihilist. As a matter of fact, Dostoevsky wrote that all Russians were nihilists. Berdyaev considered also that because of these contradictory traits the Russian lacked the ability to elaborate a culture. He did not understand how to obtain a definite result successively; he always wanted to get results in one big jump.¹⁰

This last characteristic trait of the Russian psychology was observed by A. F. Haxthausen, a German expert in Russian matters, living in the first half of the XIXth century. He wrote that "the Russian, in any undertaking, looks only to an immediate and rapid result."¹¹ Dostoevsky confirmed this national trait when he commented about himself: "In all things I go to the utmost extreme and all life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." The Russian singer Fyodor Chalyapin wrote also that the Russian temperament did not know moderation and that tyranny, cruelty and brutality were characteristic for Russian life.¹²

⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 308.

¹⁰) Berdyaev, *Dostoevsky*, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19. Also N. Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea*. London: Geoffrey Bless, 1947, pp. 128-129.

¹¹) A. F. Haxthausen, *Studien über die Inneren Zustände des Volkslebens, und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russlands*. Hanover, 1847-1852. Translated into English as *The Russian Empire*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1856, Vol. II, p. 45.

¹²) F. Chalyapin, *Man & Mask*, New York, 1927, pp. 9-12.

However, we learn most about the instability and contradictions of the Russian character from one of the best experts on Russian matters — E. J. Dillon. This unusually interesting XIXth century person, having completed studies in Great Britain and additional studies in Slavic matters at the Universities of Innsbruck and Leipzig, lived in Russia during the reign of the last three Russian Tsars. He was professor at various universities, writer of several scientific and literary works and editor for Russian newspapers and magazines; he was also the Russian correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph." He knew many leading Russians intimately, among them F. Dostoevsky, I. A. Goncharov, N. S. Leskov and also M. N. Katkov. In 1892, Dillon published, under the pseudonym of E. B. Lanin, his famous book¹³ which was considered the best work in its field also by Paul N. Milyukov, Russian ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Professor of Russian culture.¹⁴

Writing about Russian mentality Dillon stressed that Russians lack reasoning logic, especially in sequence; action begins with hesitation and almost always ends without achievement. Lack of constancy, indifference and a very wide gamut of temperament — from feminine gentleness to a bestial ferocity — are, according to Dillon, characteristic features of the Russian character. He found the Russian man to be "half a child and half an imperfectly tamed beast."¹⁵

The instability and contradictions in the Russian character were very ably described by Berdyaev in his work, "The Russian Idea", when he characterized the Russians as people in the highest degree polarized and people from whom you can always expect something unexpected."¹⁶ André Siegfried also registered these contradictions of the Russian character while talking about international conferences and the behaviour of Russian diplomats. He pointed out that these diplomats combined charm and amiability with brutality and rudeness in such a way that you never knew what to expect from them.¹⁷

The Russian is psychologically, mentally and intellectually extremely restless, impatient. He is a dreamer and wanderer amid unobtainable ideas. But he is also a born rover. He has an irresistible passion for roaming, a mania for travelling, — wrote Dillon, — ascribing this feature to the call of blood.¹⁸

Similarly, this nomadic impulse was noted by Haxthausen, a German. He wrote that the disturbed spirit of the Russian makes him wander over the whole empire.¹⁹ He observed also that the

¹³ E. B. Lanin, *Russian Characteristics*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1892.

¹⁴ Leo Wiener, *An Interpretation of the Russian People*. New York: McBride, Nast & Co., 1915, p. 1.

¹⁵ E. J. Dillon, *The Eclipse of Russia*. London & Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918, p. 13.

¹⁶ Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea*, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

¹⁷ André Siegfried, *The Character of Peoples*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1952.

¹⁸ Dillon, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

¹⁹ Haxthausen, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 169.

Russians do not have affection for their own homes, like others have.²⁰ And a contemporary of Haxthausen, an Englishman, Edward Daniel Clarke, while studying the Russian character found that the Russians "have no particular attachment to their country — none of that homesickness which afflicts the soul of an Englishman in banishment. They are bound by no strong ties of affection to their families, neither have they any friendship worth preserving."²¹

This observation is confirmed in the writings of a Russian, Sergey M. Kravchinsky, known throughout Europe at the end of the last century as S. Stepniak. "We Russians", he stated, "have no attachment to our birthplace or any particular locality."²² Also a Russian, Peter Chaadayev, wrote in his famous "Philosophical Letters", even before Haxthausen: "At home we are as if aliens, in the cities we look like nomads, more so even than those tribes wandering on our steppes, for these tribes are more attached to their pastures than we are to our cities."²³

Almost a century later Dmitri Merezhkovski, a Russian writer, commented in Germany: "We imagined that Russia was a home. No, it was merely a tent. The nomad set up this tent for a brief period, then struck it, and is off again in the steppes."²⁴

We learn from Dillon of the Russians' preference for the wandering life. "There are", he said, "probably more beggars in Russia alone than in all the rest of Europe, a goodly number of whom are men of considerable means, who might live in absolute or comparative comfort, but prefer to lead a wandering life, getting by on from 8 s. to 10 s. a day."²⁵

These notes of various writers concerning the Russian nomadic trait are a true presentation of the Russian soul. It is fully evidenced in Russian novels, poems and music; because the Russians always liked novels, tales, poems and music about wanderers and gypsies. According to Dostoevsky, A. S. Pushkin was first to detect and record this principal pathological phenomenon of a Russian restless man, when detached from his soil, becoming a Russian wanderer. Dostoevsky finds this restless wanderer in the character of Aleko, hero of "The Gypsies" of Pushkin and in the character of Onegin in "Eugene Onegin", where nearly the same Aleko appears. Dostoevsky wrote about this phenomenon of a Russian wanderer as an "eternal character, long since native to Russia... These wanderers are wandering still, and it will be long before they disappear. In our days they

²⁰) *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 3.

²¹) Edward D. Clarke, *Travels in Russia, Tartary and Turkey*. Aberdeen, 1848, p. 54.

²²) Stepniak, *The Russian Peasantry*. London: Routledge, 1905, p. 148.

²³) P. Y. Chaadayev, *Sochineniya i Pis'ma*. Moscow, 1914 ed., 2 vols., Vol. 1, p. 7.

²⁴) D. Merezhkovski, in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15-16 March, 1921.

²⁵) Lanin: *Russian Characteristics*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

no longer visit gypsy camps, seeking to discover their universal ideals...; now, with a new faith, they adopt socialism which did not exist in Aleko's days, and labour eagerly, thinking like Aleko, that they may thus reach their final goal, not for themselves alone, but for all men." This wanderer "In the remote heart of his fatherland, is yet in exile... He still feels himself in the midst of strangers... He cannot see the possibility of any work in his own country..." Dostoevsky summed up about Pushkin's wanderers: "Imperishably he delineated the Russian wanderer of all times; with the flair of genius, he realized the type, and tremendous significance in the national destiny."²⁶

After Pushkin's personages of Aleko and Onegin other Russian writers enriched the Russian literature with such personages as Rudin, Chichikov, Pechorin, Lavrecky, Volkonsky and others. They belonged to the category of people called "superfluous people" (after I. Turgenev's "The Diary of a Superfluous Man.").

The Russian by his psychological composition and attitude has been a nomad. And being a nomad, he has been bound to autocratic and dictatorial traits in his private and social life.

There was a tendency at the end of the last century in Europe to establish an image of the idyllic family life of the Russians, especially of the peasant masses. But Gregor Alexinsky wrote in his book, "Modern Russia", that to believe so was "to wear rose-coloured glasses."²⁷ Because Russian family life since the beginning of their existence as a nation has always been characterized by the dictatorial power of the father. This power was expanded not only over the children but over the wife as well. She was treated in the same way as the children — harshly and humiliatingly.

According to Alexinsky, the very common incident of Russian village life — that of thrashing the moujik's wife — was described by the neighbours in a technical term: namely that the husband was "teaching her."²⁸ Evidently such teaching was always looked upon by people visiting Russia as a sign of barbarism. For example, Philip de Segur wrote at the beginning of the XIXth century that "The Russian wives were more enslaved than the Asiatic... It was more barbarous."²⁹

But it was the ordinary way of life of the Russians. And it was "codified" in a book entitled "Domostroy", a book of House Management. This book was compiled in the sixteenth century by Priest Sylvester, a councillor and confessor of Ivan the Terrible. The book is full of advice on how to handle children and wife; when and how

²⁶) F. M. Dostoevsky, *Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy* (Works), Vol. 12, *Dnevnik Pisatelya*. Vol. II. Petersburg, 1883, pp. 418-426.

²⁷) Gregor Alexinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

²⁸) *Ibid.*

²⁹) General Count Philip de Segur, *History of Russia*. London, 1829, p. 178.

to beat the children, when and how to scare the wife, and how to beat her if she should become disobedient.³⁰

To resist the father of the family was out of the question, wrote the Russian historian M. N. Pokrovsky. The father was an autocrat; every member of the family was alike in being his absolute property. The Russian state autocracy developed from this dictatorial power of the father.³¹

The racial mixture which created the Russian nation, the nomadic trait of the Russians and their way of life in the family are to be considered the basic traits from which the other traits of the Russian character developed.

Every nomad was accustomed to treating his family very harshly. This came about because he knew that he could depend only upon himself. His life taught him to be suspicious of everyone who might be his potential enemy.

Although he had no attachment to his family, he had to have some other attachment. And the Russian had a very deep attachment to his *mir*, a communistic Russian society. There he willingly obeyed a dictatorial power, because, as many writers about the Russians for centuries have noticed, he always showed obedience to every Government, even to that of the Mongols.³² Haxthausen characterized the Russians very aptly by writing that they always "require a definite command."³³

The dictatorial society of the Russians had always a very antipathetic attitude toward liberty and freedom. Sigismund von Herberstein, German ambassador to Moscow, wrote in the XVIth century about the Russians: "This people enjoy slavery more than freedom."³⁴

And freedom has been completely unknown as an institution in Russia. For the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin a lack of freedom and by contrast political slavery was not a tragedy at all. In a letter to his wife in 1834, he wrote: "Without political liberty it is also possible to live." And another Russian writer, Ivan Turgenev, expressed his view in this matter in a letter to Alexander Herzen on December 13, 1867, from Baden-Baden: "Of all the European nations, Russia needs freedom least."³⁵

But the Russian writer Dostoevsky developed a whole philosophical system to prove that for men freedom was not needed. This way of

³⁰ "Domostroy", in *Russkaya Khrestomatiya*, edited by F. Buslaev, Moscow, 1912.

³¹ Michael N. Pokrovsky, *History of Russia*. London: Martin Lawrence Ltd., pp. 10-13.

³² Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 116.

³⁴ Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*. London, 1851, ed. V. I., p. 95.

³⁵ "Iz perepiski I. S. Turgeneva s A. I. Herzenom v 1867 godu." *Russkoye Obozreniye*, January 1895, XXXI, p. 119.

thinking has to be of interest to anybody studying the Russian psychology, because Berdyaev considered Dostoevsky as "specifically Russian" and the most Russian of all Russian writers, the key to understanding the Russian soul and the mystery of Russia.³⁶

Dostoevsky's reasoning as to why not only Russians but the whole of mankind does not need freedom was as follows:

If man is free he may do whatever he wants. Are not all things lawful for him? He may commit any crime in the name of some "higher principles." Dostoevsky feels that in freedom are found the seeds of death. Freedom degenerates into self-will, it leads to evil and evil to crime. Therefore, Dostoevsky in his works and especially in his criminal reports in his "Diary of the Writer", always defended the wrongdoer and accused the social environment of the crime.³⁷

Lack of freedom for Russians has been so universal that Berdyaev could not find an understanding of liberty in Russia. He could not find it in Tsarist Russia, among the revolutionary intelligentsia, in the Orthodox Church, or among the Communists. The generation after the World War I disliked liberty and supported authority and violence.³⁸

Another Russian, G. P. Fedotov, a historian and philosopher, in his article, "Russia and Freedom", came to the conclusion that in Russia there was no place for freedom. Freedom for a Muscovite was an abhorrent idea, synonymous with licence, wantonness and infamy.³⁹

Although Russians in their historical life as a nation did not know, did not understand and believed they did not need personal liberty and freedom, or lacked individuality, they possessed to a high degree another trait, one that was apparent to many observers of Russian life. The Marquis de Custine, a Frenchman, travelling through Russia in the 1830's, observed that Russians were born imitators.⁴⁰ And an Englishman, Edward D. Clarke, a contemporary of the Marquis de Custine, wrote a few years later: "In whatever country we seek original genius, we must go to Russia for the talent of imitation; this is the acme of the Russian intellect — the principal of all their operations. They have nothing of their own... Their surprising power of imitation exceeds all that has been hitherto known."⁴¹ Therefore, Clarke felt that the Russians had a good talent for acting.

The lack of originality as characteristic of the Russians has been noted by Peter Chaadaev in his "Philosophical Letters" and later, in 1835, in a letter to I. S. Turgenev. He wrote of his people that of all

³⁶) Berdyaev, *Dostoevsky*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁷) *Ibid.*, pp. 67-88.

³⁸) N. Berdyaev, *Essai d'Autobiographie spirituelle*. Paris: Buchet, Chastel, 1958, p. 71.

³⁹) G. P. Fedotov, *Rossiya i Svoboda*. Novyi Zhurnal, X, New York, 1945.

⁴⁰) The Marquis de Custine, *Russia*. London, 1854, p. 225.

⁴¹) Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

the peoples in the world they did not contribute anything to the world, not a single thought to the pool of human ideas.⁴²

Not only the lack of individuality in the Russian but the special talent for imitation as well was underlined by the Danish writer, Dr. Georg Brandes. Invited to lecture before the Russian Writers' Association of St. Petersburg, he wrote a book on Russia. He found that Russians, although lacking originality, had the inclination to imitate and possessed a very keen disposition to appropriate for themselves. He writes: "The Russians, above all others, have the talent for grasping the manner of thought and range of ideas of other races, of imitating these and of dealing with them as their own intellectual property." This capacity for imitation and assimilation is found also in other matters, such as artistic handicraft, especially among the peasants, says Dr. Brandes, and gives various examples to support his view.⁴³

Although the Russians have imitated the European culture and the institutions which lay as cornerstones of this culture, nevertheless according to Peter Chaadaev they remained completely different from the Europeans. All the European nations had one common physiognomy; Christian Europe created common institutions, ideas of everyday life. The Russians did not have such ideas. It was not a matter of lacking education, literature, or science, but rather a problem of not having ideas of everyday life. "Do you want to know what kind of ideas? Chaadaev asked. — The ideas of duty, law, truth and order."⁴⁴

For the Russian the institution of law and order was always strange and unfamiliar. Dostoevsky writing in his Diary, about Anna Karenina of L. N. Tolstoy (in 1877), remarked that in Europe the law had been laid down, framed, formulated and conceived for a thousand years. Evil and good were defined, weighed, measured and their degrees and ultimate values had been historically ascertained by philosophers. For Dostoevsky, a true Russian, this was strange and implausible. He felt that nobody could be a final judge of what was evil and what was good.⁴⁵

Another Russian — Stepniak — wrote that the Russians looked upon law as a dead abstraction. He found in this respect that people of English origin offered a perfect contrast. Stepniak stressed that this notion about law was not confined to the peasantry — it was national. He quoted Pushkin as saying that law was a wooden thing.⁴⁶

⁴²) Chaadaev, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-196.

⁴³) Dr. Georg Brandes, *Impressions of Russia*. London: Walter Scott, 1889, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁴) Chaadaev, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 10.

⁴⁵) Dostoevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, pp. 48-49.

⁴⁶) Stepniak, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

And Professor M. Nikitenko remarked: "The Russian man knows neither law nor justice. His morality is the outcome of his good humour which being neither developed nor strengthened by conscious principles, sometimes sprouts forth into action, but is frequently swallowed up by other more savage instincts."⁴⁷

No wonder that Konstantin N. Leontiev, a leading Russian philosopher, was of the opinion that to teach the Russian people the spirit of law would be a major task and it might take a century to do so: the Russians understand authority better than law; military chief is more sympathetic to them than the constitutional articles or legal codes.⁴⁸

Vladimir S. Solovyov, another important Russian philosopher, writing on this matter expressed his opinion that "the precepts of law and justice are not yet rooted in our minds, and because of this (as someone has remarked) honest men are more uncommon than saints in Russia."⁴⁹

Actually, the image of honesty and honour was always an unknown institution in Russia. In Europe, man's dignity, honesty and honour was in the highest esteem. Knighthood and chivalry developed these attributes of character and they were accepted by everybody. In Russia knighthood was never known. Dostoevsky in his "Diary of a Writer" complained that the conception of European honour was introduced into Russia with European clothing, but the conception of honour failed to take root and "was adopted mechanically so to speak, whereas spiritually we forgot what honour meant."⁵⁰

One of Dostoevsky's characters (Shatov in the novel "Possessed") argued more precisely: "So far as I can see and am able to judge, the whole essence of the Russian Revolution ideas lies in the negation of honour... For a Russian a sense of honour is only a superfluous burden, and it has always been a burden through all the nation's history."

Russians have seen nothing wrong in the negation of honour. Dillon in his "Russian Characteristics" commented that the Russians do not associate dishonesty with criminality, sinfulness, or ethical deformity. They look upon it rather as a heaven-sent gift. Therefore, with the Russians "at the root of all the dealings of the people among themselves, and of all the commercial relations of the nation with foreigners... lies ineffable contempt for the practice of common honesty."⁵¹

⁴⁷) Lanin, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴⁸) Hans Kohn, *The Mind of Modern Russia*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955, p. 22.

⁴⁹) Vladimir S. Solovyov, *Slavophilism and its Degeneration*. Collected Works, Vol. V, p. 220.

⁵⁰) Dostoevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, pp. 22-49.

⁵¹) Lanin, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

For the Russian "dishonesty seems in his hands only a distorted virtue", wrote Dillon. "You catch him in the act, overhaul him; unabashed he confesses, sees nothing objectionable in the deed, and is ready to sacrifice all his gains to put you in good temper. This trait of mere criminal bonhomie in all his dealings with the world, the flesh, and the devil, should never be overlooked in estimating a Russian's character."⁵²

Dishonesty and lack of honour can be found in all walks of life. But special standards of behaviour existed as regard to relations between men and women. Dillon wrote that a foreigner after a short stay in Russia could notice "with tolerable accuracy the abyss that separates Russian notions of morality and decency from those which prevail in the West."⁵³ To the sexual morality of the Russians, extremely curious to any European, Dillon devoted a whole chapter of his book.⁵⁴

In connection with the dishonesty of the Russians as one of their typical national characteristics goes another trait, and it is as Dillon wrote, "a rude, persuasive eloquence."⁵⁵ That is used for purposes of better lying. Dillon quotes Professor M. Nikitenko as saying that "Lying is the idol of our society. Russian society lies every minute of its existence, in word and deed, consciously and unconsciously."⁵⁶ Dillon quotes the saying of the Russian poet F. Tiutchev that for the Russian "the thought expressed is already a lie."⁵⁷

About this peculiar characteristic of the Russians we learn from J. G. Korb, secretary of the legation of the Austrian Emperor, Leopold I. In his journal diary which was later printed in Vienna in 1700, we read that the Russians "esteem deceit to be the height of wisdom. They have no shame of lying, no blush for detected fraud; to such a degree are the seeds of the true virtue proscribed from that region, that vice itself obtains the reputation of virtue."⁵⁸ In the first half of the XIXth century the Marquis de Custine, recording in his journal that the Russians "have dexterity in lying, a naturalness for falsehood", noticed that the Russians were convinced of the efficacy of the lie. And historian V. Klyuchevsky wrote⁵⁹ that the diplomatic methods of the boyars were always surprising for the foreign diplomats. Foreign diplomats were almost desperate in their dealings with their Russian opposites. If someone caught a Russian diplomat lying, he wouldn't blush but merely laugh.

⁵²) *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁵³) *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁵⁴) *Ibid.*, pp. 286-334.

⁵⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁵⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵⁸) J. G. Korb, *Diary of an Austrian Secretary of Legation at the Court of Czar Peter the Great*. 1863 ed., London, Vol. II, p. 192 ff.

⁵⁹) V. O. Klyuchevsky, *Skazaniya inostrantsev o moskovskom gosudarstve*, Moscow, 1916 edition.

Dillon quotes in his "Russian Characteristics" "Letter about the Interior", of Michael Saltykov Shchedrin concerning this peculiar trait of the Russians: "It has been observed from time immemorial that the genuine Russian man is ever ready to lie. History avers that even in olden times a Russian's statements were never accepted seriously, except when he added the words, 'May I be ashamed of myself.' And as it was physically impossible to introduce this guarantee into every assertion, lying was greatly in vogue at all times. In truth, lies slipped smoothly from the tongue of the Russian without the slightest effort on his part, in virtue of natural law as it were."⁶⁰

To understand better this Russian phenomenon of lying we would like to quote Dillon again. He wrote: "Veracity, which has been justly called the vital force of human progress... is precisely that quality in which Russians are most hopelessly deficient... They seem constitutionally incapable of grasping the relation of words to things, between which, to their seeming, the boundary is shadowy or even wholly imaginary; and they lack in consequence that reverence for facts which lies at the root of the Anglo-Saxon character. A Russian can no more bow to a fact, acknowledging it as final and decisive, than he can to a personal appreciation, or a mere opinion founded upon insufficient or no grounds; he is ever ready to act in open defiance of it."⁶¹

In another place Dillon wrote: "Comparative little attention should be paid to words as exponents of facts", stating that you cannot believe assurances of a Russian.

"A Russian... is not conscious of guilt when telling a deliberate untruth", wrote Dillon. "It is very doubtful whether... he is really aware that he is violating any law human or divine. For it should not be forgotten that he is suffering from a complete anaesthesia of that moral faculty which in more developed peoples is so prompt to condemn lying. To a Russian, words are his own, and he simply does what he likes with them." "Whatever the causes of untruth", concludes Dillon, "and they are numerous — it has struck deep roots in the Russian character, and would need the Herculean labours of many generations of earnest men to eradicate it."⁶²

Dillon here gave various examples of lying in Russia, in private and public life, lying in courts, in offices, in the press.

Twenty-six years later in another book Dillon stressed again that you cannot believe what the Russian will do in certain circumstances, however well you know his past conduct and it is not worthwhile to trust even the most careful estimates about the Russians, because these estimates are very often belied by the events.⁶³

⁶⁰) Lanin, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

⁶¹) *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶²) *Ibid.*, pp. 57 & 66.

⁶³) Dillon, *The Eclipse of Russia*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The image of Russian morality has been of a completely different calibre from that of the European. Therefore, it was nothing uncommon and not "communistic" for V. I. Lenin to deny any objective morality and confirm: "We say that our morality is subjected entirely to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is derived from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat."⁶⁴

With such a special approach to morality and with the absence of honour in human dealings found in the Russian character, it is necessary to tie in another important Russian trait — that lack of any sense of responsibility and duty. Berdyaev stressed that the Russians would like to obtain paradise on earth without too much work. Deliberate toil has no charm for them. They would like to obtain everything by catastrophic leaps.

And it has always been characteristic of the Russians that they do not like to work. Dr. Howard P. Kennard lived for years in Russia as a doctor working among peasants. Based on his own experience, on historical Russian documents from museum, and on the secret Memoirs of Catherine II, he characterized the Russian peasant as the most immoral and most lazy.⁶⁵

The same was observed by another foreigner of three decades prior to Dr. Kennard's visit to Russia. Dr. Georg Brandes noticed that the Russian had an inclination to indolence; he was passive both in public and in private life. He found the typical expression of Russian indolence in Ivan Goncharov's novel "Oblomov", famous all over the world as a monumental picture of Russian sluggishness. In this novel Goncharov portrayed the indolence of Oblomov as the most characteristic trait of the Russian. In his other novel, "Obryv", Goncharov enriched the world's literature with another indolent character, the hero of the novel — Raysky. We find many characters familiar to Oblomov in the novels of other Russian writers, especially Alexander N. Ostrovsky and F. Dostoevsky.

Indeed, a word "Oblomovism" found its place in Russian literature to describe this peculiar trait. Russian writers saw in Oblomov a most characteristic picture of a Russian soul. For the Russian critic Nikolai A. Dobrolyubov the character of Oblomov was a true picture of the Russian national character.

"Oblomovism" has always been a national problem in the economic life of Tsarist Russia and of the Russian Communists. And it was V. Lenin who declared war on "Oblomovism" by saying: "We have to get rid of this enemy. We shall reach him with the help of conscientious workers and peasants. Against this enemy — against this inefficiency and "Oblomovism" — there will march unanimously

⁶⁴) V. I. Lenin, *Collective Works*. Moscow, 1923, Vol. XVII, p. 321.

⁶⁵) Howard P. Kennard, *The Russian Peasant*. London: T. Werner Laurie, 1907, p. 42.

the whole non-party mass of workers and peasants led by the front units of the Communist Party."⁶⁶

This trait of Russian character has its origin in the racial mixture of the Russians, their nomadic trait, and their communistic way of life in the communes, the so-called "mir." In the communes there was a possibility for lazy people to avoid work. And the Russians liked their communistic way of life in these communes.

The Western World has generally accepted the wrong notion by looking upon the Russians as dreamers for freedom and free ownership of the land. After the liberation from servitude in 1861, the Russian Government preserved the "mir", a communistic institution of the Russians because, as Stepniak wrote, "The Government listened to wiser counsel, offered by local committees, and the press, which pointed to the village communes as the natural and long-established institutions standing ready at their hand and existing throughout the country."⁶⁷

Had the Russian moujik preferred private property, the institution of "mir" would have disappeared very soon. But the communistic "mir" outlived Tsarist Russia and was taken over by the Russian Communists as an ancient typical Russian institution, only with a different name now. Stepniak stressed very ably that the Russian moujik had always a "perfect abhorrence of the idea of private property in land."⁶⁸

In support of this statement Stepniak quoted Prince Wassilchikoff as saying, in his study of the history of Russian agrarian legislation, that "There is no country in which the idea of property in land was so vague and unsteady as it was until very recently with us, not only in the minds of the peasants, but also of the representatives and heads of the State... The very word 'property', as applied to land, hardly existed in ancient Russia. No equivalent to this neologism is to be found in old archives, charters or patents... In the living language of peasants of modern times there is no term which expresses the idea of property over the land in the usual sense of the word."⁶⁹

The Western idea of property, then, was completely alien to the Russian people.⁷⁰ It existed among the Russian people, but not as a firm conviction. The Russian always considered something wrong in owning property. This indifference to property is explained by the experts on Russia as the consequence of the fact that the Russians

⁶⁶) V. I. Lenin, *Works*, 4th edition, Vol. 33, p. 199.

⁶⁷) Stepniak, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁶⁹) *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁰) N. Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism*. London: Geoffrey Bless, 1955, p. 17.

have been accustomed to the collective way of life. For this same reason they do not desire individual freedom and are indifferent to it.⁷¹

They are indifferent not only to freedom and property, but indeed to their whole life. Dr. Georg Brandes noticed the indifference of the Russian peasant even to death. Elaborating further, he explained: "He generally has no special fear of death, and he is indifferent to inflicting death on others, especially if it is a question of children or old people. Horrible murders are thus sometimes perpetrated among the peasants, without passion or malice."⁷² Dr. Brandes suggests reading the child-murder episode in Tolstoy's drama "The Power of Darkness", a moving picture of Russian cruelty and an excellent illustration of this aspect of the Russian character.

Cruelty is considered one of the most characteristic phenomena of Russian psychology. Maxim Gorky discussed this phenomenon in his famous article printed in 1923 in Italy, later reprinted in various languages all over the world.

Gorky wrote that "the most remarkable feature of the Russian national character is cruelty, as humour is the most characteristic of the English." He did not want to speak about some individual sporadic cruelty, but "about mass psychology, about national soul, about collective cruelty." And Gorky supported his statement with many examples from the Russian Revolution. Stressing that probably there is no other place in the world where women would have such cruel and pitiless treatment as the Russian women have, he comes to the conclusion that these terrible things come from the instinct of the masses. He wonders why the Russian literature of the XIXth century depicted the Russian peasant as being so good, so prudent, an incessant searcher of truth and justice. Because Gorky was searching with fervour for such a man "all over Russia, but could not find him." Instead he found only a rough realist, a cunning villager playing a stupid fellow wherever he found it to his advantage, a human being without any respect for the truth, because, as he said, "You can't feed on truth."

Gorky's revelations about his countrymen proved a complete surprise to those who had and wanted to retain an idealized image of the Russian character.

Although writers before Gorky have made readers aware of this particular trait of the Russians, they were not believed so fully. Yet as early as 1591, G. Fletcher, Ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Tsar Fedor Ivanovich, writing a book about Russia,⁷³ devoted a whole article to the cruelty of the Russians (called at that time Muscovites).

⁷¹) Vladimir Weidle, *Absent and Present*. London: Hollis & Garter, 1952, p. 136.

⁷²) Brandes, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁷³) G. Fletcher, *Of the Russe Commonwealth*. London, 1591.

There is no doubt about that that every nation has its own character and that it acts in accordance with this character. The Russians have their national character too and the Russian communist riddle can be solved only in connection with proper understanding of this Russian character.

Therefore, an extensive study in this field by many researchers is needed. It will help us to see Russian Communism in its proper light. It will help us also to find practical applications how to deal with the Russians.

UKRAINIANS AT HOME DEMAND MORE FOREIGN AUTHORS PUBLISHED IN UKRAINIAN

I. M. Pedanyuk, chairman of the State Committee for the Press of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, "Publication of Foreign Literature in 1965", *Vsesvit*, No. 1, January 1965, pp. 145-146. Excerpts.

The readers of *Vsesvit* are interested in Ukrainian publication plans for 1965. In their letters to the editor they inquire what works of foreign authors will be published in Ukrainian. Complying with the readers' wishes, the editors have put these questions to the chairman of the State Committee for the Press of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Ivan Markovych Pedanyuk. The following are his answers.

I would like to begin with a good word on behalf of our publishers, because this would only be just. Along with publishing works of Ukrainian literature and those of the peoples of the USSR, they offer Ukrainian readers the best works of foreign literature. In recent years the publishing houses of the Republic came out with a series of classics of world literature, modern writers of the socialist camp countries, as well as many new things by progressive authors of the capitalist countries. It would serve no purpose to list all the works because the readers know them well, but we would like to mention Homer's *Odyssey*, Lope de Vega's *Sheep's Well* and *Dog in the Manger*, the poems of R. Tagore, Mark Twain's *Gilded Age*, poems by J. Tuwim, three volumes of Shakespeare, O'Henry's *Kings and Cabbages*, D. Dymov's *Tobacco*, Ernest Hemingway's *Across the River and into the Trees*, V. Minach's *The Bells Announcing the Day*, an anthology of Czech poetry, an anthology of Slovak poetry, J. Prohaska's *Green Horizons*, H. Herlich's *The Proud* and others.

There were also serious shortcomings in publishing foreign literature, which, on the one hand, apply to the principle of publication planning, and on the other hand, selection of translators and works to be translated.

Moreover, the literatures of Asia, Africa and Latin America were poorly represented in the thematic plans of the publishing houses. It is no secret that translated works came out after considerable delays and readers learned of the new things in foreign literatures only long after they came out.

The establishment of the State Committee for the Press of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR contributed to a better orderliness in publishing matters in the Republic, particularly in the publication of foreign literature... In 1965 the publishing houses of our Republic will offer their readers the following novels: *The Three-Step Novel* by B. Brecht, a sharp satire against capitalist society; *The Adventures of Werner Holt*, by D. Nolle, about German youth, stupified by the fumes of fascism, trying to find its way out of the existing situation. *Squire's Court* by Sandor Gergely — part one of a trilogy about the Hungarian National Hero Gyoergy Dozsa; *Early Spring* by Stefan Zeromski, depicting the political struggle of the government of the Polish landlords, and others. This year, Ukrainian readers will get to know the biographical novel of the Bulgarian writer S. Prodev, *Fred, or Springtime*,

dealing with the early years of F. Engels; the autobiographical work of the great Cuban revolutionary poet Jose Marti *The Fatal Friendship*, the documentary novel *A Bomb for Heydrich* by D. Hamsik and I. Prazak, about the struggle of the Czech patriots against the Hitlerite invaders; and interesting books by the Egyptian writer I. Kuddus *A Man in Our House*, about the national liberation struggle of young Egyptian patriots; the novel by the American writer A. Saxton *Bright Cobwebs in the Darkness* dealing with the life and struggle of Negro workers for their rights.

Other books to be published are by D. Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Henryk Sienkiewicz. We are beginning a series of publications "Masterpieces of World Lyrics." The total for this year will be nearly 50 works by writers from different countries of the globe.

We are well aware that this is far from a complete solution of the problems of translating foreign literature into Ukrainian. However, the first steps in the reorganization of publishing give us assurance that Ukrainian readers will get more and more highly artistic translations of the works by the world's best writers.

SOVIET WRITERS INDIGNANT OVER WESTERN 'SCOOP' ON SYMONENKO

LITERATURNIA UKRAINA, 27 April 1965, p. 2, excerpts.

"...Our class enemies are capable of anything; they can engage in the dirtiest kind of provocation in order to besmirch our sacred cause even for a short while.

They can quote a few lines out of context and explain and comment on them in such a way that everything is upside down — just to create an impression that this or another writer was breaking with the people, and that he was allegedly almost "with them." They pluck an unfinished line and shout themselves hoarse that this is "the leading trend of the author", just to blacken his name. They invent the lowliest lie, just to promote the idea that "not all is well within our ranks." Yes, we know what our accursed enemies are capable of.

Radyanska Ukraina recently printed a letter from the mother of the well-known communist poet Vasyl Symonenko, the author of the talented works *Silence and Thunder*, *The Earth's Gravity*, *Tsar Crybaby and the Tickler*, and *Trip to the Land of Contrary*. He died 18 months ago. His untimely death cut short the plans of the young writer and left his works unfinished. V. Symonenko's novels, published last year in the journal *Dnipro* indicate that Ukrainian Soviet literature lost a talented and thoughtful prose writer. The heritage of Vasyl Symonenko is only now being checked; friends and comrades are placing in the hands of his estate committee his unknown poems, novels and letters. All the better works which were as yet unpublished, are being readied for printing. The poet's words serve and will serve the people — builders of communism.

It is painful to read in the letter of Vasyl Symonenko's mother that self-appointed guardians took the poet's diary from her, promising to deliver it to the Association of Writers, but appropriated it instead. The poet's diary found its way abroad in some mysterious manner and now some Western radio stations are broadcasting tendentiously selected excerpts from the diary which they embellish with anti-Soviet comments.

We know the worth of these commentaries and of their authors. We also know that if Vasyl Symonenko were alive, he would be deeply indignant of the provocative tricks of our enemies, who so deceitfully falsify his sincere thoughts, ready to ridicule his pains, hopes and joys. But even dead, he repulses them. His poems are the voice of a true patriot, son of his people, and communist.

No, the gentlemen of the West German publishing and radio companies will not succeed in discrediting the honest name of Vasyl Symonenko! He is Ours, his works belong to our own Soviet people and to nobody else."

John PAULS, Ph.D.,

The Tragedy of Motrya Kochubey

*Her sufferings,
Her fate, her end
Are shielded from us
By impenetrable darkness.*

Pushkin, "P o l t a v a"

Of all the historical romances of outstanding personalities, one of the most tragic and controversial is that of the Ukrainian Hetman Iván Mazépa-Koledýnsky (1639?-1709) and his youthful goddaughter, Matréna (popularly called Mótrya) Kochubey. The romance not only ended tragically, but its ill-fated heroine, Motrya — although immortalized in many works of art and literature as an object of Mazépa's love¹ — somehow surprisingly disappeared from the pages of history, completely forgotten. There is no documentary evidence to establish what actually happened to Motrya after Mazépa's proposal and Kochubey's unfortunate denunciation of Hetman Mazépa.

Motrya was the youngest and most beautiful daughter of Vasyl Kochubey, the first Chief Judge of the Kozak Host (of Tartar ancestry) and his wife, Lyubov, daughter of the Poltava Colonel, Fedir Zhuchenko. Motrya's godfather was Hetman Mazépa, an old friend of the family. Mazépa and Kochubey had served together with Hetmans P. Doroshenko and I. Samoylovych. After Mazépa became Hetman himself (1687), he obtained from Tsar Peter I, a charter for new lands for Kochubey, improving his financial status considerably, and also promoted him from Chief Secretary to first Chief Judge of the Kozak Host. Thus, Kochubey became the second in command after the Hetman, in the Kozak State, and lived with his family in the Hetman's capital, Baturyn, working, sharing confidences and feasting with his powerful benefactor. Their old friendship was further strengthened by the new family tie. At first, Mazépa acted as godfather to Kochubey's youngest daughter, Motrya. Later Mazépa's elder nephew, Ivan Obidovsky, son of his unfortunate sister, Oleksandra, married Hanna Kochubey (1698), one of the daughters of the Chief Judge.

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Almost unnoticeably, the little Motrya grew up, suddenly becoming a young maiden, while living in the tumultuous center of political thought in picturesque Baturyn. Others may have looked upon Motrya as just a lovely young girl, darling of the powerful Hetman, and belle of the capital social gatherings, but Motrya herself, in her early years, saw her surroundings quite differently. She constantly visited the Hetman's court with her parents, hearing Kozak officers ceaselessly discussing the tragic fate of Ukraine and hoping for a national uprising against "hated Muscovy", expressed so well in Colonels Apostol and Horlenko's angry exclamation to Mazepa, "Our children will curse your soul and bones if you leave us in Muscovite slavery."² Motrya, the Kozak girl, doubtlessly belonged to that patriotic Ukrainian youth who longed for change and looked forward to the future struggle for independence. A. S. Pushkin, in his poem, poetically and probably accurately described her thus: "With an unfeminine soul she liked cavalry, pageantry, military music, and battle cries before the insignias of the Little Russian ruler..."³ He goes on to say she refused all young suitors and during banquets "she listened only to the Hetman", and "sang only those songs which he had composed", and we know those songs were highly patriotic, calling upon the Kozaks to save Ukraine from her enemies, to fight till death for their faith and liberties:

*Be it known to all forever
We have freedom by the sabre.⁴*

The patriotic Hetman no doubt spoke openly about the liberation of Ukraine in the house of his close friend and deputy, Kochubey. The latter even reported Mazepa's words to Tsar Peter in his later denunciation: "I would have thought of our liberty, but no one wanted to help me, and your (Lyubov's) husband least of all."⁵ Still in 1691, the tsarist representative, E. Ukraintsev, secretly advised Kochubey "to carefully watch every action of the Hetman."⁶ Ironically, Kochubey was also the head of secret opposition of the Poltava Kozak elders against Mazepa, hoping secretly to become a hetman himself.⁷ Motrya doubtlessly was not aware of her father's intrigues against her adored Hetman, since outwardly relations between the two families seemed to be as cordial as ever.

In 1702, Mazepa's unostentatious wife, Hanna, died (she was the former widow of Frydrykevych, and daughter of Colonel Semen Polovets), and in the spring of 1704, at the age of about sixty-five,⁸ the Hetman decided to marry again. He unexpectedly asked Kochubey for the hand of his daughter, Motrya, who could have been no more than fifteen or sixteen at the time (according to F. Umanets), Kochubey's family was understandably indignant, but they became outraged when they learned that Motrya reciprocated the feelings of the old godfather, and was willing and even eager to marry her aged though still vigorous and charming Hetman. As the French

literary scholar, Viscount de Vogüé stated, "According to his biographers, Mazepa was remarkably handsome in person, gifted with a brilliant wit and passionate temperament, and he handled with an equal grace his horse, his sword and his words."⁹ Having an unimpressive father, who was completely dominated by her mother, Motrya, evidently in her mind substituted the powerful and wise Hetman for her own father, and later imagined him as a future husband and hero, capable of liberating her country from Russian occupation.

There was something unexpected in this love, however, something unusual and even strange. Yet it was an ardent and sincere love, confirmed by history. Literary men have written many words, trying to solve "the psychological riddle" of this love, arriving at the most unusual and conflicting conclusions. Here are a few examples: For the populist Kostomarov, who hated this autocratic Hetman, such a love could take place only because in his words, Mazepa was "an old debauchée", and Motrya, "a very limited female being,"¹⁰ although carefully weighed historical facts contradict him. Viscount de Vogüé found a very simple motivation for this romance, namely, the Oriental habit of a young girl marrying a grey-haired man, but newspapers in Western countries sometimes report marriages involving similar age differences, usually occurring in the upper socioeconomic levels, and occasionally even in the working class.

Russia's greatest poet, Pushkin, following his country's biased historiography, depicted Mazepa in his *Poltáva* predominantly as "the traitor of the Russian Tsar", but treated his Mariya (as Mót'rya is called in his poem) chivalrously and with great sympathy, trying hard to establish a reasonable psychological motivation for her unusual love. Some critics attacked him for this, by saying that,

"Nobody ever heard of a girl falling in love with an old man, and that consequently Mariya's love for the old Hetman (*nota bene* historically proved) could not exist... Mariya (or Matrena) was fascinated, I was told, by vanity and not by love; a great honour (retorted Pushkin), for the daughter of the General Judge to be the mistress of the Hetman!"¹¹

Pushkin also gave some excellent examples of similar love from ancient classical literature and from Shakespeare (Othello — Desdemona) to prove his point.

Russia's most articulate critic, V. G. Belinsky, was one of the few critics who did not see anything abnormal in the love of the young Mariya (Matrena) and the old Hetman. He thought such love seldom occurs and therefore can be regarded as "strange, but not abnormal." Women often "exchange their beauty or charm for power, fortitude and protection." Some are so fascinated by the moral value of a man, enhanced by his might and glory, that they disregard age differences. Thus, this historical love, according to Belinsky, was portrayed with great psychological insight and masterly depicted by Pushkin. He

admired Pushkin's Mariya in *Poltava* more than Tatyana in *Yevgeniy Onegin*, for her (Mariya's) "proud, firm and decisive character", for her ability to love a true hero against all odds, although, according to Belinsky, her misfortune was that she did not find that hero in Mazepa. "This mistake was her tragedy, but not her guilt. Mariya, as a woman, is great in this mistake."¹²

It seems to us Belinsky came very close to the truth in his interpretation of Mariya's strange, yet historical love, but he overlooked one simple fact — she was not a Russian, but a Ukrainian girl. She most certainly did not see, as did Pushkin or Belinsky, Mazepa as "a traitor", but as a national leader, capable of saving Ukraine from Russian domination. Her father, Kochubey, being half Tartar, was more interested in the favours of the Tsar and possibly in attaining the hetmanate for himself than in an independent Ukraine. Motrya, however, was evidently a sincere Ukrainian patriot and believed in the ideas of her beloved Hetman.

The Ukrainian writer, Lyudmýla Starýtska-Chernyakhívská, also attempted to explain this love in her rather well-written drama, *Ivan Mazepa*, in which she simply and probably accurately expressed Motrya's enchantment with Mazepa as a leader and liberator of Ukraine, sincerely believing that her adored hero would "throw off the hateful yoke and crown Ukraine with independence."

*My soul is obsessed by the fire of your dreams,
And I believe you will conquer all,
That you will break the hateful yoke.¹³*

Of course, Mazepa's honest proposal was at once rejected by her indignant parents, not only because of the age difference, but for religious reasons as well. The Greek-Orthodox Church strictly forbids a marriage between a godchild and godparent and for a religious Ukrainian, such a matrimonial union would have been a horrible sin. This gave Madame Kochubey, who ruled the family, an exceptionally strong argument against the marriage. She tried to persuade her daughter and often abused her, when the girl persisted in her unreasonable intentions. Finally, she locked Motrya up in their home, in order to prevent her from seeing the Hetman.

History has preserved twelve of the Hetman's letters to Motrya, from 1704-1705,¹⁴ from which we can understand the whole depth of the tragic love:

*My cordially loved, dearest Motrya,
I greet your Grace, my dearest heart, and in greeting you, I am sending you as a present this little book and this diamond ring. I ask you to accept this kindly and to keep me faithfully in your love, until God permits me to greet you with something better.*

Then I kiss your ruby lips, your white, dear hands, and all the limbs of your white gleaming body, my dearly beloved.

Mazepa and Motrya suffered immensely because they could not see each other and discuss the whole situation. Only seldom could they correspond through Mazepa's servant, Karl and Meláshka. The Hetman was angry that her parents were tormenting Motrya and he even advised her temporarily to take refuge in a convent:

My cordially Beloved,

I suffer deeply that I myself cannot talk to your Grace extensively, and to console you in your present sorrow. Tell this girl what I can do for you. Finally, if your accursed [parents] disown you, go to a convent and I will then know what to do. What do you want. I repeat again, let me know, your Grace.

Motrya, being carefully watched, scolded and limited in her movements "acted sometimes viciously, spitting on her father and mother." Kochubey reported later to the Tsar, that "Mazepa cast an evil spell on her."¹⁵

Yet, one evening Motrya somehow managed to escape to the Hetman's palace. Madame Kochubey ordered her husband to ring the church bells and to rouse the whole city "so that everyone could see their calamity", in order to embarrass Mazepa and Motrya and finish that "shameless romance", by raising public opinion against them. Then the cautious Hetman sent Motrya home at once with the Tsar's representative, Colonel Ivan Annenkov. In his letter to the offended Motrya, Mazepa explained later why he could not keep her:

First of all, your parents would have spread the story throughout the whole world [they did anyway] that I had kidnapped their daughter by force during the night, and that I am keeping you as a mistress. Secondly, in keeping your Grace, neither you nor I would have known how to act. We would have been obliged to live as a newly-wedded couple, and the blows of the Church and its maledictions would have forced us to separate. What would I have done then? Would I not have suffered, if your Grace had complained of me?"

As Fedir Umanets thinks,¹⁶ this return was the crucial point in Motrya's love, when she saw that her "almighty hero — Hetman" proved himself not daring enough to keep her from the abuses of her "cruel mother" in spite of public opinion. The hopeless situation, the constant persuasion and humiliations evidently caused Motrya to change her mind completely, as we can deduce from one of Mazepa's next letters, in which he wrote desperately:

I expected to die rather than to notice such a great change in your heart. Remember only your words, remember your oath. Look at your little hands; didn't you often give them to me and say, 'Whether I am with you or not, I will love you till I die?' Didn't you promise this?... My letters are happier than I; they are in your hands; they are happier than my poor eyes, which cannot see you."

It was rather strange that such an astute politician as Mazepa, at such a late age, only five years before his death, so desperately

clung to a young girl, as if she were the last hope in his life. With fifty years difference in their ages, there would have been little hope of happiness for either of them. Perhaps fate was even kind to them in preventing such a union. After this emotional storm, there came calmness and serenity. Outwardly, it seemed, that the relationship between Mazepa and Kochubey was not affected. They still visited each other, and Mazepa, when participating in Peter's wars, would delegate the civil administration of Ukraine to Kochubey. This apparently friendly relationship lasted only until April 8, 1708, when Kochubey, together with his brother-in-law, Colonel Iván Ĩskra, denounced Mazepa to Tsar Peter for conspiring with the Swedish King, Charles XII and Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczynski, in an attempt to liberate Ukraine from Muscovy. This was a tremendous blow to Mazepa's dreams and plans.

The surprising outcome of it was, however, that Kochubey and Ĩskra were interrogated with the knout in Smolensk, where Kochubey, under Muscovite blows, confessed that he "invented" the story of treason, because of his own hatred for Mazepa for the defamation of his daughter, Motrya. Peter's chancellors, G. I. Golovkin and Shafirov tried them and dispatched them to the Tsar in Vitebsk, with a recommendation of the death penalty for false denunciation. Peter I confirmed their recommendation and ironically sent them back to Mazepa for execution, which was fulfilled on July 14, 1708, at the military camp in Borshchahivka, near Bila Tserkva.¹⁷

In some history books this denunciation is regarded as Kochubey's "personal revenge" for the alleged seduction of Motrya by Mazepa. We are rather inclined to think this served as a pretext for Kochubey to denounce Mazepa as an enemy and traitor of the Tsar, in order to gain the hetmanate for himself. As a loyal informer and servant of Moscow, Kochubey would have been the logical candidate during the dangerous Northern War (1700-1721). After all, Kochubey knew better than anyone else that Mazepa sent Motrya back to her parents immediately with the Russian resident, Colonel Ivan Annenkov. Thus, as Umanets justly remarks, one cannot even talk about "seduction."¹⁸ Still better evidence against the alleged seduction is Mazepa's own letter to Motrya, in which he sincerely tries to convince her that he had to send her home, in order to prevent the future accusation of her parents and possible temptation. Furthermore, Kochubey's close relatives, who were respected people in the society, such as Colonel Danylo Apostol (his daughter was the wife of Kochubey's son, Vasyl, Jr.), and General Judge, Vasyl Tchuykevych, (his son, Semen, was married to Kochubey's daughter, Kateryna) joined Mazepa's struggle for freedom after the ill-fated romance.

What happened then to the unfortunate Motrya? We can only imagine her tragic moral situation after the terrible doom of her own father, publicly executed by her former "darling" Hetman...

What a hideous subject for a psychological drama!... Love, temptation, duty, patriotism, enmity, revenge, treason, craftiness, cowardice, atrocity, death... what else could yet pass through the shocked mind of an innocent, beautiful young girl?... Her puritanic, caustic, cruel mother, who, as Umanets says, personally used to whip her male peasants, certainly could not share her home with her "shameful" daughter. For Motrya, we think the only logical place after the tragedy, would have been a convent... "We do not have a single documentary note about her after the year 1708, (the denunciation and case of Kochubey)," writes the best contemporary authority on Mazepa's era and on the people of old Ukraine, Olexander P. Ohloblyn.¹⁹ Yet, D. Bantysh-Kamensky, in his obsolete history of Ukraine (1822), wrote vaguely that Tchuykevych married Kochubey's daughter, without mentioning their first names. Furthermore, he said that Tchuykevych was captured at Poltava in 1709, and sent to Siberia, where he later became a monk, and his "wife returned to Ukraine" and entered a convent.²⁰ Evidently this vague statement motivated some popular historians, such as Fedir Umanets, Mykola Arkas and others, as well as the writers, Franciszek Rawita (*Pan Hetman Mazepa*, 1887), Bohdan Lepky (*Trylohiya: Mazepa*, 6 vols, 1926-28), to conclude wrongly that it was "Motrya" Kochubey. Bantysh-Kamensky did not know, of course, that Vasyl L. Kochubey had two sons and "at least five adult daughters" (according to O. M. Lazarevsky), and that Semen V. Tchuykevych, married Kochubey's elder daughter, Kateryna, on May 18, 1707, and still later in 1708, as a son-in-law of "the martyr" Kochubey, he joined Tsar Peter at Lebedyn and remained there with Hetman I. Skoropadsky "in military service." He was not a "Colonel", (actually he became Judge of the Nizhen Regiment in 1730, and after 1734, a prominent lawyer of the Hetman State), but only as a "*bunchukóvyy továrysh*" until Peter's victory at Poltava in 1709. Bantysh-Kamensky did not know also that it was Semen's father, Colonel Vasyl Tchuykevych (2nd Chief Judge), who was captured at Poltava, sent to Siberia and died there as a monk, but his wife, according to Kostomarov, was deported to Moscow, where she entered a convent "because of old age and grief." (O. P. Ohloblyn).

Nevertheless, Theodore Mackiw, a young Ukrainian historian, in his recent reviews of the writer's book, *Pushkin's "Poltava"*, authoritatively "corrected" the writer, by saying, "Yet the fact is that Motrya indeed married Col. Tchuykevych" (sic!), referring to *Semeynaya Khronika. Zapiski A. V. Kochubeya*, 1790-1873, St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 1.²¹ This error was already corrected several times in Ukrainian historiography many years ago. First, O. M. Lazarevsky, a competent scholar on old Ukraine, in *Kievskaya Starina*, Vol. XLIV, January, 1895, pp. 145-153, while reviewing the above mentioned chronicle, stated: "Semen Vasylyovych Tchuykevych really married Kochubey's daughter, not Matrena, however, but

Kateryna" (p. 147).^{*} There he also referred to his previous correction of the same error in his *Opisaniye staroy Malorossii*, II, 1893, p. 30. Second, V. L. Modzalevsky, also corrected this in his fundamental work, *Malorossiyskiy Rodoslovnik*, III, 1912 (Genealogy of the Kochubeys).

In the same review, Lazarevsky writes:

"Regarding the fate of Matrena Kochubey, there exists in the Poltava region the more probable tradition that she died in the Pushkarivsky Convent in the village of Pushkarivka, 4 verst from Poltava" (p. 148).²²

Interestingly enough, the contemporary Soviet author, N. A. Zadonsky, also wrote that Motrya entered "Pushkarsky Convent" under the new name of *Manefa*, and that later Lyubov Fedorivna Kochubey visited that convent each summer, bringing with her expensive gifts, and always stopping at the cell of the nun, *Manefa*.²³

Lazarevsky also quoted other legends about Motrya, composed by the "idle fancy of the Poltava region people." Sometimes these legends are printed, as if they were "real facts", as, for example, in *Niva*, 1886, No. 21, there were published two sketches: "1. Farm of Colonel Iskra (near Poltava) where Motrya lived", and "2. Farmhouse of Iskra, in which Motrya Kochubey lived." In the explanation to these sketches, it states that,

Matrena, rejected and condemned by her mother, left by the fleeing Mazepa after the Poltava battle... settled with her aunt (Praskoviya Fedorivna, née Zhuchenko), wife of the executed Colonel Iskra, who showed a cordial interest in her unfortunate niece; she lived there lonely and forgotten...

The house was renewed and remains till the present. In it there were (at the time of writing) various hand-embroidered works, attributed to Motrya Kochubey. They were notable for fine and elegant drawings, an artistry accomplished with supreme patience, by the poor heroine of the sad drama. In the house nobody lives and has not lived since that time. Now this farm has passed into the hands of the Chaplinsky family, closely related to the family of the executed Iskra. This farm is very picturesque, of typically Ukrainian character, on the right bank of the Vorskla River, relates Lazarevsky.

We find still more imagination in another legend, quoted by Lazarevsky in the *Illyustratsiya*, 1887, No. 959, in the explanation to the sketch: "The Grave of Motrya Kochubey near Poltava." Here we read, till this time, people show the grave of the unfortunate Kochubey daughter; there on a small hill stands a simple wooden cross. Every year the local youths come here on St. John's day.

^{*} In footnote 4, p. 148, Lazarevsky adds: "Semen V. Tchuykevych calls his first wife Kateryna (Kochubeyivna) in 'the tale' of his services." Thus, his first wife was not Motrya but Kateryna, who died about 1726, and in 1738, S. V. Tchuykevych was already married for the second time to Khrystyna, who had been the widow of a Romen-dweller. (O. P. Ohloblyn).

Motrya's grave became a favourite meeting place for young people. The name of the ill-fated *Mótren'ka* is remembered by the youth with reverence. There is the belief that on that evening her shadow participates in the common plays. There is no doubt, concludes Lazarevsky, that all these legends were created in recent times, by people who were dissatisfied with the lack of historical information.

In his article on Mazepa, B. Romanenchuk, quotes a popular tale about the Hetman's palace in Chernyhiiv, where, during the nights, there appears a woman, who watches Kochubey's treasury, which allegedly Mazepa wanted to take away from him. This legend is connected with Kochubey's daughter, Motrya, who suffers because she escaped from her parents to Mazepa, for which she was cursed by her parents and condemned to eternal anguish. In another variation of the same legend, Motrya's soul is condemned to guard a treasure which Mazepa allegedly confiscated from Kochubey, after his execution. Each year, on the eve before the holiday of the Immaculate Virgin Mary, she wanders onto earth and asks for the cross sign, which as the power to free her from her parents' curse.²⁴

We are not in a position to collect all of the folk tales created in two-and-a-half centuries. But even from those mentioned, one can see the attitude of the common people toward Motrya's fate. Some have compassion for her, especially the youth, while others doubtlessly condemned her for her daring love of her godfather, for disobeying her parents' and the Church's will. This is understandable. Usually the common man does not wish to tamper with moral law. His answers are not sophisticated, but honest and simple: Do not break the wisdom of the ages, because you will be doomed. And there is no court of appeal from that verdict, but only the mercy of Almighty God. This we understand. But we rather wonder why history is so cruelly silent about this notable and courageous girl and her tragic fate. Was the Russian Church's excommunication of Mazepa responsible? Was it the tsarist government's destruction of any favourable writing about either Mazepa or Motrya, or was it simply the ill-will of the people, who disapproved of that love? Perhaps it was all of these factors that caused the memory of her to disappear completely from the pages of history. The answer will probably remain a secret of the ages. Only the poets and artists have created for Motrya an indestructible monument, utilizing her life, her tragedy and her unknown fate as an inspiration for their works.

NOTES

1) Sydoruk, I. P., "Mazepa in Foreign Literature." *Kalendar Svobody*, Jersey City, 1959, pp. 77-87; Lew W., "Mazepa in Slavic Literature", *Slavic and East European Studies*, V/3-4, Montreal, 1960, pp. 200-208; Pauls, J. P., "Musical Works Based on the Legend of Mazepa", *Ukrainian Review*, IV/1964, London, pp. 57-65.

2) Kostomarov, N. I., *Mazepa i mazepintsy*, in *Works*, Vol. XVI, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 305.

- 3) Pauls, J. P., *Pushkin's "Poltava"*, New York, 1962, p. 58.
- 4) Mazepa, I. Hetman, *Pysannya*, ed. by Ye. Yu. Pelensky, Cracow, 1943, p. 30.
- 5) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 378.
- 6) Ohloblyn, O. P., *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, New York, 1960, pp. 170, 190.
- 7) *Ibid.*, p. 170.
- 8) *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 9) Vogüé de, E. M., *Mazepa, la légende et l'histoire*, Paris, 1889, p. 230.
- 10) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 363.
- 11) Pushkin, A. S., *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, Moscow (AN SSSR), 1964, (3rd ed.), Vol. VII, p. 190 f.
- 12) Belinsky, V. G., *Sochineniya*, Kiev, 1913, Vol. III, p. 570.
- 13) Starytska-Chernyakhivska, L., *Ivan Mazepa*, drama in 5 acts, Kiev, 1929, p. 78.
- 14) Bantysh-Kamensky, D. N., *Istoriya Maloy Rossii*, (4th ed. — original ed. 1822), Kiev, 1903, Vol. III, pp. 574-577; Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-362; Manning, C. A., *Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa*, New York, (Bookman), 1957, pp. 127-131.

Incidentally, G. Y. Shevelov (*A Reader in the History of the E. Slavic Languages*, New York, 1958, p. 64) erroneously marks Mazepa's letters with the date "ca. 1708" (sic!), although it is well established in history that they were written in 1704-1705.

- 15) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
- 16) Umanets, F., *Hetman Mazepa*, St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 331.
- 17) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
- 18) Umanets, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
- 19) O. P. Ohloblyn wrote this to us, in his letter of October 9, 1960. We respectfully acknowledge here this valuable information.
- 20) Bantysh-Kamensky, *op. cit.*, pp. 379, 577.

21) See: *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, XX/3, p. 269, and *The Ukrainian Review*, XII/1, p. 88, (same article). It is rather well intended, but the review is not without factual error. Dr. Mackiw accuses the writer of being unable to "bring to light new sources" (as if in the West, one could discover a new manuscript of Pushkin!), but quotes articles (including his own, of course!), which have no bearing on the theme of *Pushkin's "Poltava"*. He stresses the author's keen analysis of the poem "from an historical point of view", (which the Shevchenko Sc. Soc. desired, incidentally), but is critical of our literary treatment, although he himself is a Ukrainian historian, and not a specialist on Russian literature. (Incidentally, the prominent Ukrainian philologists: R. Smal-Stocki, J. B. Rudnycky, V. Lew, Yar Slavutych, and the Polish philologist, P. Skwarczyński of London University, in their reviews, all praised the literary value of our book). Moreover, he even overlooks the liberally quoted literary criticism of *Poltava* by such authorities as Belinsky, de Vogüé, Brückner, and the analysis of *Voynarovsky* by Ryleyev (presented for the first time in a Western language), the revision of many erroneous views on *Poltava*, and the pinpointing of the prime source of Pushkin's most negative description of Mazepa — Theophan Prokopovich.

Dr. Mackiw repeats a long-corrected error about "Col. Tchuykevych" (see above), and also the s.c. "Mazepa's three letters" (in N. G. Ustryalov's, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*, II, 1858, pp. 479-482), which he apparently regards as "original", although they are only Russian translations. Certainly Mazepa would not have signed his name on the letter to the Polish King, Jan III, with a Russian patronimic, as "Ioan Stefanovich Mazepa." Furthermore,

the historians, N. I. Kostomarov, and A. Darowski ("Intryga Salomonka", 1901), proved that these 3 letters were falsified. See: O. P. Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Era*, 1960, pp. 169, 189.

The only valid correction of Dr. Mackiw (incidentally, all his objections are directed against statements in the author's footnotes) is that of our footnote 1, p. 79, where the unfortunate word "always" was erroneously added by the typist, and overlooked during correction. As to the double "p" in the name "Mazeppa", see: N. I. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i mazepintsy*, 1885, p. 483, where the Hetman's signature is quoted as "Jan Mazeppa, Hetman. (Ark. In. Del, Podlinniki [— originals])."

It is for Ukrainian historians to explain why Mazepa's contemporary sources, such as, e.g., *Die Europaeische Fama*, in 1706, and others, spelled the name "Mazeppa" using a double "p."

²²⁾ Bogdanovich, A. V., *Sbornik svedeniy o Poltavskoy gubernii*, Poltava, 1877, p. 81.

²³⁾ Zadonsky, N. A., *Smutnaya pora — istoricheskaya khronika*, Moscow (Sov. Rossiya), 1959, p. 213. (No quotation of source.)

²⁴⁾ Romanenchuk, B., "Ivan Mazepa v evropeyskiy literaturi", *Vistnyk*, III/9, 1934, pp. 657-658.

*"He flew like a meteor across the
firmament of our cheerless century"*

The Great Ukrainian Film Producer

On the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Birth of Oleksander Dovzhenko

Seventy years have passed since the greatest of Ukrainian film directors, a man of world renown and a highly talented writer, was born. Dovzhenko first saw the light of day on 30th August, 1894, in the village of Vyunyshcha, near Sosnytsia (in the Chernyiv region), the son of a peasant family of Cossack ancestry. It is true that Dovzhenko's line had lost its importance in the course of time, but, as Dovzhenko himself writes, his mother had discovered its story in historic songs and had shed many a bitter tear over it. As a young man, Dovzhenko studied at the institute in Hlukhiv, where (he writes in his autobiography) Russifier-teachers were trained. The great film director died in exile in Moscow in 1958.

Dovzhenko was one of the world's greatest film directors. As is well known, his film *The Earth* was commented by the jury at the Brussels International Exhibition as one of the most talented films ever made. In the thirties, Dovzhenko created several incomparable masterpieces, of which not only *The Earth*, but also *Zvenyhora* and *The Arsenal*, deserve mention as top-rank films. The world's critics can scarcely find words to praise him enough: they have called him "a film-poet", "the first poet of the cinema" (L. Jacob in his *History of the American Film*), and finally "a poet of eternal life" (A. Montague). Some critics assert that the best Japanese films (*Rosha Moon* and *The Gateway to Hell*) were produced under the influence of Dovzhenko. The Frenchman J. Sadoul writes in his *History of Cinematic Art* that Dovzhenko's *The Earth* has also influenced French and English film artists.

Dovzhenko made Ukrainian cinematic art world-famous and captured a most distinguished position for it. But, as has always been the case in the centuries-old cultural conflict between Ukrainians and Russians, Moscow could not watch calmly as this unprecedented rise of Ukrainian culture took place, and therefore mounted a counter-attack against Ukraine's young and talented artist. Dovzhenko was forced to leave the Ukraine he loved so passionately and to take up residence in Moscow. After this he filmed in Asia and Siberia. His life was in danger, as so many Ukrainian lives have been — but he did stay alive. As a result, we can observe a steep decline in his film career. It is more than tragic, that in Western Europe, where Dovzhenko caused a sensation, the causes of this decline have remained unrecognized — for Moscow has taken pains to mask them from West Europeans. Dovzhenko was forced to create to order. He was a great Ukrainian artist, but no freedom-fighter; a genius, but not a hero.

After the Second World War Dovzhenko planned to make a film about the new and huge Kakhovka reservoir, which was to symbolize the undying vitality of the Ukrainian people. Unfortunately he did not succeed in realizing his intention. Dovzhenko proposed to work in the Kyïv film studios, in order to be of use to the Ukrainian film industry. He wrote in his notebooks:

"This must be a mighty film. Everything that is sacred to me, all my experiences and gifts, all my thoughts and my time, my ideals and even my dreams — all these I want to dedicate to this film. I should like to create a film which would be worthy of the greatness of my people. This is the only goal and only substance of my life. O God, bless these feeble hands of mine..."

He wanted to make a film about the future Lake Kakhovka, which was to drive a huge power-station: to this purpose several hundred ancient Cossack villages were to be submerged beneath the waves. As the famous Ukrainian Zaporozhian *Sich* and the vast shrub-lands along the banks of the Dnipro were also to disappear beneath the water, Dovzhenko wanted to preserve these monuments, of immeasurable importance in Ukrainian history, at least on film.

On the other hand Dovzhenko amazed the world around him with his immense gifts as a writer. His work *The Enchanted Desna* is truly a masterpiece. He also wrote *The Story of the Flaming Years* and many other literary productions, but above all short stories. Dovzhenko bequeathed to us his notebooks and his diary. He was also the author of the scenarios for his films. All these works were written with a masterly hand, and one cannot read them without feeling, for they are deeply moving. Whatever Dovzhenko wrote, it was interesting and thrilling. Through his words we can see into a great heart and a noble soul, for Dovzhenko was a highly cultured man. Although he had to live through years of sadness and tragedy, unlike many others in similar circumstances, his inner springs never

dried up. On the contrary, he contrived to produce literary masterpieces.

But Moscow was not content with tearing Dovzhenko away from his Ukraine. Everything possible was done to make the film director and writer an integral part of Moscow. His works were first published in Moscow in Russian (hurriedly translated from the Ukrainian), and the Ukrainian originals were suppressed without hesitation. Even the author's Ukrainian origin was not disclosed, and the English translation commissioned by Moscow contained not a mention of the fact that the original had been written in Ukrainian.

After Stalin's sudden death he returned to Ukraine, where, looking out across the Dnipro, the legendary river of Ukraine, he wrote in his diary:

"There is nothing dearer to me than Ukraine. I will never part from my beloved river again at any price... I have never known such composure, I have never hung on to life so firmly, my love for my people has never been so great..."

Dovzhenko clung frantically to his homeland, for he knew only too well that there were those who wanted to tear him away from his homeland and his people — and he was not mistaken. He was again forced to leave his home and to die in the bleak, cold north.

Dovzhenko fought indefatigably for the greatness of Ukrainian art. He wanted to serve Ukrainian art faithfully for he was well aware that he had done far too little for it. Although Moscow took great pains to conceal the existence of this art, and still does, it has nevertheless acquired such renown in the West that it has been said that Dovzhenko surpassed both Pudovkin and Eisenstein. Charles Ford, the editor of the magazine *French Cinematography* and of the *Film Encyclopedia* has stressed Dovzhenko's Ukrainian origin. According to him, Dovzhenko's home was in an enchanting part of the Ukrainian countryside and "he flew like a meteor across the firmament of our cheerless century."

Dovzhenko's fate was typical of all the creators of Ukrainian culture: he suffered great privation in exile, had high ideals, and felt boundless embitterment that he could not realize them. We learn much about this from Dovzhenko's diary. In 1945 he wrote:

"Why have you turned my life into an immeasurable torture? Why have you deprived me of the joy of living? Why have you trampled my name with your boots?" (Quoted from the Russian text).

O. Babyshkin, Doctor of Philology and a Kyiv writer is the author of an article about Dovzhenko entitled *The Creator in the midst of the Beauty of his People*. It begins with the assertion that Ukraine is very rich in talented individuals and that this richness is particularly exemplified by Dovzhenko. This is a truly pertinent comment, for Dovzhenko was a film director, scenario-writer, author, and painter at the same time.

CHAUVINISM STILL RIFE AMONGST THE POLES

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Conference of Yalta, the Council of National Unity, a sort of parliament of a majority of the Polish exile groups in London, issued a special declaration on 13th March 1965 demanding the restitution to Poland of "the eastern part of the territory of the Polish state." This consists of ancient Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Byelorussian territories occupied by Poland against the wishes of the population of these territories after the first World War. At the beginning of the second World War, when the Soviet Russian Army in its turn forcibly occupied these territories, West Ukraine was ceded to the Ukrainian SSR at the Kremlin's bidding, whilst the Byelorussian territories became in the same manner a part of the Byelorussian SSR and the Lithuanian areas part of the Lithuanian SSR.

At the Conference of Yalta Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin determined the frontiers of Europe after their victory over Hitler Germany. Germany was divided into separate occupation zones, the Austrian state was reestablished, and Poland was granted a huge slice of German territories in the west as a sort of "compensation" for the loss of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Byelorussian territories, to which in any case she had no right. The then Polish exile government in London with self-righteous indignation, expressed the following view on this:

"The decisions of the Conference of Yalta were made without the knowledge or agreement of the legally constituted Polish government. These decisions are contrary to the basic principles of the allies, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, which assure every nation of the right to protection of its interests. The Polish government looks upon the cession of its eastern territories to the USSR as the fifth partition of Poland which her allies have carried out."

This year's declaration by the Council of Polish Unity on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Conference of Yalta repeats similar chauvinistic sentiments, completely ignoring the wishes of the population of the territories in questions:

"The Yalta agreement tore away from Poland the eastern part of her territory through an arrangement by the three great powers (the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and Great Britain), while the rest of the country was subjugated to Soviet Russia.

"The Polish people has not recognized this injustice, violently forced upon them, and will never recognize it. One of the main goals of independent Polish policy is not only the confirmation of the present frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse, but also the removal of Russia from the eastern territories and the achievement of full independence for the entire territory of the state of Poland."

Although hemmed in between the German hammer and the Russian anvil and threatened by two imperialist powers, the Poles have still not learnt their lesson, even after the last painful blows of fate. Instead of trying to live and work together with her natural neighbours and allies, the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Czechs and Slovaks, on the basis of mutual recognition and respect of their right to freedom and national independence within their ethnographic boundaries, the Poles rattle the sabre in the manner of the notorious and oft ridiculed hero of Sienkiewicz's novel *With Fire and Sword*, *Zagłoba*. The Poles unrealistically hope not only to retain the so-called "regained territories" in the West, but dream about a violent reconquest of Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Byelorussian territories in the East. This is how the Poles, blinded by chauvinism and hate, see justice. They seem not to realise that colonialism is dead even in Asia and Africa.

The Poles have learnt nothing from history. In the present situation, the only realistic and decent thing for them to do would be to come to their senses and recognize that they must give up their idle imperialistic dreams of a re-conquest of the territories of their neighbours. They ought to recognize West Ukraine as an integral part of the future independent Ukrainian state and to declare that they make no claims to this territory, since it is a purely Ukrainian ethnographic area and therefore belongs to independent Ukraine. If, however, the Poles continue to persist in their petty imperialist hallucinations, they will no doubt have to learn a few more bitter historical lessons.

THE TRUTH ABOUT UKRAINIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS

The facts prove that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) stood up for the Jews against the Gestapo very courageously. There were Jewish doctors and nurses in the UPA. The Medical Superintendent of the UPA-West was the Jew, Dr. Havrysh, and the head of the underground field-hospital in Truchaniv in the vicinity of Skole, was Dr. "Kum." He died in the heroic defence of the field-hospital against the Russians in February 1946. Posthumously, he was awarded the UPA Gold Cross of Service. In the first Insurgent Officers' School in the Carpathian Mountains, Dr. Maxymowicz, a Jew, was employed as a doctor. The other doctor, also a Jew, was in the UPA together with his mother (Fighting Unit "Tury", Volhynia). Among the pharmacists, nurses, chauffeurs, etc. of the UPA, there were numerous Jews. Professor Lev Shankowsky (at the present time in the United States), a member of the Ukrainian Central Liberation Council, writes about this on page 17, first paragraph, in his book: *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in its Fight for Freedom*, (New York 1954), which was published by the United Committee of the Ukrainian-American Organization of New York.

A witness, Dr. Bohdan "Melodia"-Kruk, who was battalion doctor of the UPA and who is now living in New York, writes as follows on page 210 of the same book: "Not only Ukrainians were in the field-hospitals. There were also Georgians, Jews, Germans and members of other nationalities."

This is a proof, therefore, that racial discrimination did not exist in the UPA.

On pages 32-33 of the same book, Professor Shankowsky writes that "in February and October of 1943 aggressions against the Jews by the Red Russian partisans under General Kovpak and General Fedorov took place."

On page 156 of his book: *Ukrainian Nationalism 1939-1945* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955) the American Professor, John A. Armstrong writes: "In the UPA troops a certain number of non-Ukrainian elements were included: Jewish doctors..."

On pages 287-294, the Jewish author, Friedmann, mentions in his study: "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations", *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, Vol. XII, New York, 1958/59, that the Ukrainian Nationalists protected the Jews against the persecution of the Gestapo, and on page 289 he also publishes a proclamation concerning the execution of Ukrainian Nationalists by the SS, because they were helping the Jews.

In the book by M. Lebed entitled *UPA* there is also a proclamation concerning the execution of Ukrainian Nationalists in Drohobytch, because of their help to the Jews.

On page 66, 152, 153, 159, 181, Milovan Djilas writes in his book: *Conversation with Stalin* that in Ukraine he found humanitarianism and not anti-Semitism. On page 130 of his book *The New Masters of the Old Earth* the Jewish author, William Schlamm, writes that he never encountered anti-Semitism among the Ukrainians in Ukraine, after the Ukrainians had hoped to receive help from the German army.

On page 43 Schlamm writes: "...in tsarist Russia there were government-organized pogroms for over a hundred years."

On page 110 of the *Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times* (published by the Scottish League, Edinburgh) the author, Oleh Martovych, writes that the Ukrainian Nationalists were regarded as agents of Stalin and as Jewish accomplices by the Hitler government. On page 111 he writes that two brothers of Bandera were murdered in Auschwitz and that his wife's brother was murdered in the Brygidky prison by the Gestapo.

On page 17 of his book *Ukrainian Nationalism*, Armstrong writes: "...most of all the Communist used the Russians and the Jews to carry through collectivization." On page 242 he writes: "Of 250 lawyers in the Kharkiv district under Soviet domination before the war, only 34 were non-Jewish."

On the 6th of August 1962, the Jewish newspaper *Tug Morgen* printed an article by A. Feinmann regarding the moving heroic deed of a Ukrainian nun, Maria Pylypenko, who once observed a group of Jews in Ukraine during the Nazi period who were to be sent to a concentration camp by the Gestapo. Among them was a Jewish mother with her child in her arms. When sister Maria saw this she bade the Gestapo men to be allowed to go to the concentration camp in place of the Jewess. In this way the Jewish mother was saved, but the Ukrainian nun, Maria Pylypenko died in the concentration camp gas chambers.

S. S.

References to the Soviet Russian and Tsarist Russian Imperialism in Ukraine

compiled by

Dr. Aleksander SOKOLYSZYN, Senior Librarian PBL, USA.

1. *Duranty, Walter*: DURANTY REPORTS RUSSIA. New York, Viking Press, 1934.

On p. 214-215: "One of the most evident ways in which Soviet Russia is modifying Marxism is the matter of nationalities and Soviet federation, for which Joseph Stalin was directly responsible as Commissar of Nationalities during the period prior to 1923, when the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Republics was adopted and the commissars in question abolished.

Karl Marx conceived of the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship in a highly industrialized state, where the actual majority of the population would be urban workers speaking the same language and having the same needs, habits and aims. For this homogeneous majority the elimination or absorption of other classes and sections of the population would be a relatively simple matter, once it gained political power and held the economic reins.

In Russia, however, things were quite different. The urban workers not only formed less than 15 per cent of the population and the peasants more than 80 per cent, but there was a vast divergence of race, language, custom, and culture, to say nothing of religion, among 160,000,000 inhabitants of the Soviet Union; and what was no less important, from the Bolshevik point of view, was the vast difference in "social consciousness" also.

Page 215: In organizing the U.S.S.R. Stalin was forced to take cognizance of this anomaly from a Marxist doctrinal standpoint. He met it by a compromise...

Every nationality in the Union was allowed full linguistic autonomy and what might have seemed a dangerously lavish degree of cultural and political autonomy.

For in practice two rules are followed in regard to the Soviet national system. First, the power is progressively restricted to "proletarian elements" of the population — the workers and poor peasants, whether industrialized or not. Secondly, 95 per cent of the political leaders are Communists, and, what is more, it is an almost invariable rule that the national Communist party secretaries and their most important district subordinates are either Russians or members of a different nationality from the people around them."

On p. 217: ... Stalinism has already achieved a marked degree of transmutation of... nationalism into a great Pan-Sovietism... I firmly believe, "Red imperialism" aroused for world conquest. (Paris, June 26, 1931).

2. *Hamilton, Cecily*: MODERN RUSSIA AS SEEN BY AN ENGLISHWOMAN. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1934.

In Foreword on p. viii: "Geographically, historically and to a certain extent racially, Russia is often more akin to Asia than to Europe; hence it has inherited the Asiatic tradition of rule by the despotic hand.

There is another tradition which may be said to have been inherited: acceptance of alien forms of rule. Bolshevism was not the first system of authority to be imported by those who knew their own aims and imposed them on the peoples of Russia; at least on two previous occasions, in the course of their history, the peoples of Russia have gone through a similar experience.

Page ix: The first rule imposed on them came from the East in the thirteenth century; brought by their terrible conquerors, the Tartar hordes of Genghis Khan...

... By the middle of thirteenth century practically the whole of what then was Russia had been subdued to the Tartar yoke; ...

On page x: ... it is interesting to note that the Mongol rulers of Russia like the Bolsheviks, were fired by the idea of internationalism — a world-state...

Idem (the same source) page xvii of the Foreword: As it is, Russian Communism is the largest political experiment ever ventured on by human enthusiasm; put to the test of two continents, on a hundred and sixty odd million persons.

On p. xix: ... the Russian ideal of Collective Man, ..."

Gurian, Waldemar, editor: SOVIET IMPERIALISM, ITS ORIGINS AND TACTICS — A SYMPOSIUM. Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1953.

In the article by N. S. Timasheff: "Russian Imperialism or Communist aggression?" On p. 17 of this symposium is stated: "Present-day Russia is repugnant, firstly, because her government is despotic and totalitarian, secondly, because her foreign policy is aggressive, expansionist, imperialistic. Why so? One of the simplest and now most commonly used explanations is: Russia is today what she has always been.

... While serving as American Ambassador to Moscow, General Walter B. Smith discovered, in a secondhand book store, a copy of a long forgotten book, Marquis de Custine's "Journey for Our Time" (English translation of 1951). Reading this volume, he suddenly realized, that what this French aristocrat had seen in Russia of the 1830's, was still true of the Russia of our day. Present-day Russia is a complete despotism; but Russia always was a despotism. Fear dominates the life of the Soviet citizens; but the Russians always trembled in Tsar's days... Ergo, politically Russia does not change; her present is intelligible in terms of her past. (The impact of the "discovery" is obvious in the ex-ambassador's book "My three years in Moscow", 1951).

On page 18: ... the former Secretary of State James Byrnes made a discovery analogous to that of ex-ambassador Smith. He says: "My experience merely confirms an answer (to the question why are the Soviets so aggressive) that actually is found in Russian history... Russian expansionism was clearly exposed, and strangely enough, by the godfather of the Communist revolution, Marx." J. Byrnes, "Speaking frankly", 1947, p. 282.

In an article by Michael Pap: "The Ukrainian problem", on p. 50: The Ukrainian language was suppressed to such extent that the Minister of the Interior of Imperial Russia, Valuev, proclaimed in 1863 that "a separate Ukrainian (Little Russian) language did not exist, does not exist and never will exist." (Cf. T. G. Masaryk, "The Spirit of Russia", New York, 1919, p. 304, another edition of 1955.

... a special ukase (decree) of the Tsar, signed at Bad Ems in 1876, had prohibited the publication of all books and pamphlets in the Ukrainian language. This even included theatrical performances and lectures, as well as printing of texts to music.

... the Declaration of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petersburg in March, 1905, ... stated that the existence of a separate Ukrainian language could not be denied.

On p. 53: ... Lenin dispatched to the Ukrainian Government on December 17, 1917, an ultimatum in which the Soviet Russian Government acknowledged Ukrainian independence and the right to secede from Russia, but at the same time demanded the recognition of the Soviet regime over Ukraine within

forty-eight hours, threatening open war as the alternative. The popular slogan of the right of nations to self-determination had now taken on a new meaning — "liberation by force."

Berdyaev, Nicholas: THE RUSSIAN IDEA, London, 1947.

On page 250: "Russian communism is a distortion of the Russian messianic idea; it proclaims light from the East which is destined to enlighten the bourgeois darkness of the West. There is in communism its own truth and its own falsehood lies in its spiritual foundations which result in a process of dehumanization, in the denial of the worth of the individual man, in the narrowing of human thought, a thing which had already existed in Russian nihilism. Communism is a Russian phenomenon in spite of its Marxist ideology."

Berdyaev, Nicholas: THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM, New York, 1937.
Shows the close ties between Tsarist and Soviet Russian policies.

Martovych, Oleh: 800 YEARS OF RUSSIA'S MARCH TO WORLD CONQUEST, Edinburgh, Scottish League for European Freedom, 1953.

Page 10: Still another erroneous view must be corrected. Many people among the Anglo-Saxons identify the ancient Ukrainian Kievan people Ruś with the medieval Muscovy and modern Russia. The two terms are not identical. From the old Kievan Ruś came not modern Russia, but Ukraine. "Russia" is an artificial name which only appeared in 1713, when Peter I, the founder of the modern Russian Empire, issued an ukase, by virtue of which his state, formerly known under the name of Muscovy (Moscovia) was renamed Russia (Rossiya)...
...Russian diplomats abroad received instructions to persuade and even bribe foreign officials and journalists to use the new name exclusively.

Sichynsky, Volodymyr: UKRAINE IN FOREIGN COMMENTS AND DESCRIPTIONS FROM THE VIth AND XXth CENTURY. New York, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953.

On p. 19: Significantly, the old English sources used the name Ruś extensively; and only the more recent writers began to substitute the name Russia for that of Ruś. In such a serious work as Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages and Travels, in the edition of 1809, the terms Russia and Russians for the first time supplanted the name Ruś, Rutheni and Ruthenians contained in the pertinent old texts. (Vol. I, p. 113).

On p. 21: The name Ukraine was known in the oldest Ukrainian chronicles (those of Kiev, Volhynia and Galicia) and at the beginning of the XIIth century became the national and popular name of the Country. The earliest historical data on the Slavic tribe of Ucrans on the Baltic Sea dated back to the Xth century.

Sokolyszyn, Aleksander: SWEIPOLT FIOŁ, THE FIRST SLAVIC PRINTER OF CYRILLIC CHARACTERS, article published in "The American and East European Review", February 1959, New York, Published for the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Inc., By Columbia University Press, p. 88-94. Also reprint.

The article opens with the following remark: Printing, as a German perfection, was brought to the Slavs by a printer, a German craftsman, Sweipolt Fioł, who is considered the first Slavic printer of Cyrillic characters. Fioł's printed church book, OKTOICH, in the Slavic language with Cyrillic characters, appeared in 1491 in Cracow, Poland. It is considered one of the first Cyrillic incunabula of Eastern Europe.

On p. 93: He is the printer of the first Slavic incunabula with Cyrillic characters... the first printing tradition of Ukraine was started by Sweipolt Fioł in Cracow in 1491...

Dvornik, Francis: THE SLAVS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press (c 1962) xxviii, 688 p., maps, 25 cm, Bibliography: p. 565-635. Also includes bibliographical references. — Presents the history of the Slavs.

On p. 514: ... in the second half of the seventeenth century by the influx of Kievan scholars and Kievan literature which made... Western culture known to the Muscovites, thanks to Mohyla's effort... (Remarque: Mohyla was the Kievan Metropolitan).

...Meletij Smotrycky published in 1619 the first Slavonic grammar (Syntagma) this was only accepted in 1645 in a revised form in Muscovy...

On p. 516: ... introduction of the drama. Even this new art came to Moscow primarily from Kiev.

Walsh, Edmund: THE FALL OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE. The story of the last of the Romanovs and the coming of the Bolsheviks. Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., c 1928, 357 p. illustr. ports.

On p. 34: ... the first Russian Duma was opened on May 10, 1906. Its composition was a cross section of contemporaneous Russia There were: Great Russians 265; Ukrainians (Little Russians in original) 62; White Ruthenians (In original White Russians) 12; Poles 51; Lithuanians 10, Latvians 6; Estonians 4, Germans 4; Jews 13; Tatars 8; Bashkirs 4.

On p. 85: The less important nationalities, such as the Chuvash, the Circassians, the Kalmuks, the Mordva, and the Votiaks, had one or two deputies each. The first Duma had a short life of seventy-two days, spent almost exclusively in conflict with the Government.

... The Government replied by dissolving the assembly and convoking a new Duma for March 5, 1907.

...The first Duma has gone down in Russian history as "Duma of National indignation." The second was known as that of "National ignorance"...

Milyukov, P.: BOLSHEVISM, AN INTERNATIONAL DANGER. London 1920.

Kennan, George: SIBERIA AND THE EXILE SYSTEM. New York, Century, 1961.

Golder, F. A.: RUSSIAN EXPANSION ON THE PACIFIC, 1641-1850. Cleveland, 1914.

Fox, Ralph: PEOPLE OF THE STEPPES. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1925.

Fletcher, Giles: THE RUSSIAN COMMONWEALTH.

Buchanan, Sir George: MY MISSION TO RUSSIA. Boston, Little, Brown, 1923. 2 Vol.

Lawrence, John: A HISTORY OF RUSSIA. New York. New American Library, 1962. (A Mentor Book) 320 p.

On p. 117: For a whole century Ukraine sent a stream of educated men to Moscow where they played an essential part in the great transformation of Russia which took place in the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth.

On p. 116: The acquisition of Ukraine brought to Muscovy much-needed intellectual resources.

Fischer, Louis: THE SOVIETS IN WORLD AFFAIRS. A history of the relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world 1917-1929. New York, Random House, c 1960. Abridged by the author. (Vintage Book) 616 p. xxxvii. Contains a map of the Soviet Union.

In the introduction it is stated on p. vi: ...Rakovsky, former Soviet Ambassador to London and Paris, was in exile for Trotskyist deviation. I had

no difficulty, however, in locating Rakovsky in Saratov on the Volga. (My comment: He was the Soviet spokesman at the Rapallo Treaty between Germany and RSFSR in 1922, and known as a Ukrainian Communist).

On p. 27: The Ukrainian issue: ... Ukraine, the "granary of Europe." Ukraine had been proclaimed an autonomous, separate republic in accordance with the Bolshevik declaration that any part of the former Russian empire could exercise the right on independence even to the extent of secession. A "Rada" government was thereupon established at Kiev... a delegation from the Rada appeared in Brest Litovsk on January 9 in reply to the Bolshevik appeal to all belligerent nations to join in the conference, Trotsky recognized the delegation's authority to speak in the name of an independent Ukraine.

On p. 32: ... On February 9, 1918, the Central Powers signed a separate treaty with the delegates of the... Rada. (Later the Soviets invaded it).

Independent Ukrainian Association for Research of National Problems in Soviet Theory and Practice: RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM. München, Verlagshaus Bong & Co., 1962, 336 p. Includes bibliographies.

Contents: Y. Boyko: "Russian Historic Traditions in the Bolshevik Solutions of the Nationality Problem", p. 13-138. Bibliography called Annotations to: p. 133-138. Y. Boyko: "Russian Populism (*Narodnichestvo*) as a Source of Leninism-Stalinism", p. 139-224, including Bibliography. O. Kulchytskyj: "Analysis of the Russian Nature of Bolshevism in N. A. Berdyaev's writings", p. 225-274. Bibliography, p. 271-274. O. Sulyma: "The Russian Nature of Bolshevism as seen through the Works of Russian Writers, Publicists and Scholars", p. 275-336. Bibliography, p. 335-336.

On p. 275: O. Sulyma: ... Bolshevism, in its essence, ... is ... a national Russian phenomenon.

... Bolshevism is an aggressive spiritual phenomenon which on its shoulder bears Russian imperialism as its fulfilment. ... can be best recognized from the confession of Russians themselves, ...

On p. 276: ... This view was shared by the Russian leaders of the Communist Party from the very beginning.

On p. 327: ... Berdyaev and Fedotov gave an elaborate exposition of the national genesis of Bolshevism. They drew a clear picture of the Russian national psyche in which Bolshevism appears merely as one of its integrating elements.

Martovych, Oleh: NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE U.S.S.R. with Ethnographical map of the Soviet Union by Dr. Mykola Kulyckyj. Introduction by John F. Stewart. Foreword by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. Edinburgh, Scottish League of European Freedom, 1953, 58 p., folded map.

Shows that the population of USSR which is over 200 millions is not Russian. Only 70 millions are Russians and the rest are non-Russians, over 130 millions, which never ceased to fight Muscovite Russia for the restoration of their independence. All of these are our potential allies of to-day. The following proposition is made: Put the Russians back in their own ethnic territory and restore independence to the nations described in this book...

Moore, Harriet L., editor: THE U.S.S.R. IN RECONSTRUCTION, a collection of Essays. New York, American Russian Institute, Inc. c 1944. 160 p. maps.

Contains 10 essays and an introduction written and translated by Russians dealing with post World War II restoration of the USSR, including an article by E. C. Ropes entitled: The future of American-Soviet Trade Relations. The idea of Soviet trade came from Great Britain which after the Soviet

Revolution of 1917 recognized the USSR and started to trade with it. From Great Britain comes to-day the idea "better red than dead" which also supports Khrushchov's policy of "peaceful coexistence", a policy that has not renounced world domination.

NTS Institute for the Study of the USSR: RUSSIA IN TURMOIL. Facts and figures illustrating the 40-years' struggle of the peoples of Russia for liberation from Communism. Frankfurt/Main, Possev Publishing House, 1957, 59 p., ill., maps.

The so-called Narodno-Trudovoy Soyuz (NTS), is a Russian imperialistic-minded emigrant organization operating in West Germany. Their publications are in favour of a whole undivided Russia. They are indirectly helping the Soviet Russian imperialistic aims.

Pares, Bernard: RUSSIA, New York, The New American Library, 1949. (A Mentor Book), 221 p.

On p. 29 in the chapter "The Russians and the others", it is stated: There are well over a hundred nationalities in Russia today. ... they were brought by conquest into the Russian Empire... in 1918, during the collapse of Russia, they were able to establish their political independence... one felt that Russia had not the right to dominate these peoples...

Lawrence, John: A HISTORY OF RUSSIA, New York, The New American Library, 1962, 320 p. A Mentor Book.

In chapter IX, "The time of troubles", Ukraine is included in the history of Russia, even in 1962 (Pages 102-104).

On p. 115 it is erroneously stated that: "Ukraine is a Russian land, indeed it is the cradle of all the Russian lands, ... the southern dialects..."

Margolin, Arnold: GEORGE FEDOTOV AND HIS PREDICTIONS ON THE FUTURE FATE OF THE U.S.S.R. AND OF ITS ENSLAVED PEOPLES. Scranton, Ukrainian Working Men's Association, 1955, 12 p.

Contents: George Fedotov and his predictions. — Quotations from two books by Paul N. Milyukov. — Quotations from George P. Fedotov's Book, *The New City*.

Fedotov, George P.: THE NEW CITY, Collection of articles, New York, Chekhov Publishing House, 1952 (translated from the Russian).

On p. 140: The past history of Russia seems to give no foundation for optimism. In the course of many centuries Russia was the most despotic monarchy in Europe.

On p. 142: In the Kiev epoch, Ruś had all the preliminary conditions on the strength of which there appeared in the West the first rays of freedom.

On p. 145: Later Free Ruś became for a century a slave and tributary to the Mongols. The two centuries-old Tatar yoke was not the end of... freedom. Freedom perished only after the liberation from the Tatars. Only the Moscow Czar as the successor of the Tatar Khan could liquidate all social power limiting the absolute Czar's power.

On p. 147: However, the old Ruś did not capitulate to Moscow without struggle.

On p. 153: For the masses of people remaining strangers to European culture, the Moscow way of life lasted until the liberation of the peasants (1861).

On p. 185: The complication is that Russia is not a national state but a multi-national Empire; the last which remains in the world after the liquidation of the other Empires.

On p. 191: Already in the middle of the 19th century the Ukrainian movement assumes a political character in the Cyrillic-Methodian Fraternity. Moscow with its Eastern despotism was foreign to the Ukrainians. When religious motives induced the Ukrainian Cossacks to form a Union with Moscow, they were bitterly disappointed in this union...

On p. 192: The new period in the creation of the Ukrainian nation begins with the second half of the 19th century. Senseless persecutions of Ukrainian literature transferred the center of the national movement from Kiev to Lviv, Galicia, which was never bound with Moscow nor with Petersburg... As before, we stubbornly continued to consider the Ukrainian (in original Little Russian) language only as a regional dialect of Russian language, though Slavists all over the world, including the Russian Academy of Sciences, long ago recognized this dialect as an independent language... *There was born in the world a new nation, but we closed our eyes to this fact.*

On p. 193-194: (Dealing with the problem of federation) ... Unfortunately, however, the peoples — at least in our time — live not by reason, but by passion. *They prefer carnage and hunger under their own colours.*

On p. 195: The turning away from Bolshevism of all national minorities is accompanied by turning away from Russia which gave birth to Bolshevism.

On p. 197: It is difficult to foresee that in the event of the military defeat of Russia the result will be not only the *fall of the Soviet regime*, but also the *uprising of its peoples against Moscow.*

On p. 197: Theoretically, there is still one chance — it seems the only chance — to prevent a new war; this is the downfall of the Bolshevik power in Russia.

On p. 198-199: *Finis Russiae?* The end of Russia or a new page of its history? Naturally, the last one... Russia will lose the Donets coal, the Baku oil (naphtha), but France, Germany and so many peoples never had naphtha. *Russia will become poorer but this... misery... the Communist system... will then become a matter of past history.*

Manning, Clarence A.: TWENTIETH-CENTURY UKRAINE, New York, Bookman Association, 1951, 243 p. Bibliography: p. 211-216.

Smal-Stocki, Roman: THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM OF THE SOVIET UNION AND RUSSIAN COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM, with a preface by Lew E. Dobriansky. Milwaukee, Bruce Publ., Co., 1952, 474 p.

Sullivant, Robert S.: SOVIET POLITICS AND THE UKRAINE 1917-1957, New York, Columbia University Press, 1962, 438 p., map. Bibliography: p. 397-421.

Ukraine is used as a case study for the Soviet nationality policy.

Reshetar, John, S., Jr.: THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION 1917-1920, A study in nationalism. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1952, 363 p. Bibliography: p. 335-363.

Hrushevsky, Michael: A HISTORY OF UKRAINE, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948, 629 p., map. Bibliography: p. 585-600.

A very good handbook for scholars and students of Ukraine.

Dmytryshyn, Basil: MOSCOW AND THE UKRAINE 1918-1953, A study of Russian Bolshevik Nationality Policy. New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, 310 p. Bibliography: p. 291-302.

Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.: COMMUNISM: A WORLD-WIDE FAILURE. Article in the "Saturday Evening Post", Philadelphia, May 19, 1962, Vol. 235. No. 20, p. 13-14.

The author is a noted historian and was close adviser to President Kennedy.

XIth Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

The XIth Conference of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL) took place in the capital of the Philippines, Manila, in September, 1965. A delegation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) attended the Conference. The delegation was led by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the ABN, and prominent leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and its other members were Mr. M. Alshibaya, a Georgian representative from Germany, Mr. Alexander Olechnik, a representative of Byelorussian youth from Australia, and Mr. Rama Swarup, ABN representative in India, as adviser. Mrs. S. Stetzko was Secretary of the delegation.

The draft resolutions prepared by the ABN delegates met with a strong opposition on the part of the representatives of ACEN (Assembly of Captive European Nations, a body which unites merely Central European "satellite" representatives, and ignores the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR, including Ukraine), the NTS (Russian "solidarists" hostile to the cause of Ukrainian independence) and the US Congressman Judd. However, the plenary session which took place on 11th September unanimously adopted these resolutions. A defender of the ABN resolutions was the influential Turkish politician, Senator Tevetoglu, who formally proposed them.

President of the C.C. of the ABN, Mr. J. Stetzko, made a speech at the Plenary session, dealing with the struggle in Ukraine and other countries enslaved by Russia, the fight of the Russian secret police for full authority for Shelepin, our ideas about resolving the world crisis, ABN activities in the free world etc.

The activities of the ABN delegation at the XIth Conference of the APACL in Manila have resulted in a considerable success of the ideas of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in its struggle against Russian-Bolshevist colonialism and imperialism.

RESOLUTION

On the liberation of nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism, passed unanimously at XIth Conference of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

In Consideration of the following:

That all nations and people in the world are entitled to the same right to national independence, personal freedom and human dignity, and that in the present epoch the idea of national independence through the dissolution of empires maintains its glorious advance and, on this side of the Iron Curtain, leads to the realization of the rights of men and of nations;

That, however, at the same time in the Soviet Russian colonial empire, which was extended by force of arms not only over foreign countries inside the USSR, but even in the same way over the so-called satellite states, men and nations are held captive by a brutal rule of violence, and Russian Communist colonialism openly aims at the creation of a world empire of total slavery and degradation;

That in revolt against this world-wide enslavement of nations and individuals the idea of national liberation has remained alive inside the Russian sphere of power, and contains within it an enormous explosive force, by itself suited to cause the collapse not only of the Soviet Russian prison of nations, but also of world Communism;

That the concentration of technical, economic and military resources in the hands of the Russian-Bolshevist world conspiracy enables them to manufacture weapon of mass annihilation, with aim of extending Communist tyranny over the whole world.

The Eleventh APACL Conference, held in Manila, in September 1965, has decided the following:

On the Policy of Liberation

The Conference calls upon the governments of the Free World to give up the policy of peaceful co-existence which ultimately amounts to a recognition of the status quo, that is to say of the right to exist of the aggressive Bolshevist tyranny as a springboard for the advancement of world conquest; furthermore the severance of all relations with Communist governments and the employment of all available resources in an economic, political, moral and diplomatic offensive, if necessary even total blockades, and the introduction of a liberation policy by the Free World through active support of national liberation movements and popular uprisings in the subjugated countries. In the present-day era a world-wide ideological conflict in the shadow of the thermonuclear threat makes insurgent warfare based on national revolutionary guerillas a decisive factor in the liquidation of the Soviet Russian empire as well as the aggressive Communist system, and at the same time this would avoid an atomic war.

On the Eventual Dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire

The Conference advocates the dissolution of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into independent, national, democratic States, based on the ethnographic boundaries of all the subjugated peoples therein; as well as the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the peoples in the so-called satellite countries, and also the dissolution of all artificial states created by coercion, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

It urges the destruction of aggressive Communism in its headquarters which disregard both freedom and human dignity, challenge international peace, and despise world safety.

On a Common Front Against Moscow and Peking

The Eleventh APACL Conference warns the Free World against the illusion that the Russian Communist tyranny could be induced, through peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation, to adopt liberal and democratic policies, since this grossly contradicts its innermost nature. It also warns the Free World against the deceptive hope of forming a common front which one Communist power against another, since even great differences between two tyrannical systems disappear before the contrast between freedom and despotism. The only prospect of success lies in a common front by the Free World with the nations who have fallen victims to the tyranny of Moscow and Peking.

The Eleventh APACL Conference warns the Free World against supporting so-called national Communist governments, since they will not leave the side of tyranny at the decisive moment, and thus every help afforded them is indirectly of benefit to the Communist world headquarters, whilst the national revolutionary forces of the peoples concerned are thus only weakened.

The Eleventh Conference also warns the parliaments and governments of the Free World against ill-considered disarmament and against the exclusion of various democratic powers from control of thermonuclear weapons, since the Communists, according to experience, disregard international agreements, so that the limitation of atomic or conventional armaments, would ultimately only strengthen the Communist world position.

On the Landing of Free Chinese troops on the Mainland and the Liberation of Vietnam

The Eleventh APACL Conference states that the final victory over world Communism can never be won through peripheral wars, but only through direct offensives against its world headquarters — Moscow and Peking — and through all-round, even military support of national revolutions and wars of liberation in the Soviet Russian and Communist spheres of power.

The Eleventh APACL Conference calls upon the governments of the Free World to help the national revolutions of liberation in the subjugated countries succeed, by recognition and support of their national political aims. In particular it calls upon the Free World to make it possible for the Liberation Army of the Republic of China to land on the Chinese mainland, and to abandon the liberation policy bounded by the seventeenth parallel. Instead of this, the liberation of all Vietnam and the reunification in freedom of the divided countries of Asia and Europe should be adopted as a declared aim of Western policy. Concrete measures should include the harassment of the Chinese Reds in the Formosa Straits, encouragement of mass insurrection on mainland China, the formation of an All-Asian Alliance, no political or military sanctuaries for Hanoi in an applied liberation of North Vietnam, opening a new front in the dynamic liberation of North Korea, agreement of the United States for the attack of mainland China, and the dismantling of Chinese nuclear installations.

The Eleventh APACL Conference appeals to the governments of the Free World to afford economic and other support, above all to those countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America which have taken up a firm anti-Communist position and foresworn any form of neutralism.

And finally, this years' conference re-affirms the resolution of the Tenth APACL Conference on Soviet colonialism, renews its solidarity with the US Congress resolution (Public Law 86-90 17th July 1959) on the subjugated nations, appeals to the parliaments and governments of the Free World to testify to their full solidarity with the struggle for independence of the nations forced into the Russian empire and Communist sphere of power and to demonstrate readiness to give universal support for this struggle.

Sponsored by:

(SGD) *Senator Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, Chief Delegate of Turkey*
(SGD) *Mr. Kwan Soo Park, Chief Delegate of Korea*

Supported by:

(SGD) *Dr. Vibul Thamavit, Chief Delegate of Thailand*
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(SGD) *Mr. Chang Kuo-sin, Chief Delegate of Hongkong*
(SGD) *Mr. Philibert Luyeye, Observer, Congo (Leopoldville)*
(SGD) *Dr. Prof. Mamud Brelvi, Delegate of Pakistan*
(SGD) *Mr. Mahmud Essaid, Delegate of Jordan*
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(SGD) *Mr. Rakotoniaina, Observer, Malagasy Republic*

Ukrainian Chronicle

ANNUAL RALLY OF THE ANGLO-UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

The Anglo-Ukrainian Society held its first annual rally in Nottingham on Saturday, September 11th when over 500 members, guests and friends attended the rally and concert in the Assembly Hall of the Association of Ukrainians.

Among the special guests were: Mr. Robert Mathew T.D., M.P., who was under-secretary of State, Foreign Office in the last Conservative government; Mr. Michael English M.P. for Nottingham South; representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; representatives of local government authorities; representatives of Ukrainian organisations in Great Britain and members of the Executive Council of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society.

In an address at the opening of the rally, Mr. Mathew recalled when he was Minister of State and received a delegation from the Anglo-Ukrainian Society. "I listened to the well argued case which the delegation put forward in favour of a Ukrainian service on the B.B.C. and I found myself in the strange position of wishing that I was myself a member of the delegation, rather than the Minister receiving it.

"I agreed, and agreed strongly with most of the points made, but I knew in my heart that they represent a moral commitment which no British Government at this moment in history would be likely to accept..."

Speaking of the Soviet government, Mr. Mathew said it was now nearly half-a-century old, "but never once in these forty odd years has it dared to risk confrontation with its peoples. They have recourse to ludicrous single-list, guaranteed 95 per cent majority, falsified plebiscites. If they could ever hope to win a contested, popular election, then they would obviously have held democratic elections. It would have given them validity. The fact that they cannot do so speaks more loudly than words."

Mr. Mathew advised the Anglo-Ukrainian Society to continue to press for the inclusion of Ukrainian language broadcasts in the external services of the B.B.C.

He went on: "There has only been one moment during the existence of the Soviet Union when its citizens could give expression to their wishes, and this was during the war, when more than two million of them rushed to volunteer for the enemy banners, not from love of the Nazis, but from sheer hatred of their own regime — the greatest mass desertion in recorded history.

"While everywhere else, colonial people — even in the Portuguese Empire and South Africa — are receiving either independence or autonomy, the Russian communists are making no concessions because they know they cannot do so without their ramshackle edifice falling like a pack of cards.

After forty odd years of appalling effort, they still fall short of the Tsarist standard of living. Even with the best of weather, their absurd collective system of agriculture cannot produce a proper harvest: it would almost be true to say that the existence of the Soviet regime continues thanks to the steady agricultural over-production of capitalist Canada and Canada's need to sell her wheat.

"Russia's communist bosses know that they are perching precariously on top of a big barrel full of dynamite. The British and American governments are also aware of this. This is why they do not wish to light even a safety match within a hundred miles of this powder keg. They do not know what would happen if it went bang; they have to take account of the incalculable, of atomic weapons and China. This is why they flinch from decisions which otherwise decency and morality would dictate.

"The rulers of the Soviet Union have, in fact made, a triple contribu-

tion to the history of the world; brutality on a huge scale, administrative incompetence on a global scale, disillusion sufficient to induce nihilism of the spirit.

"You Ukrainians abroad, however, are not merely passive spectators of a disaster, but one of the all-too-few potentially remedial of elements which might retrieve the disaster which has happened.

"Your history has accustomed you to reverses. Your inconvenient frontiers have exposed you to pressures which only a people of very tough moral fibre could survive. Under various forms of foreign rule you have preserved your identity and your sense of national destiny; your genius as a nation is shown for all to see in the large Ukrainian communities which have become integrated in Great Britain, in Canada, in America, without any loss of national pride and purpose.

"I feel that your essential quality and function is that of heroic and practical value of patience. As exiles, you must feel a sense of inadequacy and frustration, but none-the-less constancy does give a dividend.

"Irish exiles in America and Australia made independent Ireland a reality; the Jews got their way by never desisting, always insisting at the top of their voices; this is how Israel came about.

"Nationally speaking, Ukraine possesses a uniquely good building site, but owing to prevailing unjust restrictions she cannot now build. What you as exiles can do and are doing is to keep the site marshless and weedless and maintain your legal rights to the site. I end by saying not that your time will come, but that your time is coming."

The chairman for the rally was Mr. R. W. Vanston of Bolton (Lancs) and addresses in Ukrainian were given by Captain M. Bilyj-Karpynech, a vice-President of the Society, and Mr. Walter Lesiuk of the Nottingham Association of Ukrainians. In the concert which followed, items were contributed by the Nottingham-Derby Ukrainian Male Voice choir under their conductor Mr. Pycko; the Manchester 'Homin' choir under Mr.

Babuniak; the Nottingham Youth Association dancers and by Mr. I. Jones of Manchester.

At the close of the rally, the General Secretary, Mr. John Graham thanked all who had helped to make the rally a success.

THE FIGHT AGAINST RELIGION

According to *Radyanska Ukraïna* of 27th January 1965, "...in 1964 the members of the 'Znannya' ('Knowledge') association gave 222,000 talks on atheistic topics alone. Much has already been done to train atheist propagandists, and this training is now being intensified. Lectures on the 'Fundamentals of Scientific Atheism' are given in all higher and secondary specialist educational establishments. In almost all regional centres 'People's Universities' and schools of atheism have been founded. Publishers, newspapers and magazines bring out fairly varied material connected with scientific atheistic education.

"Nevertheless a great lack of highly qualified atheist propagandist cadres is becoming more and more noticeable...

"For this reason we feel it is high time to organize an All-Ukrainian University for Higher Atheistic Education to train these highly qualified atheist cadres..."

Radyanska Ukraïna of 5th February published the following report:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recommends the following measures with regard to the intensification of the atheistic education of the population: the publication of fundamental research work, popular scientific literature, and anthologies of writing on atheistic problems; of not inconsiderable importance would be the publication of a *Dictionary of Atheism*.

"This dictionary will appear in the very near future."

At the same time the Soviet Russian leaders have been making efforts, by dispatching emissaries on the pretext of "cultural exchange" particularly to the USA and Canada, to split the Ukrainian emigration there. But these attempts have met with no success at all because of the constancy of the

Ukrainian emigrants. The Soviet Russians also made similarly unsuccessful attempts in Europe from 1924-26, especially in Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, France, and Germany.

UKRAINIANS OF OHIO HONOUR JOSEPH CARDINAL SLIPYJ OF UKRAINE

Cleveland, Ohio. — (smb) The Ukrainian Catholics of Ohio have honoured the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych, Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Joseph Cardinal Slipyj of Ukraine with a festive program which was held on Sunday, May 30, 1965, at the Parma Senior High School Auditorium with an attendance of 1200, including a group of 200 members of the Ukrainian Scout Organization and Ukrainian-American Youth Association from Ohio.

This event was sponsored by the Joseph Cardinal Slipyj Committee of Cleveland, Ohio, headed by Dr. Zenon R. Vynnytsky. The Very Reverend Monsignor D. Gresko, Dean of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ohio, was the chairman of the Honorary Sponsoring Committee, which included all the pastors of Ukrainian Catholic Parishes in Greater Cleveland, Akron, Canton, Lorain, Toledo and Youngstown, as well as several notable Ukrainian-American civic leaders of this City.

The group was addressed by Dr. Gregory Lushnytsky of the University of Pennsylvania, and by Miss Mary Beck, first councilwoman of the City of Detroit, Michigan. Both of them are of Ukrainian descent. The latter speaker made a speech in English, one of the best ever heard and appreciated by Ohio's Ukrainian community.

Two renowned Ukrainian guest soloists, Martha Kokolsky of the New York City Center Opera Co., and William Melnychyn of the Chicago Civic Opera Co., performed in the musical portion of the program. A rendering of the prologue to the Ukrainian poem "Moses" was gracefully delivered by Irene Dubas. The Shevchenko Ukrainian Chorus of Cleveland and the Sts. Peter & Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church Choir, united for this occasion, performed

under direction of Professor Yaroslav Barnych several works by outstanding Ukrainian composers.

His Eminence Joseph Slipyj became Cardinal on February 25, 1965. He was admired throughout the world for his courage during 18 years of confinement in the Communist concentration camps of Siberia. His return to the Vatican City on February 10, 1963 was greeted with rejoicing by all Ukrainians in the free world.

Accordingly festivities are being held in all Ukrainian Catholic Dioceses in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, Latin America and Australia.

A fund drive for the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, initiated by Joseph Slipyj, has been started here in May of this year.

THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN SLAVS

On June 9-12, 1965, the First National Conference on Canadian Slavs was held at the Banff Centre for Continuing Education. The theme of the Conference was the problems and prospects of Canadians of Slavic descent. Over one hundred persons heard the eighteen inter-disciplinary papers presented by scholars and civic leaders from across Canada. Among the distinguished guests attending the Conference were the Hon. Ambrose Holowach, Provincial Secretary of Alberta, Dr. Stanley Haidasz, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Hon. Senator Paul Yuzyk, and the Director for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Z. W. Sametz.

The idea for this Conference originated during the fall of 1964 in the Inter-departmental Committee on Slavonic and Soviet Studies of the University of Alberta. After ascertaining by means of a questionnaire that there was sufficient interest in a Conference on Canadian Slavs, the Inter-departmental Committee established a five-man Conference Committee to make the necessary arrangements in conjunction with the University's Department of Extension. Professor B. R. Bociurkiw was chosen as Convener, Professor Yaroslav Slavutych served as Programme Chairman.

The programme of the Conference represented a cross-section both of Slavic ethnic groups (Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Serbs, Slovaks) and of academic disciplines (history, political science, economics, anthropology, demography, sociology, linguistics, belles-lettres) in Canada. Its principal themes were the history of Slavic emigration to Canada, the integration of Slavs into Canadian society, the political and cultural contributions of Canadian Slavs, and the state of Canadian scholarship concerning Slavic ethnic groups.

It was the consensus of the participants that the Conference was a success and that future conferences should be held every two years; the next to convene in Ottawa and/or Montreal so as to coincide with the Centennial of Canadian Confederation. To organize this Second Conference on Canadian Slavs, the Banff participants then authorized the establishment of an Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs to be composed of elected representatives from interested Canadian universities. The Inter-University Committee chose B. R. Bociurkiw as its first Chairman, Y. Slavutych and J. Wojciechowski as

Vice-Chairmen, V. O. Buyniak as Secretary Treasurer, C. Bida and L. Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski as co-conveners for the Second Conference, and J. Strong as Executive Member. Yar Slavutych was elected chairman of the editorial committee for the publishing of the proceedings of the Banff Conference, the other Committee members being R. C. Elwood, V. J. Kaye, and J. M. Kirschbaum.

The First National Conference on Canadian Slavs concluded by passing a resolution stating the objectives of the newly formed Inter-University Committee and of the succeeding conferences on Canadian Slavs. These objectives are:

- a) to encourage and co-ordinate scholarly research on all aspects of Slavic life in Canada;
- b) to seek funds for this purpose from Federal, Provincial and local authorities, universities, foundations and other sources;
- c) to establish co-operation with learned societies and individual scholars with similar or converging interests;
- d) to support and encourage scholarly publication on Canadian Slavs.

Book Review

Cyrille Korolevsky: METROPOLITAIN ANDREAS SHEPTYTSKY (1865-1944). Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificaе Ucrainorum, Vol. XVI-XVII, Romae 1964. 429 pages.

There have already appeared copious monographs, memoirs and other writings about the great Ukrainian Metropolitan Andreas Count Sheptytsky, for the Ukrainian Catholic prelate of Lviv towers above the ecclesiastical figures not only of the Ukrainians but also of other nations, through his genius and his life's work, and above all through his moral steadfastness and his martyrdom. Thus it is natural that works about the great Metropolitan should continually appear in various languages, especially as the beatification of this, the most popular of Ukrainian prelates, both before and since the War, may very

soon take place. He suffered a mysterious death in the power of the godless Russian Bolshevik regime.

For these reasons alone the above-mentioned publication about Metropolitan Sheptytsky (in French) is to be welcomed. The book describes the prelate's activities in the most violent period of human history, during which the blows of fate hit the Ukrainian people particularly hard. With his moral firmness, the Metropolitan stood unmovable as a rock in this political and military conflagration, and thus shone like a lighthouse through the darkness of the storm which was raging in Eastern and Central Europe.

The book is a treasure-house of material. The problems of Ukrainian Church policy in territories occupied by foreign intruders, political questions, Church schools, the training of young priests, the pastoral care of Ukrainians who have emigrated overseas, relations between the Metropolitan and the Russian occupation authorities in both World Wars, the role played by the Ukrainian Catholic Church during the Ukrainian War of Liberation (1917-1919), the Metropolitan's exile to the extreme north of Russia — these and numerous other problems are adequately and objectively elucidated in the book. Source material is quite plentiful, and the documentation convincing.

It was thanks to the untiring study of his material and the successful collation of his documentation by Father Cyrille that it was possible for the French version of the book to appear on time.

His Eminence Cardinal Eugene Tisserant also contributed greatly to the fact that this publication about the Ukrainian Metropolitan could include the history of Ukrainian ecclesiastical life before the first World War, between the two World Wars, and during the second.

It is true that quite a number of historical inaccuracies have crept into Father Cyrille's work, but the book loses nothing of its documentary value. No one who intends to study the history of the Ukrainian Church in West Ukraine during the period from before the first World War to the occupation of Ukrainian East Galicia by the Soviet Russians, and the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia and Carpathian Ukraine which followed this, will be able to do without this work.

V. Oreletsky

J. Skytorusyn: DER FRIEDEN MIT DEM MOSKOWITISCHEN IMPERIUM
UNTERGANG DER FREIEN WELT, Dipl. Ing. Juriy Gergel, Neu-
Ulm/Donau Postlagernd, Germany, pp. 16.

This little book is interesting and informative despite its small size. The author tries to prove that the Russians, whether White Czarist or Red Bolshevik, have never observed the basic principle of public international law *pacta sunt servanda* and they preferred the use of brute force and under-hand tricks.

Mr. Skytorusyn quotes a remark made by P. Hawri who expressed his opinion of aggression in Russia and the national question in the USSR in the following words (p. 12):

"Hatred of the Bolshevik regime, especially after the collectivisation of

the peasants by force, simply developed into hatred of Moscow... No, the separatist map is an honourable matter in the hands of Hitler! The separatist map must be torn from Hitler's hands." Thus wrote the Russians in "Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik" of 30th June and 17th July 1941. So the Russian communists as well as the Russian exiles are afraid that the Russian empire will be destroyed by the non-Russian races enslaved in the USSR.

The contents of the book are illustrated by two maps.

V. O.

Phyllis Schlafly: A CHOICE NOT AN ECHO, Alton, Illinois, Pere Marquette Press, P.O. Box 316, pp. 126.

The author indicates on the jacket the subject-matter of the book: "The private side of the Presidential Election in America." She shows how the American Presidents were elected in the last decades and examines the enormously expensive uproar over the selection of B. Goldwater.

The publication is interesting in-

sofar as it illuminates for us the inner workings and intrigues during the American Presidential elections.

Concluding, the author thinks that the intrigues during the Presidential Elections in the USA should be not only privately but also openly discussed.

W. Luzhanskyj

LOS CRIMINES DE MUNICH* 1957-1959, Instituto Informativo Editorial Ucrainio, Buenos Aires, Los Talleres Gráficos "Dorrego", Calle Dorrego, 1964.

The underhand murder of two Ukrainian patriots by the Red Russian agent Stashynsky at the instigation of the Soviet Russian Government and the way in which these crimes were carried out still moves the people of Ukraine as well as the whole civilized world.

This book published in Spanish deals with the background and the events leading up to these two murders. The deposed Soviet Russian hangman Nikita Khrushchov who as the Russian Governor of Ukraine under Stalin had millions of Ukrainians killed, has also the deaths of two prominent Ukrainians on his conscience. The Ukrainian Information Institute in Buenos Aires has recently published a little brochure in Spanish in Buenos Aires in memory of them.

The book deals with the life of the murdered Ukrainian Nationalist leader Stepan Bandera and Professor Lev Rebet. It also deals with the Soviet Russian assassination organization and the Soviet Russian agent Stashynsky, who murdered Bandera and Rebet.

Bandera's death drew the ranks of the Ukrainian patriots closer together. The resistance of the Ukrainians did not weaken but was on the contrary strengthened. The fearless Ukrainian fighters will be able to continue Bandera's liberation struggle all the more. The two murders however (of Bandera and Rebet) ought to be a good lesson for the free world for it shows with what underhand means Moscow is capable of fighting its non-Russian opponents, even in peaceful foreign countries.

*) The publication is very instructive and should be read by everyone wishing to learn more about the dreadful political methods of fighting practised by Moscow.

W. K.

The Editors of *The Ukrainian Review* regret that owing to an oversight no acknowledgement of prior publication was made to *The Wisconsin Poetry Magazine* in respect to the poem *The Grim Reaper* by Taras Shevchenko translated by Vera Rich, published in the U.R., No. 2, 1965. We should like to tender our sincere apologies to the W.P.M. for this error.

ABN Correspondence

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Jaroslav STETZKO

KYÏV AGAINST MOSCOW

In its ideological aspect the Ukrainian problem has been the revolutionary problem of the world. In this respect it is neither "peripheral" nor "sectional" nor "East European" but a problem of universal significance. With its ideological, geopolitical, and human revolutionary potentialities of advancing just and progressive ideas of a new world based on annihilation of all forms of imperialism and colonialism, and on recognition of the national principle of world organisation, the Ukrainian problem is truly able to revolutionise the world.

In this sense we can speak of Ukraine not only as a geopolitical complex, but also as an ideological complex. The latter calls forth a group of creative ideas embodied in nationalism, theism, respect for the dignity of man as a godlike being, i. e. of ideas based on traditionalism, social justice, affirmation of active idealism and heroic values.

It is obvious that, politically, the Ukrainian ideology, the idea of a Ukrainian Sovereign United State, calls for the abolition of the Russian colonial empire, with all its consequences for the entire world. One may regard the prospects of the removal of the last bulwark of colonialism in the world as unrealistic, and the struggle for the realisation of this idea difficult, but the likely consequences of the abolition of the Russian empire point to the Ukrainian aspirations as the cause of the entire world.

Thus the Ukrainian cause so staunchly advocated and defended by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) since its inception in 1929, has acquired world-wide significance. Its aims have been set clearly and may be expressed in the slogan: Kyiv against Moscow, Trident and Cross against Hammer and Sickle, and against all symbols of Russian slavery and usurpation. Kyiv has been in the vanguard of a world-wide struggle against colonialism and bolshevism, against communist ideology and the communist way of life. Kyiv has become a resolute antagonist of Moscow: Christian Kyiv, theist and national Kyiv against internationalist and atheist Moscow. In any case, the struggle for Kyiv, for its eternal values, its ideas, its pattern of life for nation and man, has already begun and is getting ever more intensive on a world-wide scale.

It is, therefore, not in vain that Ukrainian symbols, Trident and Cross, have been painted on the walls of Ukrainian cities, and it is not by chance that in exile the emigre Russian solidarists of the NTS are trying to steal the Ukrainian Trident, and it is not without reason that some of them are projecting Kyiv as the capital of a new Russian federation of the future. The struggle for eternal values of Kyiv is going on.

Taking this into consideration, it will never be inappropriate to talk at international gatherings not only of the independence of Ukraine, but also of the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, of the resolute desire of the Ukrainian people for complete separation from Russia. It is a stern necessity dictated by the exigencies of the present world situation.

The goal which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) strives to attain is the disintegration of the Russian empire into national, independent democratic States of all subjugated peoples. Three forms of its present activities are: (a) coordinated and directed, principally simultaneous, revolutionary actions in the subjugated countries of the USSR and the so-called "satellites" of the USSR; (b) political actions by the representatives of the ABN nations in exile, advocating the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire and destruction of communism, among the nations of the free world; (c) mobilization of the Second Front of the national forces of the free world, opposed to Russian imperialism and communism, for the support of ABN ideas and against the policies of coexistence, appeasement of Moscow, and capitulation before the advance of communism. Such a mobilization is now more pressing than ever. At present, two conceptions of the policies towards Russia have been discernible in the West.

The first conception suggests a policy of peaceful coexistence, appeasement and virtual capitulation. The protagonists of such a policy disregard the fact that bitter reality refutes their wishful thinking. Despite the free world's attempts at coexisting, the flames of war are burning high in Vietnam, Congo, Laos, etc. This, in addition to Castro's declaration that no rockets and missiles have been taken out of Cuba.

The second conception rejects "peaceful" coexistence in the form just described and demands the encouragement of the resistance movements in the USSR and the satellite countries, and their moral support by the free world. Such a conception comes close to our conception of the struggle against Moscow and communism.

The so-called "cultural exchange" in vogue at present has been a result of an agreement between Washington and Moscow. Its advocates want to prove their thesis of evolutionary liberalisation of the communist regime, among other things through "cultural exchange" between communist and democratic States. Their thesis

can hardly be proved, because communist regimes are not able to evolve, and the incitement of some minor Ukrainian groups in the U.S.A. to engage in "cultural contacts" with the oppressors of the Ukrainian people is, to be sure, like a new Yalta in miniature.

*

Among other factors in the present international situation, the conflict between Moscow and Peking should find a special emphasis here. On the psychological side, this conflict may be welcome as it tends to weaken the monopolistic position of Moscow in the communist camp and strengthens the revolutionary potential of the enslaved peoples. However, on the political side it may lead to confusion, as it may call forth unfounded hopes of liberation with Red Peking's help. No liberation can be achieved with the help of Chinese communism, the essence of which is no less aggressively imperialist than that of Hitlerism or Stalinism. From this point of view our policy should be only to exploit existing antagonisms and to determine our position regarding the potential foe and his probable designs. The experience of those non-Germans who tried to collaborate with German Nazism for the liberation of their countries has certainly taught a lesson which should be taken into consideration by all advocates of collaboration with Chinese communists for similar purposes.

The Ukrainians and other enslaved nations can expect help neither from anti-communist but pro-Russian defenders of the Russian colonial empire, nor from anti-Russian communists in Peking. Neither can be true allies of the nations carrying on the struggle for liberation because both are for the continuation of enslavement in a new form.

This, therefore, is the reason why our set of ideas has had anti-Russian as well as anti-communist edge. Besides, collaboration with Peking would alienate all the truly democratic forces in the world which detest communism, recognize the national idea, advocate the annihilation of Russian colonialism, stand for a moral renewal of the world and combat internationalist plots and schemes. In the free world today these forces are legion.

Only the truly democratic forces in the free world can be our real allies in the struggle against both tyrannies. Neither tyranny can be our ally and struggle against both of them is necessary. In this, we Ukrainians follow the strategy of our great leader, General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, who led the struggle of the UPA and OUN against both Nazi Germany and Red Russia in a two-front war. His strategy of a common front of enslaved nations against both Nazi Germany and Red Russia found no understanding in the West, which favoured Red Moscow and let the Russian Bolsheviks seize Berlin and, by abandoning its Chinese ally, surrendered China to communists.

*

Anti-communist and anti-colonialist forces in the free world have been growing from day to day and their steady increase bears witness to the fact that a powerful movement for a moral and ideological renewal has begun in the free world, with its ideas of patriotism, heroism, idealism, an uncompromising attitude towards tyrannical regimes and systems. We are able to adduce many facts testifying to the growth of the forces of freedom and justice in the free world, as e.g.,

— Mass support for the ABN action in the Scandinavian countries at the time of Khrushchov's visit there. Mass participation of the Scandinavian youth in our action must be stressed;

— Unanimous support for the ABN conception at the 10th and 11th International Conferences of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Taipei and Manila, in which representatives of over 50 nations took part;

— Staunch support for ABN ideas and conceptions by leading American legislators of both parties;

— Resolute support for the ABN conceptions by leading Australian politicians, especially those who realize the imminent threat of communist aggression to their Commonwealth;

— Mass vote (27 million) for the new and revolutionary platform advanced by Barry Goldwater. It is true that the Republican Party was defeated in the U. S. elections, but we can speak only of the success of the platform which was advanced in this form for the first time and assembled such a big vote in the elections;

— Emphasizing of the national idea and national sovereignty by De Gaulle;

— Growth of the national liberation movements in the world and their victorious march to independence;

— The beginning of a fundamental change in the public opinion of the world, evidenced by the growing demand for our information services in different circles. On the other hand, public opinion has been resolutely turning against various mafias sponsoring utopian internationalist and anti-national schemes. The fact that the technological basis of the nuclear age has been creating favourable conditions for "separatism" has been acknowledged even by theoreticians of federalism, and the ultimate destruction of imperialism and colonialism in the course of the next 50 years has been prophesied (**Montreal Star**, Prof. Burchill of the British Columbia University). In view of these facts it has become evident that, in the opinion of the public, the monopoly of the U. N. or U.S.S.R. conception of the world government has been broken.

The formation of the new political and ideological camp in the free world, its considerable success in the U.S. elections, favourable response to the ABN conceptions in the United States, Canada,

Australia, Scandinavia and Asia, has been the best proof of the fact that we are not isolated, nor do we represent a group of last Mohicans. Instead we have remained a fighting vanguard of the forces which stand for revolutionizing world policies and for a renewal of traditionalist values. We are not alone and we are marching with forces to which the future belongs.

Our critique of the so-called "cultural exchange" should be advanced from the point of view of our participation in the world-wide renewal movement. It is not true that the entire world has fallen into the embraces of the policy of coexistence. At a time when the U. N. or U.S.S.R. conception of world government is becoming bankrupt, our formula of an anti-Bolshevik United Nations, with its stress on national sovereignty, as against the internationalist conceptions advanced by mafias, gives a solution not only for the direction of general policies, but also for the policies concerning "cultural exchange", which is a part of general policies. Moreover, we have to demonstrate that there is in Ukraine and other subjugated countries a powerful movement which is not only offensive, and full of initiative in ideological and political respects, but also that it is identical with the OUN and ABN. This movement is in support of the policies advocated here.

Among other factors influencing the present world situation, it is necessary to discuss the policies of De Gaulle. His conception reflects two purposes: (a) affirmation of the idea of national sovereignty, with which we fully agree; (b) affirmation of the Messrs. Rusk — Rostow conception of peaceful coexistence, with which we disagree. His recognition of Red China, his advances to communist satellites in Europe follow in the steps of coexistence policies which, essentially, do not differ from those of the U. S. State Department, and are based on the same unrealistic approach to the problem.

However, De Gaulle's conception of a "Europe up to the Urals" may have different facets. In one respect, this conception might have been influenced by Bonn's turning to the United States exclusively after Adenauer and, therefore, by De Gaulle's desire to have a Russian card to play against Germany if necessary. This German attitude may determine De Gaulle's approach to London and weaken his resistance to Britain's participation in the European Common Market. In fact, contradictions between the conceptions of De Gaulle and those of Wilson or Heath with regard to West European problems, Moscow, China, and even peaceful coexistence, etc., are superficial only. In fact, De Gaulle's position is much closer to London's than it appears. Essentially, plans for a national principle of the unification of West Europe as well as for a gradual dissolution of the communist world via Peking, have been British. The British statesmen would, however, endeavour to realize their plans with the calm and restraint of a William Pitt, while De Gaulle, in conducting his policies, has often been posing as a modern Joan of Arc.

The two facets of De Gaulle's conception of a "Europe up to the Urals" may be pro-Russian or anti-Russian, depending on situation. It may be pro-Russian in the event of Bonn playing the role of a vanguard for the U. S., or it may be anti-Russian, given a situation of Bonn-Paris unity. Of course, such a unity cannot be realized by declarations only; it means the practical participation of Bonn in the political, economic and military designs of De Gaulle, and, in addition, an engagement under his political primacy. The anti-Russian facet of De Gaulle's conception can be realized also without Bonn in the case of London's agreeing to side with Paris in order to make Europe a truly independent partner in the world's affairs instead of its being a mere U. S. dependant. The anti-Russian facet of De Gaulle's conception may take on distinct Ukrainian undertones. The vision of a future alliance of London, Paris and Kyiv may stimulate the acceptance of such a Ukrainian colouring of the conception and a pro-Ukrainian formula of this kind may easily enter into De Gaulle's planning in the event of pro-Ukrainian forces in the United States and elsewhere playing a Ukrainian card. In case of aggravation of relations with Moscow, such playing of a Ukrainian card becomes inevitable.

Thus, De Gaulle's Pythian formulae may evolve in different directions, depending on the situation. They enable him to bet on different horses. However, the present age does not resemble the age of Pythia, neither does it resemble the times of Richelieu, Mazarin or Talleyrand. The time of "Holy Alliances", of Metternichs and Talleyrands is past. Now is the time of Apostles, of Garibaldi and Mazzinis, the time of Chuprynkas. The thermonuclear age has been the epoch of ideologies and ideological wars. It is the epoch of Richard Cœur de Lions, of Khmelnytskys and Mazepas, of Washingtons and Lincolns. It is the epoch of crusades for national liberation. It is the epoch of religious wars for freedom. It is a pity that the adversaries of the free world perfectly understand what this is all about, something that the Rostows hardly do. The dark demon of ruin — Mao — is playing with national-liberation movements, and not with Marxism. Moscow is preaching "national liberation", and not Leninism. Consequently, national liberation has been the principal idea of the thermonuclear epoch, the idea defining the overall strategy of the struggle for the domination of the world.

Is it too late for De Gaulle to realize the true meaning of the present world situation and to find out definitively that by his conception of "Europe up to the Urals" one can conceive only Europe in which there is place for Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, the Caucasus, etc., and not for "one and indivisible" Russia which stretches beyond the Urals? The realization of this truth will help De Gaulle in his determination to influence world developments.

Once he influenced them with success. That was the time when France became a thermonuclear power. This was a checkmate to all those who thought of world government on the basis of their world monopoly in thermonuclear arms. And it was the beginning of the end of the conception of world government by the U. N. and the U.S.S.R.

Unfortunately, the present policies of De Gaulle have been those of coexistence. De Gaulle sees in coexistence both diagnosis and therapy. This is false. One cannot commit suicide in order to avoid death.

There can be no doubt that momentous changes are beginning to take place in the free world. These changes are in our favour, as can be attested by increased desire for our participation in international actions. This can be attested also by a marked turn of public opinion in our favour. Newspapers, radio, television, which were opposed to our conceptions in the past, are now willing to draw public attention to our ideas, offering space on their pages and time in their programmes. Our ideas have been advertised as suggestions for a new policy of the free world in its dealings with Moscow (Montreal, Toronto, Philadelphia, Denver, Phoenix, Omaha, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Australia, not to speak of Asia) and discussion panels have been organized, where we are able to promote our conceptions and often find understanding and encouragement among the participants. The acceptance of our ideas by young people, as we witnessed in the Scandinavian countries, has a special significance for the future success of our ideology. It is youth which is destined to take the reins of world affairs into their hands tomorrow.

Given the existence of a renewal movement in the world, our task has become unmistakably clear. We have to support the movement for the renewal of the world with all our forces. The growing forces of the movement will sooner or later call for a new elite able to lead the free world in a spiritual offensive against tyrannical colonialist powers and systems. Prerequisites for such an offensive exist in an ideological rearmament which has to be preceded by a moral rebirth. With all these prerequisites brought into effect, the world will be the witness of a gigantic spiritual revolution in which we will have to act with all our forces in order to exploit every available opportunity.

The growth of an elite is no mechanical process. The transformation of the ruling elite in a democracy cannot be effected in the way it has been effected in the totalitarian countries. The advent of the Leninist elite in Russia was marked by the annihilation of the old elite, and the advent of the Stalinist elite followed the same course. The change of the ruling elite in the Nazi Germany was effected practically overnight. With the deposition of Khrushchov,

all his "pals" had to yield their posts to the "pals" of the new regime. In a democracy, the change of the ruling elite is a problem of its growth. An atmosphere for change should be created, as was the case with Chamberlain who at one time was an undisputed leader of the British Parliament, having only Churchill and three more M.P.s in opposition to himself. However, Churchill and his small group were able to create an atmosphere favouring change, and the change was effected. In the United States of today, President Johnson, in his Vietnam policies, has been following the recommendations of Barry Goldwater, but his policies have only superficially been identical, without ideological support of the recommendations included in the platform of the Republican Party.

The epoch in which the ruling elites in a democracy are about to be changed is truly a revolutionary epoch. However, it is a revolutionary epoch from the point of view of its aims, and not from the point of view of its methods. In a democracy, the change has been a peaceful process; violence and usurpation have been the methods of totalitarianism.

The creation of an atmosphere favourable for the transformation of the elites has been a very important task of the revolutionary forces. We have to participate in the realization of this task, showing the maximum of ingenuity and a great deal of diligence.

*

In the confrontation of different ideas moving the present world we shall remain in the vanguard of the ideological forces aiming at the reshaping of the world on the basis of moral renewal. We shall continue to promote the traditional values of patriotism, heroic devotion, freedom of nations and dignity of men, freedom of religion. We shall continue to point out the fact that the maintenance of these values, their universal acceptance, is the only way for the world to stay "neither red nor dead", and that other ways lead only to catastrophe. In the fulfilment of this programme we shall join our efforts with no specific party or group because at the present time the division of the world into two camps cuts across parties and groups and we can find defenders of different ideologies in different parties or groups. Thus, for instance, taking the American political parties as an example, we find that American Democrats, such as Feighan, Flood, Dodd, O'Connor and others, are much closer in their political thinking to a Republican, Sen. Dirksen, than to a Democrat, Sen. Fulbright. At the same time, Sen. Fulbright, a Democrat, has views on world problems almost identical with those of Gov. Rockefeller, a Republican. In Australia, the Democratic Labour Party with Sen. MacManus displays a much more uncompromising attitude towards Moscow than the Liberal Party. Furthermore, the division cuts not only across nations, parties and

groups, but still more across the entire community. We must realize that the great movement of moral and ideological renewal is just beginning, its ideology just beginning to be formed, and, as far as the Anglo-Saxon society is concerned, the ideological tenets are being shaped in this way for the first time in history. It was Sen. Barry Goldwater who for the first time introduced the elements of political ideology into the political platform of the Republican Party. Those elements represented the ideology of the so-called American conservatism, but were dubbed as "extremist" by its adversaries who failed to realize that the ideology of American liberalism called forth no less an "extremism" in the political practice of the Democratic Party. Despite its alleged "extremism", the new, revolutionary platform of the Republican Party found the affirmation of millions of American voters thus gaining a considerable success in the elections.

Taking into consideration all these facts, our Organization will guard the principle of sovereignty and will not enter any coalitions and confederations, except with the forces identical in ideological respect, with similar fighting spirit and political concepts. As hitherto, we will reject any compromises with forces advocating peaceful coexistence, appeasement, colonialism or communism.

The sovereignty of our policies has always made friends for our cause. The OUN has always been strong in having courage to take and carry out great decisions.

Our separation from the forces of capitulation cannot be interpreted in terms of isolation. On the contrary, we shall confront the forces of capitulation by uniting all forces that are akin ideologically, and spiritually determined to fight Moscow and communism. We are decidedly for unity, but not for a unity with the forces of capitulation.

Our success in Sweden in the summer of 1964 was a turning-point in our political activities abroad. It justified our conception of such activities and created a solid foundation for their expansion in the form of a Second Front. The purpose of the Second Front has been the mobilization of all constructive forces in the free world for the support of our cause. The conception of the Second Front calls for spreading ABN ideas among the masses of the free peoples, as happened in the Scandinavian countries in the summer of 1964. The response of the Scandinavian masses to our ideas was unique; it surpassed all our expectations. It is quite natural that this kind of support will be required and sought by us in the future, too.

V. LUZHANSKY

General Taras Chuprynka

**The fifteenth anniversary of the heroic death
of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army
General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka**

Ukrainian history, after the conclusion of the Ukrainian-Russian treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654, shows many heroic figures, who stood up against Russian imperialism and the constant suppression of the Ukrainian people and their rich culture (which fertilised South-Eastern Europe and especially the Russian oppressors of the Ukraine, above all in the 17th century, just as the defeated ancient Greeks influenced the victorious ancient Romans), and thus delayed at the same time Moscow's penetration into Central and Western Europe for at least two hundred years. The great Ukrainian hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who had concluded the said treaty of friendship of Pereyaslav with the perfidious Moscow Tsars, had realised with horror that Moscow was aiming at the complete subjection of Ukraine. Three month later, with the final wording of the Ukrainian-Russian agreement, it was shown that the Russians were seeking to twist the meaning of the agreement between Ukraine and Russia, and caused the documents in question to disappear or tried to falsify them. This lack of faith on the part of the Russians with regard to Ukraine quickened the death of the old hetman, who three years after the conclusion of the treaty of Pereyaslav died in his palace in Chyhyryn (1657).

The Russians manifested this same policy towards the Ukrainians at each subsequent re-election of the Ukrainian hetmans. The confirmation of these re-elections systematically reduced and curtailed the sovereign rights of the Ukrainian state. After the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the defence of Ukrainian sovereignty against incessant Russian intervention in the Ukraine was reserved to future Ukrainian hetmans. They defended the sovereign rights of the Ukrainians against their violation by the Russians with variable success. In the West the best known of the Ukrainian hetmans is Mazepa, thanks to such great figures of world literature as Lord Byron and Victor Hugo, etc. (although portrayed with poetic licence,

that is to say not completely true to history). Mazepa allied himself with the Swedish king Charles XII, in order to throw off Russian predominance in Ukraine. Unfortunately the defeat of the Ukrainian and Swedish armies in the summer of 1709 in Central Ukraine near Poltava decided the fate of both states: Sweden forfeited its place as a leading power in the North of Europe, while the Ukrainians a few decades later lost their autonomy, which had already been undermined by Moscow.

A long time was necessary for the Ukrainians to rally themselves for a new independent existence, when the Russian empire received its great shock in 1917. Thus this occurred at the beginning of the XX century during the First World War and after. One of the most striking political and military figures of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom is doubtless General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, who dared to defy with tremendous vehemence the mighty Russian occupation forces towards the end of the Second World War and after it, until 1950. His heroic tragedy, and the manner in which the infuriated Red Russians revenged themselves on the dead Ukrainian hero (after his death his body was mutilated), make the reputation of this incomparable Ukrainian patriot even greater in the eyes of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian people remember with great emotion and gratitude the fifteenth anniversary of the heroic death of Chuprynka, who on the 5th March 1950 fell fighting against superior forces of Soviet Russian Security KGB troops, in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv. The fallen general was at the same time chairman of the General Secretariat of the Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), General Secretary for Military Affairs of the UHVR, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which has already become legendary even abroad, and Chairman of the Directorate of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Roman Shukhevych, known as Lozovsky and finally as Taras Chuprynka, became a central figure in the recent turbulent historic times of Ukraine, in his hands rested the direction of all formations of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Freedom Movement, which served as the vanguard of a cruel underground struggle against the Russian Bolshevik occupation.

Roman Shukhevych was born in 1907 in the small town of Krakovets, in West Ukraine, and came from a distinguished Ukrainian family, with long traditions. His father was a descendant of an old Ukrainian gentry family, while his mother belonged to an old Ukrainian family of priests, named Strotsky. Thus the young Shukhevych grew up in the atmosphere of a deeply rooted Ukrainian traditional culture and piety, in which his parents lived.

In the mid-twenties, after the lost war of freedom, unfortunately brought about by the support of some of the victorious powers,

though never by the British, whose Prime Minister Lloyd George at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 always advocated the independence of the West Ukrainian Republic, West Ukraine was conquered by Polish forces. Already at this period the young Shukhevych was active as a great patriot in Ukrainian political revolutionary life under Polish rule: at first as a member of the (illegal) Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), later as a member of the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), taking over the fighting section of this organisation. The young Shukhevych devoted his time at school and his first years as a student in Lviv to his general education, music and sport. Roman Shukhevych organised in 1922 a scout group, played football, for the "Rusalka" (the "Nymph") sports club, and two years later organised a ski club for the whole Carpathian foreland. He was also interested in other kinds of sport, such as basket ball and netball.

As an outstanding sportsman, Shukhevych had a unique chance to get to know the terrain, that is to say, the Carpathian foothills and mountains.

He often organised piano concerts, in which he proved himself a good piano player.

Under the Polish occupation of West Ukraine, he was punished by the Polish authorities for his political activities.

In 1938 Roman Shukhevych went to Carpatho-Ukraine, to organise the armed forces of the new Carpathian Ukrainian Republic, or rather to strengthen them. This allowed him to travel to Prague, Vienna, and other cities of Western and Central Europe.

After the collapse of Czechoslovakia (and Carpatho-Ukraine), and Poland, he became the chief of liason with the underground in the Ukraine occupied by the Russians, also the leader of the OUN organisation in the Western Ukrainian borderlands, lying outside the USSR, and member of the Directorate of the entire OUN organisation.

In June 1941 Shukhevych marched with the Ukrainian Legion into the Ukraine and via Lviv, (where meanwhile on 30th June the renewal of the Ukrainian state was proclaimed), reached the East Ukrainian town of Vynnytsia, but Hitler became so infuriated by the Ukrainians, working for Ukrainian independence, that he had the Ukrainian Legion disbanded.

The members of this military organisation moved to the marshy region of Polissia (on the Northern border of Volhynia), where they fought against the Soviet Russian partisans. After a few months Shukhevych was again working in the Ukrainian underground movement, in which he organised the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In the Ukrainian government formed by Yaroslav Stetsko on 30th June 1941 at Lviv, he was minister for defence.

This period from the creation of the Ukrainian Legion till the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought against both the occupiers of the Ukraine, belongs to one of the most interesting chapters of recent Ukrainian history. Consequently, many Ukrainian historians place Shukhevych, as the driving force of these political and military events, among the greatest figures of Ukrainian history.

In 1943 Shukhevych-Tur became the chairman of the Directorate of the OUN Organisation and continued in this post until 1945, when the National Conference of the OUN chose Stepan Bandera for this position, while Shukhevych-Tur as a member of this body stayed behind in his native land; (the Directorate of the OUN consisted of the following people: Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetzko, and Roman Shukhevych). In the autumn of 1943 Roman Shukhevych, as Taras Chuprynka became the commander-in-chief of the Insurgent Army (UPA). In July 1944 as Shukhevych-Lozovsky he became the chairman of the General Secretariat of the UHVR and General Secretary for Military Affairs. The President, elected by the general assembly of the UHVR, confirmed Chuprynka as the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

In the second half of 1944 the Ukraine was once more occupied by the Soviet Russians. Regardless of the many suggestions that Chuprynka should leave his native land, under such circumstances, he remained in Ukraine to carry on the struggle against the Russian occupiers. Numerous reports and recollections exist about Chuprynka's activity in the period 1945-1950, published in the Ukraine itself or abroad. Chuprynka met with many almost insuperable difficulties and was hunted by thousands of Russian agents. None of his closest colleagues in the political, military and organisational sectors could get through the Iron Curtain to be able to report on this unbelievably hard and cruel struggle for freedom.

Stepan Bandera, the nationalist leader treacherously assassinated by order of Moscow in Munich in 1959, was of the opinion that this time, a period of widespread planned actions by the UPA, even though it resulted in the sacrifice of some of the best sons of the Ukraine in countless numbers, served as a basis for the continuation of the revolutionary struggle, and its later expansion, supported by the whole nation, and also allowed the further build-up of a joint revolutionary front of all nations enslaved by Russia — the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

The heroic death of General Shukhevych-Chuprynka-Tur meant the greatest loss to the Ukrainian Freedom Movement. But even this heavy blow will not cripple the liberation struggle, since the spirit of Shuprynka, his confident belief in the final victory of the just cause of Ukraine and his bravery will continue to inspire the Ukrainian revolutionary movement.

Anatol W. BEDRIY

THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AND THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE

The political situation in Asia is an important factor in the realization of the Ukrainian people's aspirations to freedom. The Russian empire embraces far greater areas in Asia than in Europe, and a policy which aims at the liquidation of this empire must concentrate its efforts as much on Asia as on Europe. We must therefore carefully ponder out and precisely define the socio-political structure which Russia is to assume in its post-imperial period not only with regard to the European peoples at present enslaved by Moscow, but also taking into account the subjugated lands of Asia. If we remember that the Ukrainian national revolution can only become fact as the consequence of a joint liberation struggle by all the oppressed nations, then it follows not only that the Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Bulgarians, and all the other enslaved nations of Europe must take part in this struggle alongside the Ukrainians, but that the Turkestanians, the natives of Siberia, the Chinese, the Vietnamese and the Koreans must fight **simultaneously and in co-ordination** with the European peoples.

The Ukrainian conception of national revolution is of a universal nature: that is to say, the peoples both of Asia and of other continents share this conception of freedom and also wish to live in national states of their own. Looking from another angle, we can see that Russian imperialism, striving with every possible means to be master of the world, is Asia's enemy just as much as it is an enemy of the peoples of Europe, America, and Africa. The significance of this is that the Ukrainian policy of liberation must look for allies not only in Europe and America, but in Asia too, and especially in Japan, China, Turkey, Pakistan and India, as well as in other countries.

Anatol W. Bedriy, born 1931 in Ternopil, Ukraine, graduated in 1949 from the Ukrainian Gymnasium at Neu-Ulm, Germany. He received his B. A. in political science, 1956, at Seton Hall University (South Orange, New Jersey). In 1959, he obtained an M.A. in modern European history. In 1965 he achieved a M. A. in library science at Columbia University. Presently, he has a position at Harvard University.

For many years Mr. Bedriy has been an active member of the Ukrainian American Youth Ass., "M. Mikhnovsky" Ukrainian Students Ass., the Organisation for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine. He has been a member of the Executive Council of the American Friends of A.B.N. Mr. Bedriy served for 2 years as a representative of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement at the United Nations. He is also the author of many articles published in various periodicals.

Through the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) the Ukrainian national liberation movement was able to establish relations with several like-minded freedom movements in Asia as early as the first half of the 1950's. This was followed by the well-known agreement on closer co-operation between ABN and the Chinese section of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). The ABN mission in Formosa has carried out many useful activities in the course of its several years of existence under the leadership of Messrs I. Zablotsky and V. Kosyk. These contacts have been spreading gradually to other Asian countries. Through ABN the Ukrainian freedom movement has established relations with centres of the anti-Communist struggle in various countries, including Turkey, Japan, Vietnam, and Korea.

A further stage in the strengthening of co-operation between the Ukrainian freedom movement and organizations of national views in Asia started when Ukraine's friends in Asia began of their own accord to publish articles and books about the Ukrainian freedom fighters in Japanese, Turkish and Chinese. A mark of distinction of the present state of these relations is that Asia's political figures are now sending requests to ABN headquarters that ABN representatives should be sent to their countries to give lectures and radio talks and to distribute information and literature about the liberation struggle of the peoples represented in ABN.

Signs are growing that the third stage in these relations is approaching — a stage which will be characterized by the beginnings of scholarly co-operation, and — what is of considerable interest — by the taking of action on a political and diplomatic level. Ukraine's friends in Japan and Turkey are already asking for literature concerning Ukrainian history, culture, and foreign relations, based on exact scholarship. For this purpose translations into Japanese and Turkish are therefore being made.

From the political standpoint, it is particularly interesting that the Asian peoples have adopted through APACL the idea of a Captive Nations Week to be held in their own countries. Deserving special mention is the decision (contained in the resolutions of the 10th APACL Conference) to work for the summoning of an Anti-Communist World Congress. This means that it may be possible to bring the question of partitioning the Russian empire into the forefront of world affairs.

Undoubtedly this is the result of ABN's constantly growing influence in Asia. For instead of its advisory capacity, ABN has now had conferred upon it the right to vote at APACL conferences. The ABN delegation to the 10th APACL Conference, in which more politicians of repute took part than ever before, played a very active role. ABN's influence was demonstrated by the fact that the President of ABN and former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Mr.

Yaroslav Stetzko, was entrusted with making the main speech at the farewell banquet held by the Presidium of the Chinese Parliament.

Taking these facts all together, one sees that there can be no doubt that official representatives of various Asian countries are now working together with ABN. The former regard the Ukrainian national movement as spokesman of a great but oppressed nation. These government circles are taking a more and more friendly stand towards ABN's aspirations, for they are convinced that Russian imperialism must be regarded as the chief enemy of all freedom-loving peoples, and that the liberation movements now sizzling within the Russian empire represent the driving force with which it will finally be necessary to enter into an alliance. The successes of the liberation policy up to now have demonstrated unequivocally that Ukraine will find in Asia a soil very favourable to the success of this policy.

One might raise before ABN's leaders the objection that the successes described above are only of brief duration and that they will therefore scarcely have any influence on the course of world events. But one must bear in mind that generally no government or political movement ever wishes to side immediately with new international partners. For there must always be a certain period during which they get acquainted with each other, learn to trust each other, and consolidate the alliance which already exists as a tradition. We can now say without doubt that **independent Ukrainian politics** have become a fact on the Asian continent. It was not long ago that no one in Asia listened to the national voice of Ukraine. For this reason the successes we have mentioned can be regarded as the opening phase of far greater political action, although their material effect cannot yet be estimated. This is a phase of accomplishments which derives from our moral concepts. And it is only after the recognition of a new power and a new conception, as a result of which the new power (in this case, Ukraine) steps into limelight, that actual diplomatic, economic and military co-operation can begin.

Thus it is obvious that the people of Asia can be won over to the side of actions directed against the imperial system of the so-called Soviet Union. The Asian nations are becoming more and more convinced that Russian imperialism is their enemy and that they must fight it. They believe that the time has come to take political steps against the Soviet Union, and the free nations of Asia have resolved to form an anti-Communist world front. APACL is convinced that the Soviet Union **must** be liquidated and that the Russian empire, whatever its political hue, must be disintegrated into independent national states. In this way ABN's great merits have already been demonstrated.

ABN Report

by

Jaroslav STETZKO

*President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN),
former Prime Minister of Ukraine*

to the XI Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), Manila, September 7-12, 1965.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, dear friends of our struggle for national independence, personal freedom and human dignity:

It gives me great pleasure and it is an honour to be able to extend the warmest greetings to you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which is a coordinating centre of revolutionary organizations, dedicated to the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism.

I should like to wish complete success to the XI APACL Conference in the name of the following liberation organizations and liberation committees:

Committee "Free Armenia", Bulgarian National Front, Byelorussian Central Council, Cossack National Liberation Movement, Croatian National Liberation Movement, Anti-Communist League of Cuba, Czech National Committee, Estonian National Council, Georgian National Organization, Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism, Lithuanian Rebirth Movement, Polish Christian Social Movement, Rumanian Free Front, Organization of Serbian Nationalists, Slovak Liberation Committee, National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Ukrainian Hetman Union, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

I should like to express our special thanks and gratitude to our Philippine hosts for making our participation in this conference possible. We are happy to be able to visit this beautiful country of yours and to pay tribute to your hospitable people, who have fought so bravely for their freedom. Upon our return we are looking forward to publicizing the achievements which have been made by the Philippine nation in national, cultural and social spheres and the steadfastness of its anti-Communist fight.

Before reporting on ABN activities behind the Iron Curtain and in the Free World, I should like to acknowledge and express our admiration for the heroic people of Vietnam in their fight for existence. By helping them, the free world helps itself.

The national liberation movements of our peoples are of great significance to the free world, for they continually frustrate the Kremlin's imperialistic ambitions to dominate the world.

Following the open guerilla warfare in our subjugated countries between 1943-1953, numerous strikes and uprisings took place in Soviet concentration camps. The most notable of those were organized and executed by non-Russian prisoners in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Karaganda, Kingir, Tayshet and others between 1953-1959. It goes without saying that they greatly contributed to the strengthening of the resistance to Russian domination in the home countries.

Since 1959, however, a new stage in the national liberation movements is evident. The strikes and mass demonstrations in the heavy metal industry of Ukraine (located in the Donbas) and the open revolt in Temir-tau (Kazakhstan), were followed by wide-spread riots in Novocherkask and acute disturbances in Odessa, where longshoremen refused to load ships destined for Cuba.

Underground organizations are constantly at work in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Byelorussia and in other countries. The Soviet press itself carries reports on their activities — example, the trial of OUN members (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) — and the former editor of a Soviet periodical, Dr. Alexander Rathaus, who has also acknowledges the existence of underground organizations.

Active resistance against foreign domination is also to be found in Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Albania, Croatia and other subjugated countries.

The actions of these national liberation movements clearly refute Lenin's thesis that under "proletarian" rule, revolutionary activities would be impossible. In all the so-called Soviet republics and the satellite countries, the actions of the national liberation movements proved that there is a limit to the terrorisation of the peoples by the Soviet Russian regime. Moreover, their actions dispelled the fear of the large masses.

In fact, as a direct result of the revolutionary activities of the national liberation fronts, the Soviet Russian regime was frightened into initiating a 'relaxation' policy, generally known as de-Stalinization. This policy contains the seeds of destruction of Soviet Russian rule in the subjugated countries.

Some people might feel that this 'relaxation' policy will lead to the democratization of Communism and that the Russian empire can become democratic. This can never be the case, for it would lead to the dissolution of the Russian empire as such. But Moscow will never willingly give up its present hold over the so-called Soviet republics and the satellite states; hence it will never become democratic.

A new stage in the national liberation movements is marked by an increase in psychological warfare techniques. Technically educated youth build and employ shortwave senders to spread anti-Communist and anti-Russian propaganda. Illegal broadcasting has become the order of the day in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries — a fact which is directly confirmed by the Soviet press, which complains of 'air hooligans'. According to Soviet press information, the so-called 'air hooligans' have been broadcasting anti-Soviet songs, poems, political commentaries and satires, sensational and exaggerated news reports on events in the Kremlin, etc. A trial of 'air hooligans' was reported in Kharkiv (Ukraine).

There is evidence in the Soviet press too, that the population is endeavouring to arm itself, especially the young workers and the students. This is done by stealing weapons from the state arsenals, by building them at home, by purchasing them illegally from state depots and by taking them from representatives of the Soviet authorities and even from military troops.

The wide-spread ideological and cultural offensive on the part of writers, artists and intellectuals especially of those of the younger generation is another form of revolutionary activity which is not to be underestimated.

The ideas they mainly represent are love of country and God, justice, truth, human dignity and freedom. The young artists flatly reject so-called socialist realism and look for new forms of artistic expression. A cultural renaissance on traditional and historical principles is the dominant motive in which the younger generation is interested. One finds neither dialectical materialism nor negation of one's fatherland. On the contrary, there is a fanatic faith in, and fanatical love of one's country. No internationalism, no Soviet patriotism! The young people do not shrink from writing anti-Russian and anti-Communist poetry, even if they are imprisoned for doing so. This refutes the allegations of some "experts" on Soviet affairs that our subjugated peoples, and especially the young, have become sovietised.

Owing to the limitation of time at our disposal, I shall refer to one example only, the young Ukrainian poet Vasyl Symonenko. His verses, which are charged with accusations against Russia and demand resistance, have become the inspiration and battle-cry of the young. He looked into the 'tortured

eyes' of Mother Ukraine, which seemed like wounds to him — yet wounds 'flashed with bloodred lightning of upheavals and fights at the barricades.' He pledged:

Ukraine, you are my prayer,
My eternal desperation,
For your holy name I am ready
To pour forth my last drop of blood.

The voices of poets like Vasyl Symonenko are heard from Turkestan to Rumania and Bulgaria, from Georgia to Estonia and Latvia.

The 1959 Soviet census showed convincingly that the Soviet Russification policies which have been employed in the USSR for more than forty years, were not able to Russianize non-Russians. More than 85% of the non-Russians listed their national language as their native language in the census.

At the same time, however, new developments have been taking place in the Soviet government. These developments are grave and dangerous for the West. At present Deputy Prime Minister Shelepin, the man who controls the KGB and the Communist Party, is on the march to absolute power in the Kremlin.

In its June 19, 1965, issue, the newspaper *Radyanska Ukraïna* (Soviet Ukraine) published an article by the chief of the KGB in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Gen. Nikitchenko. In this article Gen. Nikitchenko praises the present and former members of the KGB, who rule and control the whole complex of Soviet life: cultural, economic, and administrative. The chief of the KGB in the Soviet Union, Semichastny, writes in the same tenor in *Pravda*.

A new generation of fanatical Russian chauvinists, with KGB mentality, are preparing to take over in the empire. It is our duty to unmask and reveal the true faces of these criminals headed by Shelepin, especially as the new Shelepinites try to pass themselves off as the champions of justice and national independence for the young developing countries.

In this connection I wish to recall to mind that according to the verdict of the German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe in 1962, Shelepin is the man who gave the orders for the assassinations of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and Dr. Lev Rebet, the anti-Communist writer and publicist. Both assassinations were carried out on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic.

I accuse Shelepin, the present Vice Premier of the Soviet Union and probable future dictator of the Soviet Union, of being responsible for an attempt on my own life, too.

We call upon the leaders of the Free World not to cooperate with these murderers and tyrants, lest freedom and liberty lose their meaning and value.

Parallel to its liberation fight behind the Iron Curtain, ABN carries on wide-spread activities in the Free World. These are mainly in the form of mass demonstrations against Russian foreign rule and against Communist subjugation of our countries.

One of the largest and most notable of ABN's actions in this form took place in Scandinavia as a protest against Khrushchov's visit. Thousands of young Swedes and Danes marched under the ABN banner. This was an unmistakable sign of the support which the ABN front receives. While denouncing Khrushchov, ABN paid special tribute to Charles XII, who, in 1709, allied himself with the great Ukrainian statesman, Hetman Mazepa, against Russia. In his speech in Goteborg, Khrushchov not only severely attacked ABN's goals and ideas, but addressed angry epithets against me, as President of ABN.

Just as in past years, ABN organized mass demonstrations in West Germany, Canada, Australia, Latin America and elsewhere in connection with Captive Nations Week this year also.

It is also part of our aim to contribute to the rebirth and strengthening of patriotic feelings, to devotion to heroic humanism and to religious beliefs, which are all necessary for the West's success in the struggle against Communism. A union of men of free spirit, the martyrs of Russian and other concentration camps, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the heroic Hungarian revolution, as well as other freedom fighters, must be established in the West too.

We are living in an ideological age, which, however, is also the age of thermonuclear weapons. It is a revolutionary age. Ever since the days of the Paris Commune, wars have been more and more decided by revolutions and not by battles. Russia was defeated in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, not only by Japanese attacks on her fronts, but also by the fear of internal revolutions. In 1914-1918 it was actual revolution that put an end to the Russian Tsarist empire.

During World War II Hitler failed to support national revolutions within the Russian empire, and Churchill and Roosevelt failed to support the anti-Nazi revolt in Germany. By giving all possible support to Stalin, they enabled him to win the war. Once won, he immediately set to work to undermine all non-Communist governments. This is what is now called the 'cold war.' Yet the Western Powers fail to realize that it is the real war in a revolutionary age, and that the nuclear war they fear and are preparing for is nothing other than the old fashioned outer front type of war raised to the n-th degree. Once again they are preparing to fight the last war over again, while the Kremlin is fighting the real war and winning it.

There is an alternative to nuclear war for the West also. This alternative is support for the national liberation movements in the USSR and the satellite countries. This support must be given in a similar way that Moscow and Peking give support to their brand of 'national liberation wars and revolutions.' Under this condition, Moscow and Peking could easily be defeated from within, without running the risk of a nuclear war.

History has taught us that Russia only responds to force — never to a policy of leniency. Hence, support of national revolutions by the West is bound to succeed, on condition, that is, that it does not leave those who have taken up arms against Russian tanks in the lurch, as was done in Hungary. The spirit of Yalta must be banished once and for all.

It is a mistake to concentrate solely on Communist China and to underestimate the Russian Communist danger by regarding it as of secondary importance. In support of this, I should like to quote the view of the US Admiral, McMahon. He analyzes from geopolitical point of view: "He who rules Eastern Europe commands the Heartland. He who rules the heartland commands the World Island. He who rules the World Island commands the whole world. The Heartland means European and Asiatic countries of the Russian empire. The World Island consists of Europe, Asia and Africa. The rest of the world are smaller islands comprising the Americas, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, Indonesia, New Zealand and New Guinea. Russia commands the Heartland because she rules Eastern Europe. Therefore, she is on her way to ruling the World Island (Western Europe, Asia and Africa)."

The complete dissolution of the Russian empire is therefore a necessity for integral and indivisible freedom and lasting peace in the World.

I am optimistic about the future. At the time of the French Revolution, the great British statesman, Edmund Burke stated with regret: "The age of Chivalry is gone. The age of sophists, economists and calculators is coming". Today it can be said that precisely the opposite tendency is observable. The modern mind has been closed to God for long time, but it seems now that God is finding His way back — back through closed doors.

The traffic of ideas is duty free!

Anna-Halya HORBATCH

The Young Generation of Ukrainian Poets

The group of Ukrainian poets with which we are concerned has been the subject of lively interest both to the interested public in Ukraine and to Soviet literary critics. These poets have chosen topics which show no particular preoccupation with the Stalinist era nor any inclination to follow the official propaganda line against the atomic bomb and for world peace. Just as Stalinism in Ukraine took on features somewhat different from those it had in Russia (apart from curbing the very pronounced individualistic tendencies of the Ukrainian peasantry and the general drive for uniformity through russification, the emphasis here lay on combating what is termed "bourgeois nationalism"), so the de-stalinised Ukrainian literature of recent years also shows its own distinguishing marks. There is a strong national motivation in the work of many young poets, who look for the source of national strength in the self-reliant and old-established peasantry of their country. They reflect on the innate qualities which have enabled the Ukrainian people to weather the storms of time and to preserve their spiritual countenance, which to this day is mirrored in the extraordinarily rich national poetry filled with pagan memories and Christian values. In contrast to the efforts of the regime to bring about a featureless communist society, in which not only all national but also the few residual "class" differences (workers — peasants) would disappear, it is interesting to note the prominence given by these poets to the Ukrainian peasant class, whose members paid for the collectivisation of agriculture in the 1930's with five million starvation victims and whom one might suppose to have lost their significance in the industrialised Ukraine of today.

A striking feature of this new Ukrainian poetry is the use it makes of cosmic themes; though induced by the scientific and technological feats of space flight, they take on a subjective and phantastic-hyperbolic character. Personal lyric and the attempt to focus interest not on the Hero of Labour according to official literary directives, but on Man with his good and his bad sides, these are traits now common to most of the new poetry in the Soviet Union.

It is noteworthy that there are hardly any professional writers among this young generation of poets. They are doctors, students, teachers, film actors or producers, and literature for them is a hobby and not a means of earning a living, as it is for most members of the Writers' Union. Their professions give them a certain degree of independence and a chance to elude the "socialist commitment."

Our sources for the poems and for the pronouncements of Soviet critics are Ukrainian literary magazines and the newspapers of Soviet Ukraine (*Literaturna Hazeta*, *Literaturna Ukraïna*, *Vitchyzna*, *Zhovten*, *Dnipro*, *Prapor*). A selection of Soviet-Ukrainian lyric poetry, with an introduction by B. Kravtsiv, appeared in Ukrainian in 1962 under the title "Poets of the Milky Way" ("Poety chumatskoho shlyakhu", published by *Suchasnist*, Munich). A further omnibus volume, containing lyrics, prose and critical reviews of recent years, was edited by Ivan Koszelivac and appeared in Ukrainian under the title "Panorama of New Ukrainian Literature" (*Panorama naynovishoi literatury v USSR*, published by Prolog, New York, 1963). Our translations of the various poems or lines of verse are literal or in prose, and are not meant to do more than give a general idea.

During the years 1956 to 1958, a few daring poets and writers in Ukraine began to abandon the conventional eulogies about Soviet "achievements" for a more personal and frequently sceptical, if not pessimistic, lyrical expression. A sharp rap by the official critics in 1958, however, silenced these new voices again.

Lina Kostenko, born 1930, was the first to sound a hitherto inadmissible note in her poetry collections "Earth Rays" (Kiev, 1957) and "Sails" (Kiev, 1958). In her early work formalism and symbolism predominate. Doubtless the most beautiful of her first poems is "Ferns" ("Paprot", printed in *Zhovten*, 7/1957), which speaks of green birds alighting late in the evening on a freshly cut clearing in which the discs of the tree stumps shone like so many full moons. After the invocation

Green birds,
What else is it you want?
You have the moon,
You have the sky!

comes the unexpected end: When in the golden light of the morning the birds want to fly up into the sky, they are unable to do so because their wings have become entangled in the fluttering throng.

After Lina Kostenko had been officially reprimanded for her "formalism, linguistic tricks, and a pessimism unworthy of a Soviet poet", she remained silent for three years. The disapproval of her work was most loudly voiced in the reviews by O. Volosheninov in *Literaturna Hazeta* of 14 July 1957, by J. Barabash in the same journal of 2 August 1957 and by P. Ivanov in the party journal, *Komunist Ukraïny*, of December 1958. Her poems were said to express "despair, frustration, fatalism, which are far from the optimism and exultant feeling of solidarity that fill the heart of Soviet man." It was not till 1961 that Lina Kostenko broke her silence with a new volume of poetry entitled "Gull on an Ice Floe." A more matured language and a personal poetic style mark these poems. We should like to point out two, which might be regarded as the creed of the young generation of poets. In the lines dedicated to Taras Shevchenko, "To the Bard" (*Zhovten*, March 1961), Lina Kostenko attacks the spiritually crippled who have strayed into the literary field and make their living off it:

Oh how many crippled, hopeless souls
Has our century brought forth.
Many a seasick man
Reels on the deck of the earth.
Unhinged, hollow and feeble —
Woe, if he strays into art!
There are enough careerists here already,
Charlatans, sceptics, without number.
They search for the most fashionable form
In which to clothe the substance
Their souls lack.

In "Relays" ("Estafety", *Literaturna Hazeta*, 15 September, 1961), the poet condemns the philistinism and ambitiousness of those Soviet literati who are only concerned for their own comfort:

There are many relays,
Philistines pass to each other cabinets and boxes,
Dented spoons and jagged knives,
Alien thoughts and dullness of mind.
There are many relays,
Soldiers hand each other bayonets,
Masters their secrets,
Tsars their ukases and prisons.
There are many relays,
Poets pass to one another
From soul to soul,
From mouth to mouth
The freedom of spirit, the truth of the word.
Let no one exchange these
For vanity, ambition and comfort;

Let no one drop the torch!
If it fell to the ground
It would pain the heart of the people.

The critics, who in 1958 had reproached Lina Kostenko with formalism, became enthusiastic about her in 1961 and praised her ability to give expression to the complex and enigmatic processes of the mind.

The second pioneer of contemporary Ukrainian lyric poetry is **Mykola Vinhranovsky**. Film actor and producer by profession, he is a pupil and admirer of the famous Ukrainian poet and producer O. Dovzhenko, and his poems echo Dovzhenko's close association with the Ukrainian soil and its peasants. For Dovzhenko the Ukrainian peasant was the symbol of the indestructibility of the Ukrainian nation, since in the course of events the renaissance of Ukrainian culture in the 19th century rested largely on the Ukrainian peasantry. In the poem "Full of grasses was the night" ("Stoyala v travakh nich", *Vitchyzna*, October 1961), Vinhranovsky expresses most clearly his reverence for the husbandman. He describes how, on a summer night, he lay under the open sky, his head resting on his brother's arm:

My brother slept as men of the fields do,
His brow and breast turned to the sky.
Oh what a brow, oh what a hand!
More beauty can't be found in any other land.
And then I felt how the young corn
Grew through my head out of my brother's hand.
Around us night...

The remarkable thing is that Vinhranovsky did not lose that close relationship with his Ukrainian homeland when, though originally from the country, he lived in the great cities and, as a prominent Soviet actor, at many festivals, got to know the fashionable world abroad. In "Ukrainian Prelude" (*Vitchyzna*, October 1961) he reveals his almost mystical attachment to Ukraine, whose face he touched at night "with burning fingers", mixed his blood with hers, whereby one became the other. As through her he had been reborn, he saw the world through her eyes and was wrapped in the language of a Ukrainian woman.

But his poetry also alludes to national history and couples such topics with cosmic motifs. Haidamaks (peasants rebelling against Polish landlords in the 18th century) and Chumaks (former Ukrainian Cossacks who, as salt and fish merchants, drove in their ox-carts to the Crimea) — the latter even gave their name to the Ukrainian for the Great Bear and the Milky Way — inhabit the universe and guide the heavenly bodies.

To illustrate the strange combination of mystic-historiosophic and cosmic-hyperbolic elements which, incidentally, is not peculiar to

Vinhranovsky alone, here are a few lines from his poem "The Forbear" ("Pradid", *Zhovten*, August 1961). The poet is looking for Chumak's Wain (Great Bear) in the night sky:

There in the Wain my forbear is at rest.
The Moon,* after his walk through the sky,
Joins him for sleep and, according to custom,
Greets him with a kiss on the shoulder.

The ancestor asks the moon whether he had brightened the earth on his journey and inquires if spring had come to his native Zamostya. He advises the moon not to shine the next night, as the highwayman Karmelyuk (a historical figure) will be on the prowl. He begs the moon to give him the brightest star so that he may throw it into the well of his sweetheart Motrya and turn her water into gold. Then there is the powerful imagery of the concluding lines:

Tomorrow we'll go to Orion's stars,
But for today it is enough.
Into harness, Moon, beyond the clouds
My distant country calls for the Sun.

.....

The moon pulls Chumak's Wain
With my forbear through the space of centuries.

Very much in contrast to the optimistic pose of the "official" poets are the lyrics of the Kiev physician **Vitaliy Korotych** (born 1936). With great sensitivity, he captures in his work childhood memories of the war, human suffering, scepticism, doubt, and man's trust in himself. His poems abound with characters he met in the course of his profession and it is evident that the psyche of his patients absorbed him more than their case histories. The world Korotych describes is somewhat out of joint and a slight dissonance can be heard in his voice. He clearly expressed this feeling in his poem on the out-of-tune pianos — "when every string sounds more than one note" — (*Literaturna Hazeta*, 8 September 1961). Elegiac tones ring in his expressive and mature poems about life ("Zhyttya", *Vitchyzna*, October 1961), in which he contrasts the deceptive self-assurance of the young with the awareness of true values that comes with ripener years:

Perhaps this is where truth is found
And wisdom gained:
That, forgetting our tiredness,
We call to mind old words,
Our parents' home...
Love...
Children...
Words our hearts have guarded...

*) In order to preserve the sense of the original, the moon must here be referred to as masculine.

And he speaks of love ("Well, that was all") that in no way resembled the illusions with which it was expected, but was heavy "like black bread."

Korotych states his artistic creed in "Pure Art" ("Chyste mystetstvo", *Literaturna Hazeta*, 5 May, 1961):

Thoughts must not be drowned in a sea of words.
 Heroes are not always beautiful and broad-shouldered.
 I — am for the purity of art.
 And art is pure
 When pure hands
 And pure thoughts create it.

The most gifted among our group of young poets is, no doubt, **Ivan Dratch** (born 1936). Even more than Vinhranovsky's work, his poetry is studded with cosmic motifs, which become hyperboles, and with historiosophic visions reaching into the depths of thousands of years. "A Knife into the Sun", is the title he gave to his "magic tragedy" (feverychna trahediya), which was published in *Literaturna Hazeta* (18 July 1961). It proved to be a literary event. Not only the new structure and the modernistic style of his poetry came as a surprise to readers and critics, but it was above all his attempt to present an historiosophic vision of the ruin the last quarter of a century had brought to Ukraine, which caused the initial astonishment. The renowned critic L. Novychenko, in his preface to Dratch's first volume, "Sunflower" (Kiev, 1962), praised the poet's powers of association as a pleasing innovation in Ukrainian poetry. But in the very same year a sharp polemic against the innovators of Ukrainian poetry was started by the poet and critic M. Sheremet: "To whom does the young gifted poet lend his youthful fervour: at whom does he aim his thunderbolts?... What causes him to see the post-war life of our people as the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha?... No writer should ever forget that his work must have ideological content and be intelligible to the general reader." ("The complicated and artificial cannot be beautiful"; *Literaturna Hazeta*, 14 November, 1961). Now that the reactionary voices among official reviewers have again come to the fore, the initial astonishment has turned into indignation, all the more so as Dratch sketches an historical picture which does not conform to Party directives.

The work is in two widely different parts. The first consists of several poems in varying poetic techniques, which describe the poet's wandering through time and space. He focuses attention on a few deeply tragic figures, who are portrayed in decisive moments of human existence and who symbolise the fate of the nation. The second part appears rather unfinished and was designed, one must assume, with the intention of easing the passage for the important first part by the display of loyal communist views.

In the prologue to the "Feyerychna Trahediya", the poet meditates on the meaning of his own life and resolves to make a journey leading him into space. He meets Skovoroda, an 18th century Ukrainian philosopher, who gives him his blessing and advises him to travel through his native Ukraine and penetrate the hearts of men. Dratch's mention of Skovoroda can hardly be considered a coincidence. This wandering scholar once taught that the perfection of the self and the enrichment of the inner life were as important as man's outward actions. In stressing the inner world of man, the poet wishes to underline his right to a life of his own, a notion which is, of course, in conflict with the Marxist, and particularly the Bolshevik, ideology in which there is very little room for the individual and his ego.

The first part of the work, at which we want to take a closer look, is entitled "The wide open heart" and is made up of several unrelated poems, in which the poet — like another Faust, — accompanied by the devil, witnesses some fateful events in the life of his fellow men. That a young Soviet writer should even dream of entrusting himself to a tempter, who wants to prove to him that the world into which he was born had no lasting value, who wants to show him other things, who is going to "tear up the red flag for foot rags", — is another heresy. For what could be more alien than an attitude of doubt to the Komsomol-trained youth, for whom the ideal should be pragmatic man, strong-willed, ruled entirely by functionalism! In the 21 stanzas of the first poem "The Madwoman, Vrubel and the Honey" ("Bozhevilna, Vrubel i Med", *Literaturna Hazeta*, 18. 7. 1961), Dratch sets the macabre scene with a deranged mother who has lost her three sons — one through suicide "of black disdain 1937", the other two during the last war at Warsaw and Berlin. A dog, a cat and a cock are her "substitutes" for the sons, for whom she prepares a feast. She leads the two wanderers into the house, who then look on as the mother, whirled around the table by the wind, revolves like a planet in a wild dance.

Three Cossacks sobbed from pity for the old woman
But could not step out of their bloodstained frames.

The grief of this mother is so extreme that the Lermontov Demon (the reference here is to the picture — inspired by Lermontov's famous poem "The Demon" — by the modernistic Russian painter Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910) at the Tretyakov Gallery) comes to life and in his desperation throws everything in the picture into confusion and drives the painters from the museum. Vrubel arrives at the house of the distressed mother and on the threshold sinks to his knees before her, who is the embodiment of the deepest human suffering. Finally, the mother makes a gift of honey to the departing wanderers.

It is evident that the poet Dratch has his own ideas about Soviet reality. While for the official Soviet historiographers the Yezhov terror is merely an episode of the "personality cult" and the last

world war is seen almost exclusively as "the great patriotic struggle", Dratch places both these catastrophes, which had been particularly disastrous for Ukraine and had exacted a terrible toll from every family during the last quarter of a century, on the same level. How these past afflictions still affect the young generation of today becomes clear in these lines from the above poem:

My hair began to get grey at twenty-five
Because of that house and the sorrow within.

In the next poem — "The Funeral of the Kolkhoz Chairman" — the poet conjures up a grotesque scene: A kolkhoz chairman, about to be buried and mourned by the entire community, sits up in his coffin and makes "confession" to those present. This character is very reminiscent of the peasant whose death struggle Vasyl Stefanyk described in his poem "The Hour of Death", and at the same time it recalls the work of the Polish poets Ważyk and Mrozek. The "confession" is a censure of the official bureaucratic set-up which leaves no room for human emotions. The poet exposes the mendacity of the system: whereas it is supposed to satisfy every need of the working class, it becomes quite plain — through the relationship of kolkhoz chairman with the poorest representative of that class, a war widow — what the conditions presented in the literature of "socialist realism" look like in actual fact. The grotesque part in the description of the kolkhoz chairman, whom work had left no time to enjoy Beethoven's symphonies, Rodin's sculptures, Einstein's theories, or to take delight in the beauty of this world, once again harks back to Skovoroda, who in the prologue had called upon men to perfect their inner self, since the microcosm of human life was as important as the macrocosm.

As a counterpart to the theme of death, Dratch extols in his third poem — "The invisible tears of the wedding" ("Nevydymi slyozy vesillya", *Literaturna Hazeta*, 18. 7. 1961) — the marriage as a culminating point in the life of man. Having given a picture of exuberant vitality, Dratch then uses the symbol of the violin to let the bride express her nature and her destiny in sound. Her very name, "Violin Solomiya", is a symbol — that of the self-sacrificing young woman (modelled on the female character in "Dearly Bought" by M. Kotsyubynsky).

I bring tenderness into the cruel world,
As a bee I have gathered it from centuries,
So that in these raving, tragic years
I may hum for a while to my beloved.
I will give a son, a star-child, to him,
Who through the thunder of rockets presses forward;
And he will be destined to preserve life on earth.

There is again no trace of the Marxist interpretation of history, with its "progressive" and "regressive" classifications, in the fourth

poem — "Ukrainian Horses over Paris" ("Ukraïns'ki koni nad Paryzhem). If anything, Dratch is rather "regressive" here in expressing his emotional relationship with the history of his Ukrainian homeland — an inadmissible "narrowing" of the historical view. He stresses the timeless aspects, from the ornamentation of Scythian times to the terracotta horse of Ukrainian folk-art in our day. The fantastic vision of the poem is startling: a clay horse, which the poet had overlooked while admiring other similar figures, takes revenge on him and turns him alternately into the bleak steppes, over which nomadic tribes are making their way; into the Dnieper, through which wild hordes are swimming; into Parisian palaces and hovels, lapped by the Seine; and, finally,

The Scythian horse from the mud hut
Rakes up the stars of the Chumak Way.

In his wide historical canvas, that stretches from Scythian times to the space age, Dratch gives prominent place to images taken from Ukrainian folklore, to a Ukrainian world with its local colour, which in the Party view is unimportant and provincial, and is condemned to oblivion. This is heresy once more, since the Party and its loyal "progressive" writers have in mind a future in which such national distinctions disappear. It is for this reason that all these ideological elements, expressed in a language of symbols, acquire a special significance.

In his "Etudes" Dratch again returns to the "inner world." These poems show a remarkable freshness of ideas, and metaphors abound. Here is "The Etude of the Suns" ("Sonyachnyi etyud", *Vitchyzna*, October 1961):

Where among blue-hued pastures wanders
The most delicate white-shouldered cloud,
I offer suns for sale, orange-red, well-rounded, —
Eyes full of restlessness and music.

The sun of faith, here, so simple, pure;
The sun of moderation — on stilted little legs;
And here the sun of grief, with drops of gold,
A fountain-head of wisdom.

The suns glisten and glitter,
Heels over head fly the protuberances.
Come, buy my suns — and in exchange
Give me your care-worn hearts' much-handled coin.

I will not do an insult to your souls
And stake them on a drunken game of cards.
As for the price of suns, you will agree:
Each sun is worth a heart.

Lastly let us have a look at one more of these young poets, **Yevhen Hutsalo** (year of birth not known) who is also a short story writer. In well balanced blank verse, alluring in language and style, Hutsalo praises the beauty of his native province, "golden Podolia", renders honour to his beautiful Ukrainian mother tongue (anathema to the Party, whose aim is russification), expresses his affinity with his distant ancestor who, as peasant and frontier soldier, guarded the steppe against marauding hordes.

In the evocative poem "The Autumn ran..." ("Hey, bihla osin", *Literaturna Hazeta*, 9 January, 1962), Hutsalo faultlessly blends familiar images from Ukrainian national literature with his own thoughts:

The autumn ran through the late meadows,
A stag, severely wounded by the hunter
Who spread around him deadly fires
That were like the cold surfaces of moons.
The autumn ran through evening forests,
Left moon-drops hanging on the trees, —
And on the elder bush, the red one,
They sparkled on the silent berries.
The autumn ran through youthful songs,
Drank water from the little stream,
Crossing the bridge he seized a rustling leaf,
And breathed in deeply the grey mist.
The autumn ran over my heart
Which echoed the soft beating of his hoofs,
A certain rhythm made him stumble though
And unexpectedly he fell, bathed in moonlight.
The autumn ran over my heart.
Oh, if only you had not run there,
If only you had stayed
In the late, yellow meadows,
In the evening woods,
In the youthful song!
The autumn ran...

The fable-like poem "The Great Bear" ("Velyka medvedytsia", *Literaturna Hazeta*, 12 September, 1961), in which Hutsalo, too, makes use of cosmic imagery, may be regarded as the "leitmotiv" of this generation of poets. They flee from humdrum everyday life and the prescribed "fulfilment of norms" into the realm of the imagination:

...The New Year night — it is a fairy tale.
Clad in a starry, snowy gown,
I stroll along the heavenly road
Which we call Chumak's Way.
Weak human that I am, I long
To strike in passing Lyra's chords.

I firmly take the paw of the Great Bear
And lead her to you in the room.
Wrapping your feet in woollen cloths,
You say to me: How splendid it would be
To strip her of her fur
And make a rug for our bed.
Without a word I lead the Bear away
And very gently scratch her starry ear.
And then I say to her: Go back into the sky
And shun from now the constellation of the Dog.
...The New Year night — is like a fairy tale...

The Party did not fail to lash the young Ukrainian poets with its criticism. The report on a session of the party organisation of Kiev writers, of which extracts were printed in *Literaturna Ukraïna* of 22 April 1963, shows that Novychenko was fiercely attacked by Mykola Sheremet and D. Tkatch for his "uncritical" attitude towards "the young":

"How have the young been criticised here? Hardly had I. Dratch written down some unintelligible poem (literally: made fogs rise) of dubious sense, when I. Dzyuba and another, older, critic hastened to assert that this was a new philosophical approach to poetry." (D. Tkatch)

As an illustration, here are two more utterances:

"A few young formalists, who have divorced themselves from the life, the destiny and the ideals of the people, tried to bring disquiet into our lives. Several unprincipled critics hoped to curry favour by popularising these youngsters, thereby making confusion worse confounded. Now they are in the unenviable position of having been sharply reproved by the general public. The noise that was made about these young writers was quite out of proportion to their real significance to literature. Today nobody raves any more about their nonsensical poems. These formalistic absurdities can only come about when the writer has lost touch with the true life of the people, its aim and ideals, and is ignorant of their spiritual problems..." (Vadym Sobko in *Literaturna Ukraïna*, 28. 6. 1963)

"Ivan Dratch has rightly been censured for his formalistic poetry. However, he has not responded to the severe and well-intentioned criticism." (O. Poltoratsky in *Literaturna Ukraïna*, 3. 7. 1963)

A number of officially approved writers and critics of the older generation have reproached the young poets with being too "intellectual" and with deliberately writing poetry which is incomprehensible to "the people" and meant only for a small circle of initiates. They suggest that these young writers should go into the factories and collective farms and there feel the pulse of the people. The conflict between "fathers and sons" was thoroughly gone

into, and Dratch was accused of having stressed this "fictitious" problem on purpose. He was charged with arrogance, since he was far too young to have a "scarred soul", and could not have experienced such hardship that his "hair began to get grey at twenty-five." The young are required to write in such a manner that not one of their lines can be misused for anti-Soviet propaganda, as has happened repeatedly these last years.

It is remarkable that some of the young writers have refused to go in for self-criticism or to write their poems. In this, their less exposed position is of advantage to them. Dratch, for instance, declared at a discussion in the Writers' Union that he could not alter one line of his poetry. Vinhranovsky went so far as to express regret that his poems had been printed in the West and misused by "bourgeois nationalists."

To counter the charges of ideological mistakes and formalistic sins, the young poets refer to a number of rehabilitated writers of the 1920's who, in the relatively open-minded atmosphere of that time, were able to produce work of abiding value. That this tradition was never quite discontinued, but survived through the 1930's and the war, is proved by the constant "discovery" of unknown dead or forgotten poets, whose work now suddenly comes to light after having lain for years in the drawers of publishers' desks. In *Literaturna Ukraïna* of 10 May 1963, Lina Kostenko introduced the hitherto unknown poems of a young writer, killed in the war, that had waited for nineteen years to be "discovered." The work of this poet, Volodymyr Bulayenko, who called himself a "new Skovoroda", reveals a rich inner world and a familiarity with the true art of poetry. The Ukrainian poets of our day know that the path to genuine art leads through the heart. The wandering philosopher and poet of the past has only after two hundred years found his disciples.

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Wolfgang STRAUSS

THE SYMONENKO CASE

*Young poet rebels against Russification/ Echo in West German press/
Furious agitation campaign against national Ukrainian emigration in
Ukrainian Communist paper/ "Political poesy" illegally circulated.*

A tried practice of Russian politicians was and is to pull a curtain of silence across any affair which makes them especially uncomfortable. It is, despite its insidiousness, a bloodless method, to be sure — but it is for this reason no less feared by the opponents of Russian policies, as complete and unceasing dead silence is capable of leading the population astray and generating false opinions. In the case of the young Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, the silence lasted about three months, but then had to be broken by its initiators, as it had proved completely ineffective.

After Vasyl Symonenko's poems of freedom had been printed in January of this year by the Ukrainian exile periodicals, appearing in Munich, *Shlyakh Peremohy* and *Suchasnist*, the Bolshevik Party press in Ukraine attempted to hush up the Symonenko Affair — it had meanwhile attained such a status — with strict silence. There could simply not be a Symonenko Affair!

But the weapon of silent boycott has got blunt — very blunt indeed! The Ukrainian population found out about the rousing patriotic verses of the young poet. Through the oft mentioned, oft lamented Iron Curtain (which has recently lost much of its iron impermeability) penetrated the broadcasts of Western radio stations which transmit special programmes in Ukrainian. These radio stations seized on the "Affair" and acquainted their Ukrainian listeners with Symonenko's lyrics of accusation.

The reaction of the Bolshevik press did not have to be awaited long. On 15th April *Radyanska Ukraina*, the organ of the Communist Party in Kyiv, launched a furious attack on the Ukrainian national emigration. At the same time the poet's mother announced her wish to speak. In a letter to the Communist Party of Ukraine she asked for aid in repulsing the "agitation" of the Ukrainian exile press, which was allegedly dragging her son's reputation in the mud. We may quite certainly assume — parallel cases provide proof — that the poor woman was compelled to take this disgraceful step.

Unfortunately we must reckon with the fact that several of the poet's friends, who played an important part in spreading the accusing poems, have meanwhile been arrested. Two names have been mentioned by the Soviet Ukrainian press — Ivan Svitlychnyj and Anatol Perepadya.

From these terroristic countermeasures on the part of the Communist lords in Kyiv it is clear how much political significance the USSR regime attaches to the Symonenko case. This Ukrainian lyric poet, essayist, writer of children's books, and journalist, who died on 13th December 1963 at the early age of 29 in the old Dniipro town of Cherkassy, has become a symbol of the courageous resistance against Party domination throughout his enslaved homeland, as it suffers beneath the terror of an alien occupier. Above all he has become a symbol for the educated young, for students and secondary school pupils. This is a resistance — in almost every case completely spontaneous and unorganized which is carried on by the younger generation, who have never known any free democratic system beyond Bolshevik practices in the everyday life of the Soviet citizen. And yet this generation still rebels!

Compared with the Symonenko case, the affair of the Russian poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, which was very much played up by the Western press, looks like a comedy. Vasyl Symonenko was a man of a very different calibre. The rebellion of the Young Communist Yevtushenko ended in repentant self-criticism, in deep obeisance, in genuflection before the almighty and omniscient Party. But there was no such dishonourable self-criticism in the short life of the Ukrainian Vasyl Symonenko. When the censor forbade the printing of his political verses, which constituted one single accusation, he and his friends took to illegal methods of circulation, well knowing that such an undertaking could mean the first step into prison, into the concentration camp, and perhaps even to the gallows.

One may reasonably assume that the reaction of the Red rulers in Kyiv has been so sharp, so openly brutal, because, among other reasons, the Western press has in the meanwhile published commentaries and stories about the poet, as well as articles, in some cases very detailed, about the most recent history of Ukraine. It is embarrassing, very embarrassing in fact, when, for example the respected *Rheinische Merkur* writes:

'Symonenko, who was born in 1935 in a village near Poltava, comes from the most tormented class of the allegedly classless society: Symonenko is the son of a peasant. A passionate, frankly revolutionary hate flames forth from every one of Symonenko's poems, in which he scourges the exploitation and debasement meted out by the Bolshevik regime with derision and cursing.

Where are they,
The fat, grey, preying
Demagogues and liars,
Who have throttled the faith of our fathers
And now reign — and menace — in office and
function? Where?!
They, they alone, belong behind the prison bars.
Before the tribunal with them!
Into the dungeon with them!
For exploitation and sucking of blood.
What, there's not enough evidence? There is evidence.
The ruins, the tatters of stolen faith,
Of stolen hope —
These shall be our evidence.. !'

The article in the *Rheinische Merkur* (no. 20 of 14th May 1965) continues:

'The Symonenko case could indicate a genuine phenomenon in the intellectual development of the post- 1945 generation of Soviet poets. His fundamentally human hate for the inhumanity of a political system which debases human beings to the level of exchangeable material goods, is conveyed by the pathos of both social and national protest. For Symonenko is a peasant and a Ukrainian, he belongs to the oldest Christian nation of Eastern Europe, to whom fate has granted real freedom and real happiness only for short moments during its thousand-year history. Symonenko speaks of the "tortured eyes" of Ukraine, whom he calls his mother. But he glimpses signs of proud opposition in the eyes of the "tortured one", the flashing of "blood-red lightning", of "revolutions, risings, fights at the barricades." The peasant's son swears,

"Out of love for thee do I sow pearls in the souls of men.
Out of love for thee do I think and create,
America and Russia — they shall hold their tongues,
When I speak with thee, O Ukraine!"

This very fact, that the young Symonenko thought and felt as a Ukrainian patriot, and flung his curses with all their scorn into the face of the Russian overlord of his beloved homeland, must have raised the immoderate rage of

the Kremlin rulers to white heat. In the Soviet Union only one patriotism may exist — Soviet patriotism, in reality Russian patriotism — or rather, Russian chauvinism! Even the tiniest national stir or utterance from the non-Russian peoples is branded as a crime, as an attack on the internal structure of the USSR, and hunted down with utmost rigour. And now a young Ukrainian dares to declare to his country, to his people: "I love you, yes, you, not Russia, not the Soviet Union!"

The *Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, appearing in Würzburg, also considers the national aspect of the case. We read:

'Vasyl Symonenko is above all a Ukrainian poet; he wrote his poems, his ballads, his odes, in Ukrainian. We cannot do justice to his work if we view it from a purely ideological standpoint. The national, Ukrainian aspect must be taken into account! His accusation is aimed not only against the Communist system of terror and economic exploitation — no, Vasyl Symonenko is passionately concerned to see his country, his beloved Ukraine, genuinely free and independent, free from the boots of Russian occupiers, Russian Party functionaries, Russian commanders-in-chief. In Symonenko's poetry, "political" in the best sense, it is made plain that Ukraine is an occupied country, a colony of "Big Brother" from Moscow.' (No. 19, 9th May 1965).

In the Munich paper *Volksbote*, which stands close to the Bavarian Christian Socialist Party, Eugen Libauer passes the following judgement on the Symonenko case:

'Symonenko's popularity among the Ukrainian and other non-Russian peoples is based on the fact that the poet cries out against Russian domination, against Muscovite colonialism and exalts patriotic love. Symonenko is an intellectual champion of genuine national independence for his great homeland.' Finally Libauer writes, 'Symonenko suffered terribly from his nation's lack of freedom. But he will never be able to see his beloved people in the glory of true freedom, for the 29-year-old poet died of cancer on 13th December 1963. Whether his passionate cry will be heard depends entirely on the will to freedom of that generation to which Vasyl Symonenko himself belonged. But there is hope.' (No. 15, 10th April 1965).

"Stolen Belief" is the name of an article in the Alsatian daily *Le Nouveau Rhin Français*, appearing in Colmar. The writer draws parallels with the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the early thirties, whose members either dropped into the bottomless pit of the GPU or were forced to capitulate. Now, thirty years later a Ukrainian, a young poet, raises his voice in accusation against the injustice and dictatorship of the Russian Communists. We read in the article: 'Vasyl Symonenko's work is a "revolutionary cry" in the best sense. That his poems could become so popular proves that they have been understood as that which lay in the poet's heart right from the start — as an intellectual weapon for the moral mobilization of the 45-million-strong Ukrainian people against Russian alien domination and overlordship, as props for the sense of community, humbled and debased by Moscow, of a nation which is the oldest civilized Christian people of Eastern Europe.' (No. 64, 17th March 1965).

Other newspapers which reported on Symonenko were the Hanover *Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung* of 16th April 1965, the *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* of 26th March 1965, and the features section of the *Demokratisch-Konservativen Korrespondenz* of 21st April 1965, appearing in Munich.

We may wait tensely for further countermeasures from the "demagogues and liars" whom Symonenko attacked and so completely unmasked. But what cannot but make us sad is the wave of persecution against the dead poet's former friends, who are now accused of having conducted "anti-Soviet agitation." But the employment of one method of resistance is from now on out of the question: Vasyl Symonenko's "revolutionary cry" will not be silenced any more!

Yuriy YANOVSKY

THE BARQUE IN THE SEA

The north wind blew out from the beach; it was the month of January or February; the sea was frozen for hundreds of yards from the shore; out to sea the waves were swelling high; against the horizon they were black with white crests; they were hurrying shoreward — against the wind, which blew away their white caps. On the beach a mild storm had broken up the ice-floes, and everything indicated that a mighty gale was brewing. The old woman, Polovets' wife, was standing on the shore; her dress flitted about her as if she were made of stone. She was a tall woman, self-possessed and grave, like a figure out of a folk song.

Odessa was visible on the other side of the bay; the north wind was blowing in toward the city; it towered high over the beach like the riggings of an old schooner whose sails had been removed and whose motor or steam engine was being repaired. Once again Odessa was experiencing a sea winter; winds from all directions were sweeping over the city, and fogs — wet, thick, grey fogs — were creeping in from the sea and enveloping Odessa. The old woman was standing immobile; beside her, the guild fishermen were busying themselves with their barques on the beach; the sea was pushing ice-floes onto the beach; the coldness penetrated to one's very bones; the north wind was blowing like a heavy, even rain. It was winter on the sea; winter fogs were shifting and behind the curtain which they formed, a sea storm had already begun to rage, lashing ever stronger and higher waves to the shore; the lighthouse of Odessa was lit — red and green stripes, red and green beams.

The old woman had helped her husband to get ready for the sea and now she was waiting for his barque; the north wind encircled

Yuriy Yanovsky (24.8.1902-25.2.1954) — an outstanding modern Ukrainian writer. His first Ukrainian poems appeared in 1924. His early short stories and novels are characterised by romanticism, spontaneity, poeticization of the Ukrainian peasant partisans of the Revolution, vitality and originality of style, strong-willed heroes. The most famous of his novels are "The Four Sabres" (1930) and "The Horsemen" (1932).

her heart which almost leaped out from her breast; from the sea came coldness and a deafening roar. The sea howled greedily and held her husband Musiy, in its clutches. She showed no fear of the sea; she stood silently on the beach, tall and severe; it was as if she were a lighthouse of invincible power.

"You have gone out to sea, my Musiy", she wailed inaudibly, "and the salty water has washed away your traces. But if I should see them, I will rake them together with my hands and call them to the shore. O, woeful wind of the north, drive this storm and this fog far back into the vast sea. I, however — I shall endure here to the very end, alone; and should I become a tree I will sway all my branches over the sea and rustle my leaves."

After a long time the barque appeared far out on the sea; forlornly, it glistened between the waves; then it disappeared behind the mountainous waves, reappeared for a moment, and sank again into the watery abyss. Face to face it fought the storm; on the shore, only the lapping of the waves was audible. It was terrible to watch the barque between the mountainous waves; it was lonely, like a man. It rocked back and forth; the storm lashed it over the water, driving it through the waves; the ice-cold spray of the water burnt like fire; one's wet clothes froze firmly to the body, but the men did not give in — Musiy and a stranger were struggling to get ashore.

Old Polovets' wife did not take her eyes from them; her heart was in the barque. On the beach the fishermen of Musiy's guild were talking among themselves; from the village children came running. A crowd had gathered on the beach; old Polovets' wife however, who came from the steppes, was standing apart; bravely she watched her husband's fight; the fog amassed over the sea; a grim cold pervaded.

"They are rowing", someone said, "but how is one to help them in such a storm?"

The young fishermen dashed to their barques; the older ones barred their way: "Let's not have any nonsense from you youngsters; the barques will sink: the crabs will eat you up, and our guild is poor; Musiy Polovets is our leader and he'll knock our heads off because of the barques, if he makes the shore all right."

Old Polovets' wife saw that one of the oars broke and that the barque was beginning to spin. Before the eyes of everyone who was standing on the shore, it spun upon itself twice; a wave struck against it; another took it up, threw it into the air, tilted it and the craft was swallowed up by the water. Now the fishermen rushed to the barques; they pushed the "Swallow", which was the pride of the guild, to the sea; four huge men boarded her; they lifted the oars into the air to catch the next wave, an enormous slashing wave. The "Swallow" was thrown on her side; ice-floes banged against her

boards; water began to flood her. These fishermen were in the water now trying to rescue the "Swallow." A wave hurled them against one another; the ice-floes injured their heads; they clung to the "Swallow." From the shore, the loop end of a rope was thrown out to them; they attached it to the "Swallow" and pulled her to the shore.

On the waves one could see Musiy's barque; it drifted bottom up; the fishermen bared their heads, but suddenly they saw a human arm waving in the sea. Someone was swimming in the icy water, was swimming towards the shore, was swimming sideways, crawling with his arms, but a wave carried him backward into the sea again, back into the fog. He wanted to reach the shore.

A huge bulk of a fisherman stepped forth, dragging along a piece of rope; he tossed a glass of brandy into his throat; he stepped into the water, turning blue at once. On the shore the fishermen disentangled the other end of the rope; the huge fisherman however, was already swimming toward the man in the sea. Ice-floes struck him; but nonetheless he worked his way out into the free water, the rope winding after him. The man between the waves was exhausted almost to the point of death; he lay on his back, tossed back and forth by the swelling waves. The fisherman who had the stature of a giant swam and swam.

As it turned out, however, the man was not really on the point of death; he had only lost consciousness due to the cold. And when he came to himself again, he again began to swim toward the shore with all his might. They came upon one another between the waves; it took the two swimmers a long time before they succeeded in reaching each other's hands; again and again a wave pushed them apart, but finally they succeeded. The rope was pulled taut like a sinew; ten pair of hands pulled on it; ten pair of hands pulled towards the shore. The swimmers struggled for the shore; they swallowed water; they fought their way through the ice. A man crept to the shore; he was no longer able to rise to his naked feet. Polovets' wife recognized Chubenko. He was frozen; only a warm heart was beating in his breast; someone took him up under the arm. "Comrades", Chubenko said with effort, "I am crying for the hero of the Revolution who freed me from my swimming French prison." And everyone went away from the sea; only old Polovets' wife remained alone on the beach, tall and serene, like a figure from a folk song.

Out on the sea one could see the capsized harque knocking about; there her husband Musiy Polovets had drowned; he had lived in this world a good many years; she never knew him to do anything evil; he was a true fisherman from the Black Sea near Odessa — and is it not the way it should be that the young return and the old remain in the sea? A boy came running from Dofinivka:

"Grandmother, Grandfather Musiy — he is no more, for Uncle said that Grandfather Musiy went down twice and then disappeared — and Grandfather Musiy, he is no more."

No one was surprised that old Polovets' wife had stayed behind alone on the deserted shore; she did not move from the spot. She was mourning; the wind blew about her as if she were made of stone; the storm continued to rage out on the sea, the ice-floes crashed against one another; the fog crept in toward the shore. The lighthouse of Odessa glittered red and green.

Polovets' wife thought of her maidenhood days, her maidenhood days in Ochakiv — owners of coastal ships courted her, let alone all those who owned fishing barques, launches, motor boats and yachts! She came from a good fisherman's family, with healthy, good steppe blood. But she married Musiy Polovets, a fisherman from Dofinivka, an inconspicuous fellow, who was shorter than her by a head. This is how love is and this is how it brings people together. Polovets' wife began the struggle for existence, for fish; she stood beside her Musiy and gave birth to a number of sons. The boys grew up by the sea; their strong shoulders crowded the house, which she governed with a strong hand. The mother was the head of the family; she stood firm as a rock in the sea.

The sons grew up and went away. Andriy had fallen in with Uncle Sydor and had become a good-for-nothing just like him; Panas brought his mother scarfs and earrings, silks and cognac from smuggled goods. She hid everything in her chest and feared for her Panas. His birth had been a difficult one, and he became her favourite. At night she would often go to the sea; it seemed to her as if she heard the lappings of oars and she had to save him from pursuers. Overko, however, became an artist; he acted with the Greeks in the amateur theatre of the enlightenment club; he read books that were written in the Ukrainian language. With his uncle's money he had studied at the seminary; he was not made to be a fisherman, which was a pity, but it was a pity about Andriy, too; probably he was already dead, for she had dreamt that he was standing at the marriage-altar.

Only Ivan was working in a factory and was a revolutionary; and Musiy was hiding rifles (although the French were occupying Odessa). Ukrainians were also among their allies; they once came to search the house and scared Musiy to death.

The capsized barque rocked on the waves; relentlessly, the storm raged over the sea. It seemed to the old woman as if the barque had come in closer. The sea will push it to the shore; then one has to pull it out and save it; the guild would be grateful, for without a barque one cannot catch fish. Steadily the craft was coming closer to the shore, closer and closer each minute.

The old woman waited for the barque to salvage the belongings of the guild; she stepped to the verge of the sea — a wave soaked her up to her knees. The barque pushed ever closer; one could already hear the ice-floes clashing against her sides — already see her tarred bottom and the keel board towering out of the water. A wave swept over the black smooth bottom — the old woman's heart froze: something was swimming behind the barque — some puffed up article of clothing.

The woman did not dare to look closely. The sea had brought her a victim; the sea had brought her the body of Musiy Polovets to the shore. She will have him to weep and mourn over him, to bury him in the fishermen's cemetery, where usually only women and children lie at rest; the men only dreamt of lying there; they lay at the bottom of the sea under the green sails of the waves.

The old woman looked and at the same time was afraid of looking; she wanted to call her beloved Musiy. The surf struck against her legs; the ice-floes cut the calves of her legs; the barque was already very close. It pushed toward the shore with its prow. With a rumbling sound the surf shifted the stones in the shallow water. The old woman wanted to pull the barque on land and then bewail her husband; already she could see his body in the turbid water; her heart quivered and her arms barely felt the weight of the barque. Suddenly, a voice sounded in her ears. She cried out, for it was the voice of her husband, a tired and familiar voice.

"Our guild is poor", the old man said, "and one simply can't leave the barque in the sea. I am the leader of the guild, so I had to rescue it. Chubenko surely made the shore all right, as healthy and tough as he is. He simply refused to swim without me. So I dived underneath the capsized barque, but he called and kept diving in search of me."

Old Polovets lifted himself up in the shallow water. In his hands he had one of his boots, which he threw to the shore, and began to busy himself with the barque. His wife made efforts to help him; the angry north wind made one's blood freeze; the beach was deserted; the sea raged. Far off one could see Odessa towering through the fog high above the coast, like the skeleton of an old schooner.

And Polovets and his wife went to their home. They walked along embracing each other tightly; the north wind blew into their faces; behind them roared the sea; they walked with sure steps, their hearts bound to one another, as they had walked for a whole life-time.

B. STEBELSKY

UKRAINIAN CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The Ukrainian people have created an original culture. It is a continuation of layers of thousand-year-old traditions that are not only a product of material culture but also at the same time a manifestation of a genetic spiritual heritage.

The Ukrainian culture was originated and preserved by a European population inhabiting the territory that embraces the tributaries of the rivers Dnipro (Dnieper), Dnister, Kuban reaching the Don, Danube and Vistula. Elements of the anthropological structure of the Ukrainian people are inherited from the autochthonous population in this territory (Ukraine).

Linguistically, the Ukrainians belong to the Slavs, who culturally fall into three main divisions: Western, Southern and Eastern. Another principle is followed by historians and archaeologists who base themselves on historical evidence of the formation processes of these nations from the most remote times.

The roots of Ukrainian culture reach to the first agricultural culture of Europe. Its traces have been preserved in Ukrainian folk-art and folklore. A well developed agricultural culture, the so-called culture of painted ceramics, was named "Trypillian" after the Ukrainian town where it was first discovered. It developed on the black earth territory of Ukraine between the rivers Dnipro, Dnister and the Danube delta in the third and second millennium before Christ.

One prominent archaeologist, Dr. Yaroslav Pasternak of Toronto, traces autochthonous Slavic population into two groups, Western and Eastern. In his book, *Archaeology of Ukraine*, he says:

"Taking into consideration new conclusions of East and West Slavic archaeologists we come to the following final conclusion:

"1) The East as well as the West Slavs are autochthonous inhabitants of their historic lands and they did not migrate there from the Danube, Polissia or Asia. This is proven by objects found in archaeological excavations.

"2) Both East and West Slavs developed on two separate but related bases whose origins reach neolithic and in some places even earlier times. The bearers of the culture of these bases, East and West, formed in neolithic times one large group of the earliest agricultural tribes of Europe. At this early stage of their development they had already created their own culture.

"The ethnic base for the Western Slavs was made up of tribes with volute ceramics. At the time of their greatest expansion, at the end of the third millenium B.C., they inhabited territories from

the Rhine in the West to the Vistula in the East and from the present city of Berlin in the North to the upper Danube in the South. West Slavic archaeologists, especially J. Kostrzewski, trace (on the basis of bearers of the volute ceramics and their earliest component tribes with volute ceramics and funnel-shaped cups through Unietychi and Luzhytsi culture in the Roman and early Slavic period.

"For the East Slavs, for the Ukrainians, the ethnic base on which they developed was the Trypillian tribes. The uninterrupted organic development of their culture, that in the course of thousands of years has changed its material manifestation many times, may be traced through the Chornolis-Bilohrudiv culture of the early iron age, the agricultural culture of the so-called "Scythians the plowmen" of Herodotus, the advanced iron age and the 'burial mounds' culture of the Roman period up to the early Slavic and princely times...

"The development of the Russian people followed a completely different course, from a different base and under the influence of other climatic conditions and geographical situation. Its earliest ethnic base was the proto-Ugro-Finnic nomadic tribes of hunters and gatherers and its ancestral territory was the Baltic lands and northern and central Russia (Muscovy). This ancestral territory, especially its southern boundary was clearly defined by the English archaeologist V. G. Childe and verified by the Polish archaeologist T. Sulimirski. This boundary separated with insignificant fluctuations the ancestors of the Ukrainian and Russian (Muscovite) Finnic tribes, that were Slavicized only under the influence of Kievan Rus' and the tribe of Slovenes from Lake Ilmen. South of this ancient ethnic boundary lived from prehistoric and early historic times proto-Slav agricultural tribes that formed the base of the Ukrainian people."

As we see, archaeology shows that the Ukrainian people are ethnically and culturally descended from the autochthonous Slavic population. At the same time it maintains that the Russian (Muscovite) people stem from the Ugro-Finnic tribes which, in contrast to the Slav-agriculturists, pursued hunting and fishing.

A very important factor in the development and one that influenced the formation of the character of the Ukrainian people and its culture were its historical connections and cultural influences. One of the most important was the connection with the Hellenic World which had colonies on the north Black Sea shore. Greek colonization, consisting of the cities of Olbia, Tyras, Bosphorus and Chersonesus, at that time centres of Western culture, formed a link connecting the native population with Greece and Rome. The advent of the Scythians did not stop the contacts of the earlier period in the life of the Ukrainian people that existed up to that time. These contacts, were not broken later in the Byzantine period, when the proto-type state, that of the Antes, ancestors of the present day Ukrainians, was organized, as recorded in Byzantine chronicles. These chronicles

mention the existence of monotheism among the Antes and even of Christianity in the border lands under their control. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions remnants of churches and crosses in those territories. This is probably a reference to Ukrainian Slavs, the tribes of Ulychi and Tyvertsi, who in the first century A.D. had a direct contact with the Roman Empire and thus supplied a basis for the unknown medieval author of "Prince Ihor's Raid Against Polovtsi" to call Kievan Ruś the "Land of Trajanus."

In the year 866, a century before Kyiv accepted Christianity, the patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, wrote in his epistle that Ruś "will change its godless Hellenic heathendom into a real and pure Christian faith." Two centuries earlier there existed in Tmutorokan (on the Caucasian side of Kerch Straits) a bishopric that was later directly subordinate to Constantinople.

The outstanding Russian historian B. A. Rybakov basing himself on chronicles advances a theory that there was a Ruś state, union of Slavic tribes on the territory of present day Ukraine south of Kyiv, already in the period of the state of Antes. (*Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, vol. 17. *Drevniye Rusy*, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1953). This hypothesis is mentioned also by the authors of the "Narysy starodavnoï istoriï URSS" ("Outline of the ancient history of the Ukrainian SSR", Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Kyiv 1957, page 391).

In the Kievan period the name Ruś embraced all the East Slavic tribes and in accordance with this, "Ruś Land" meant all territories of the ancient Ruś state. But besides this wider meaning "Ruś Land" had also an earlier and narrower one; it was used by the chronicles to designate a comparatively small territory in the region of the middle Dnipro (Dnieper). Maybe this was the state known in Arabian sources as "Kuyabia."

"...considering archaeological data we can say that the central part of the middle Dnipro on both sides of the river in the region of Kyiv and Chernyiv appears to be the most developed area in this territory that shows a certain unity of archaeological finds. This may explain the appearance of a state organization in this area which became the original nucleus of the Ruś Land.

"Later on when it became one country, Kievan Ruś, the name Ruś Land spread and covered the whole East Slavic territory, the Kievan State."

This has basic significance in determining the chronology of Ukrainian culture. Taking advantage of the political situation enjoyed by Russian historical science today and its influence in the world the Russians appropriate the Ukrainian culture of the time before the fifteenth century and annex it to Russian culture. They say that the three East Slavic peoples, Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians have a common origin in Kievan Ruś, and that under the influence of the Mongol invasion (1240) and historical exigences it gave rise

to the three nationalities. Such tendencies would not be harmful if the Russians were true Slavs, organizers of the Kievan state and creators of its culture. But history denies them the right and maintains that they are not only not legal heirs but also shows them to be a force ethnically and culturally alien, which fought with the Kyiv state, ruined it, although accepting formally part of its culture. The contemporary Russian Empire (USSR) is continuing the old policy of the destruction of Kyiv traditions in the Ukrainian culture and has a deleterious effect on its further development. This is why in considering the development of Ukrainian culture this aspect (the last three centuries of Russian hegemony in Ukraine) cannot be omitted. This influence hinders the organic development of Ukrainian culture, based as it is on traits of character peculiar to Ukrainian mentality and traditions and connections between Ukraine and Europe that have existed for millenia. This natural connection is not only broken off by the Russians, but they try to force Ukraine to follow their foreign ways of development which are based on the mentality of Ugro-Finnic tribes, descendants of Asiatic Altaians.

The baptism of Kievan Ruś by King Volodymyr the Great in 988 legalized the Hellenic-Byzantine influences. These, on the prepared ground of the old Slavic-Ukrainian culture, yielded a rapid and rich harvest in all branches of culture.

Especially highly successful were science and arts. Learning developed along with Church literature and written books, that were collected by the king's court and by every church and monastery. Writing was known among the ancestors of Kievan Ruś already in the time of Antes rule and the Ruś tribes of Ulychi and Tyvertsi. Ruś writing is mentioned by the reformer of the Church Slavonic alphabet, St. Cyril, at the time of his expedition to the land of the Khazars in the Crimea. It is also alluded to by the Bulgarian monk Khrabr as "lines and notches", that is a form of separate writing used beside the Greek and Latin alphabet that must have existed before the introduction in Ukraine of the Cyrillic and Glagolitic alphabets. Archaeological finds support these literary records of history.

The most beautiful literary works in the early history of Ukraine come from the XI-XIII centuries. The oldest ones are "Ostromyr's Bible" (1056) and "Sviatoslav's Compendium" (*Sbornik Sviatoslava*, 1073). Church books, literary works of chronicles and annals, lay epic works translated from Greek and Balkan Slavonic and original writings of local origin, form one of the most mature and developed literature of medieval Europe. Such works as the sermons of Ilarion and Cyril of Turiv, Nestor's chronicle and the *Song of Prince Ihor's Raid Against the Polovtsi* of unknown authorship, are classics in world literature, even today. But out of a great many works of this period only a score of two have been preserved.

The great development at that time was not confined to literature but is evident in architecture, especially church building and town

planning. Painting, wall decorating, mosaics, and icons found very favourable conditions for the development of an original style that was independent from the Byzantine models. Music and theatres also appeared, but to our regret we know about this only from mentions in books and pictures of musical instruments on Church frescoes.

Characteristic for the people living around Kyïv, formerly territories inhabited by agricultural population, was an ability to digest Byzantine models into original forms and develop them. This ability cannot be attributed to people living in territories that lacked the traditions of European Graeco-Roman culture.

Such a Church as the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyïv (1036), and its beautiful frescoes and mosaics, is only a monument of the great culture which flourished at that time.

Gothic and Roman styles did not leave an imprint in Ukrainian culture to such an extent as among the people of North-West Europe. Reasons for this are to be found in the very strong traditions of the Hellenic-Byzantine World that influenced the art of the neighbours of Kievan Ruś, such as Muscovy, Poland, Byelorussia and Lithuania.

At that time when Muscovy (Russia) was blindly copying Byzantine models received through Kievan Ruś or changing them into naturalistic forms of its own, Ukraine once more manifested its organic unity with Europe in architecture, literature and especially in pedagogy and science. The golden era of the Mazepa period is represented in science by the Kyïv Academy, the Cossack baroque style in architecture and in painting. Important in this period also is the literature and poetry which give us matchless types of heroic epics (*Kozak dumy*). This period is a picture of the spontaneous development of Ukrainian culture, again original and unique, as it was in the period of Kievan Ruś.

Parallels may be drawn between the fate of Ukraine and that of Greece. In both instances the conquered became teachers and civilizers of their conquerors. The Europeanization of Russia by Tsar Peter I was as unnatural as the Slavicization and Byzantinization of Muscovy by Kievan Ruś. To Europeanize Russia it was necessary to transfer the best talents of science and art from Ukraine to the Russian territory. The most prominent Russian scientists and artists, such as Lomonosov, studied in the Ukrainian Mohyla Academy of Kyïv. It served as a model to the Russians educated there to organize in Moscow a similar Academy. The work of Ukrainians such as Polotsky, Yavorsky and especially of Prokopovich left a considerable impression on Russian science. The same may be said about the Ukrainian musician Bortnyansky, the sculptor Martos and the painters Losenko, Levytsky and Borovykovsky. The last mentioned were professors in the newly established Russian Academy of Art and none of the native Russians ever surpassed them. Their consummate skill transplanted to a ground that had no deeper traditions of the

school which they represented soon withered. There finally appeared new talents from among native Russians who revealed the original visage of the Russian people. They were Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky in literature, Shyshkin and Vasnyetsov in painting, Lenin in politics and the whole school of Russian style in literature and art of socialist realism.

This victory of the liberated spiritual forces of the Russian people in the revolution of 1917 meant the rejection of all influences artificially imposed on them by the culture of Kievan Rus-Ukraine, Byzantine Christianity, the humanism of renaissance and baroque, the philosophy and art of the Helleno-Roman civilization. The Russian people rejected the principles of individualism, personal liberty and private property characteristic of the Ukrainians. They accepted the principles of state dictatorship, collective ownership and collectivism. The deep idealism, and the moral precepts of the Christian religion of the Ukrainians the Russians changed into the principles of materialism and belief in physical force based on the dictatorship of one person over millions of persons who are deprived of individuality.

This philosophy is rejected by the Ukrainian philosophy of a thousand years old culture, and with it of representatives of the spiritual world of recent times, such as Skovoroda, Shevchenko and Lesya Ukraïnka. Representatives of contemporary Ukrainian art, literature and science are perpetual victims of terror who do not wish to abandon their national culture. Hundreds of them had to give their lives. The most prominent among them were Mychailo Boychuk in pictorial art, Les Kurbas in theatre and Mykola Khvylyovy in literature. They perished physically only because they considered Ukrainian art to be a part of European culture and orientated themselves to it. All this was branded by Moscow as nationalistic deviations from Marxism, as bourgeois traditions and counterrevolutionary activities. Loyalty to Ukrainian culture and its European tradition was shown even by the youngest generation of Ukrainian cultural workers in the Ukrainian SSR. Attacks on "formalism" and "abstractionism" are a continuation of the struggle against individualism which believes in the principle of freedom as the basis of the creative power in European art, science and culture.

Ukrainian culture is, for this very reason, incompatible with the Russian which is formed on a different mentality, philosophy, morals, ethics and æsthetics from the Ukrainian. It differs in its forms of material and spiritual culture. It is traceable in the social life of the people, their beliefs, customs, ideals in life and their realisation. The character of religious observances, family relations between husband and wife, parents and children, individual and community and vice versa differ from the Russian. In Ukraine there is a great respect for woman and this plays an important educational role in the Ukrainian family. The individualism of Ukrainians limited the

family to one married couple. In Russian culture, the decisive rôle is played by the father, and the family is often enlarged to include the whole village (*obshchina*) with the leader who decides all matters, including personal ones, of all the members of the group.

The architecture of the Ukrainian people has peculiarities not only of style, but also of the plan of roads in villages and their organization. Russian settlements (villages) are chain-like, linear, following a road. Ukrainian villages, on the other hand, are built in circles or groups with roads leading to the centre. Ukrainian houses are fenced, and individually situated in orchards and gardens with flowers. Russian houses are not fenced, built in a line, without orchards or flower beds. The aesthetics and taste of the agriculturist are different from that of a hunter. The same principles govern the selection of clothing. The attire of an Ukrainian is embellished with embroidery with much of the white clothing showing that requires cleanness and orderliness in the garment. Russians wear coloured shirts and street clothes resembling the coloured attire of Asiatic peoples. The ornamentation of Ukrainian embroideries, materials and clothing is characterized by predominantly geometric elements and motifs of style. There are also motifs of vegetable ornaments but they are organized on a geometrical basis. Among the Russians vegetative ornament is most common, it lacks construction, and has no laws of rhythm. It is characterized by naturalistic visual imitation of nature without deeper motivation from the laws of aesthetics. The same manifestations are noticeable in painting, sculpture and architecture. It seems that the Ukrainians are abstract thinkers and show this in problems of colour and form. Among the Russians there is a naturalistic-visual imitation of environment and objective recording of external forms of the world.

These few instances help us understand that the traits of world-outlook between the Ukrainians and the Russians left traces in their customs. Ukrainian Christian observances have deep meaning of spiritual life and belief in life beyond. The veneration of ancestors is very highly developed among Ukrainians. "Kutya" on Christmas Eve and "kolyvo" at the time of funeral are unknown among Russians. It is very much alive among Ukrainians. Christmas carolling ("kolyada") as a remnant of rituals from pre-Christian times is unknown in Russia, but the Ukrainians adapted these songs with music originated thousands of years ago to their observances of Christmas. Not very conspicuous but unique in its ornamentation, the Ukrainian "pysanka" (Easter egg) is a treasury of symbols of human life, that the Ukrainian people have preserved from times immemorial. The continuation of culture among Ukrainians has left its mark also on ceramics that preserve many elements from the earliest epoch. Elements of Trypillian culture are found on folk clay statuettes and abstract forms of ornament resemble tendencies in contemporary Ukrainian modern art.

Ivan SENKIV

Yearning for Another Life in Ukrainian Folklore

Every human being longs for a better and more beautiful life. To live better, to live in freedom, freedom from all oppression and fear, has been the dream of millions. The intense longing of mankind for happiness, freedom, and welfare leads them from harsh reality into the dreamland of the imagination. Dreaming is one of the quickest, one of the favourite paths which lead to the longed for goal. There is a Ukrainian folksong which says that without dreaming one can neither live nor love. Many folksongs, customs and folkplays are the people's wishful dreams for a better life. Their purpose was to help the people to forget the hard reality of life and to beautify it according to the dreamed-of ideal.

The life of the Ukrainian peasants was difficult and has always been accompanied by suffering and privation. They lost their freedom early and were driven into serfdom by the Russian overlords, a serfdom which amounted to slavery and lasted until 1861, when the peasants officially received their freedom. The period of serfdom is said to have been so hard that the sons of the Ukrainian peasantry often no longer wanted to sing their songs and their wives stopped embroidering their shirts. The mass of the Ukrainian people defended itself against Russian oppression with all its strength, but unhappily their efforts and hopes have not been fulfilled by a better future. The longed for freedom, the hoped for happiness have only existed in Ukrainian folklore. Cheerful melodies, joyful exuberance, vivid pictures of imaginary happiness provided a free atmosphere in which life was made to seem easier for a few moments for the people.

One finds in collections of Ukrainian folklore texts which have survived of old Ukrainian customs and plays, which have been gathered and edited in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These folk-epics, lyrics and songs have in the course of time been exposed to various influences and changes. But they are still topical and of great beauty today. They stem from the practical necessities of life, and it is perhaps for this very reason that they glow with the beauty and magic of life.

The study of this folk poetry leads us into the realm of the ancient beliefs of the Ukrainian people and of various traditions which have been preserved down to the present in many remote districts of Ukraine.

Help from the Dead

The aspirations of the Ukrainian people to a better life came about thanks only to the positive attitude which they took towards death and the way in which they overcame their fear of death. Death was looked forward to without fear, which led eventually to the development of a vast cult of ancestor worship (didy, baby).

The family, in Ukrainian popular belief, consisted of its living, its dead, and its as yet unborn members. Death denoted the arrival of a dead member of the family who fetched his living relative into the circle of the family's deceased members. Mother Earth, together with fire and water, swallowed up the dead man, who remained in her bosom until he received a new body and returned to the company of the living.

The invisible souls of the dead resided everywhere and often changed their residences. Often they took on themselves the form of their place of residence and became identical with it; they became flowers, bushes, trees, sheaves of corn, birds, hay, fire, water. Death and birth represented the departure and arrival of members of the family within the family itself. The new-born child received the first names of his grandfather as a sign of the continual rebirth of the family. It was believed that a woman could become pregnant unnoticed if she swallowed a pea, a cherry-stone or a whole fish. This miraculous conception depended on exactly where the ancestor was residing at the time.

The dead also often spent time amongst the living. They were called and came to many commemorative and family festivals. They were let into the room through the open window or were carried in in hay, twigs, flowers or sheaves of corn (didy). They were entertained with many dishes, mostly with the traditional and favourite dish, *Kutia*, which was prepared from boiled grain of wheat, honey and poppy seeds, and which is customarily eaten by Ukrainians at Christmas right up to the present day.

A corner of the living-room was always reserved for the dead and decorated with flowers or corn. This corner was always treated with care when the home was cleaned. Lime and hot water were always avoided, as these cleaning materials could be unpleasant for the dead.

The presence of the dead among the living lead to the development of subtle forms in colloquial speech within the family and the community. The children and grandchildren always addressed their parents and grandparents with the polite form of the pronoun and behaved with unusual deference towards them. It was not done to shout, quarrel or swear in the home.

The dead were often called upon and implored to perform services for the living. Much of what took place in Nature and in human life was said to be caused by the dead. Through their mediation one could awake and speed up such natural phenomena as the thawing of the snow, the arrival of Spring, the growth of the plants and the

ripening of the corn, by singing, rhythmic dancing and mimicry. The idea that one had good helpers in the dead gave people the feeling of imaginary security in the terrible loneliness of the cosmos.

All seasonal work began and ended with corresponding plays and traditional activities which became at the same time festivals commemorating the dead. In early Spring there was dancing and singing in the open air — *yahilky*, which were devoted to calling upon Spring and good weather. This ceremony was led by two girls' choirs or one choir and one or two girl choir leaders. One choir danced, starting the celebration and singing songs calling upon the birds of Spring (the swallows), while the second choir played the roll of the birds who were being called by singing and imitating them in their dance figures. There then followed dances and songs whose contents concerned the sowing of wheat, rye and poppies and the growth of beans and cucumbers. A very popular dance was the vegetative "crooked" dance *kryvyy tanets* in which the dancers imitated the growth of the plants.

When the first ears appeared in the cornfields at the beginning of the Summer, the dead moved from the rivers, their favourite places of residence, into the cornfields, in order to assist the growth of the crops and to protect them. They remained there for the whole Summer until the first harvesting, and then returned to the water; after their return, one could no longer bathe in the rivers. In connection with the growth of the crops, their ripening, and the transfer of the cornfields into the care of the dead there took place great summer festivals, called "Nymphs' Easter" (*Rusalchyn Velykden*) and "Kupalo" respectively, which were celebrated with great joy, cheerfulness, vigorous dances, singing and traditional customs.

In almost all these cult dances and practices the songs were for the most part in the form of a dialogue between two choirs or a choir and its leader. One choir expressed the wish, the second fulfilled it. This dialogue form is the typical characteristic of the old Ukrainian and Slav folksongs connected with the growth of plants.

Through the festivals of their cult, which were connected with the most important seasonal activities, and also for other reasons, singing at work became a general custom in Ukraine. Both big and small pieces of work were often accompanied by music and singing. Almost every kind of work had its corresponding song, whose melody fitted the rhythm of the work. There was one song for cutting the corn and another for bringing in the harvest. There was one song for driving the cattle up to the meadows and another for grazing. Singing at work or while fulfilling some duty shortened the monotony and boredom, quickened the work, and made it more pleasant.

Ukrainian song exhibits all the characteristics of the cultivated music school, whose beginnings go right back to the tenth century. Ukraine took over Christian teaching from the Eastern Church, and

together with Christianity the singing of the Byzantine liturgy was introduced and became widespread. Every Ukrainian church had its own choir-school and trained regular singers for the church choir. Many Ukrainian church choirs had a 700-year tradition. It is understandable that the trained choristers, having sung mass in church in the morning, would in the afternoons take part in various secular events, such as weddings, and entertain their hearers with the singing of cheerful folksongs and folk-music.

Ukrainian Christmas Carol Singers

At the Winter solstice certain practices and traditions were performed in Ukraine to summon and assure the happiness and welfare of the family for the coming year. All the members of the family took part in these performances: the living and the dead, who were represented by sheaves of corn (didy), fir-branches, and hay, with which the rooms were decorated at this time of year.

The ancient Ukrainian practices of the Autumn and the Winter have in the course of time grouped themselves around the great festivals of the church — Christmas and New Year — and have been preserved in fragments until today, thanks to the Church. During the period from Christmas Eve until Epiphany there were carol singing festivals in Ukraine, which traditionally were only performed by men, in their rôle as successors to the ancient conjurers and creators of wealth and happiness.

The old Ukrainian Christmas festival was kept alive and free from later influences among the Hutsuls, the Ukrainians mountaineers in the Eastern Carpathians, due to the inaccessible nature of the mountain landscape. I can still remember it clearly, as I have shared in the Christmas festival in the Ukrainian mountains. The archaic rhythmic dances and recitation-songs of this Christmas festival made an unforgettable impression in that winter mountain landscape.

The chief organizer of the Christmas festival and leader of the male choir, which consisted of 12 specially selected singers, carried the mysterious title "Berezá" for the duration of the festival. He was the most gifted singer in the village, who also understood the language of the stars and the sounds of the Carpathian streams and woods. The outward sign of his merit was a precious walking stick in the form of an axe (topirets), richly decorated with ornaments and brass studs. The traditions of the ancient conjurer, of the wandering musician (skomorokha) of mediaeval Ukraine, and the dignity of the Ukrainian Byzantine-rite Catholic chorister (diak) are blended in the rôle of Bereza.

The first part of the Christmas play is called the Ples. This was an old, rhythmic male dance, full of jumps and bows, coupled with singing and happy swinging of walking sticks. In this way the Christmas carol singers approached the individual farms on Christmas

Eve, accompanied by the village musicians. In the dim landscape the farms looked like castles built out of enormous tree-trunks. The Ples songs announced the arrival of the Christmas singers and asked permission to perform. When they had received the consent of their host, the singers entered the house, singing and dancing the Ples.

The second and most important part of the Christmas play was called "na zastolu" (at table) and was performed in the host's home. The singers, dripping with perspiration, sat down at the big table. In the middle sat the choir leader and opposite him the farmer with his family. The faces of those present were scarcely recognizable in the dim light of the oil-lamp. In the tense silence the Bereza immediately started to recite an ancient Christmas song, in which he conjured up extravagant pictures of imaginary happiness, wealth, security and love. This was the heart of the whole play, a dialogue between the Bereza and the choir which lasted from two to three hours. The play had little connection with sorcery or magic. The singers were not so much magicians as messengers, who knew how to put their hosts into the state of longed for bliss with their skill in singing, dancing, and recitation.

Many human beings carry in their hearts images of unfulfilled wishes for a better life. The Ukrainian peasants also dreamed of wealth and heavenly bliss in mid-Winter in their lonely mountain shacks, of a bliss which the Ukrainian Christmas carol singers brought their hosts and a glorious vision of happiness, prosperity and beauty which they spread before them.

In one section of the Ukrainian Christmas songs the old mythological theme of the creation of the world is described, and the cosmic sea, stone, the eternal tree, and bird-demiurges are portrayed. But in the later Christianized songs the creation of the world is replaced by the building of a church, the bird-demiurges by Jesus Christ as the Creator of the world. The creative power and function of the Christmas songs is seen most vividly in this group, for they concern the theme of wealth and family happiness itself. In the first group of Christmas songs about the Creation, the singers function as world-builders, as the actual creators of the world (and later of the church), whilst in the second group they actually play the rôle of creators and proclaimers of heavenly bliss. Here are a few examples of their wish-images of wealth and happiness:

A Christmas song from the mountain village of Zhabye-Iltisia in West Ukraine recounts how a farmer gets up early, before the cocks themselves, and forms three candles. By the light of the first he washes his face, with the next one he dries himself, and with the third he wakes his labourers.

He orders them to make the horses ready for a journey, as he intends to travel to a distant region where a castle is being built. It is said that on the roof of the castle there sits a falcon, which can

see over great distances. The falcon can see a distant field, which is just being ploughed. The plough is driven by St. Michael, the oxen harnessed to it are led by St. Peter, and the Holy Mother of God is bringing them their midday meal. She asks the venerable labourers to plough the field very finely, as wheat and rye are to grow on it, whose stalks shall be of silver and whose ears of gold. The Christmas song provides here an already Christianized vision of the wish for prosperity.

A Christmas song from the mountain village of Tiudiv in West Ukraine recounts how the Lord God visits all the farm buildings of the peasants personally and multiplies their cattle-stock and their supplies. God also visits the beehives, the barns and the storehouses and looks in the trunks and cupboards, which he generously fills with wealth and precious silks.

In another Christmas song the Bereza wishes his host an illustrious meeting with Jesus Christ, with the Virgin Mary and with many saints, whom he lists in order of rank. These lucky meetings are to take place at the beginning of the year, when the peasant drives his cattle up to the mountain meadows where they will graze throughout the Summer and are exposed to great dangers.

These Christmas carols are full of the finest similes, appeals, images, descriptions and detailed enumerations of objects. The peasants, in whose homes the Christmas festival is celebrated, are compared with all the greatness of the world. Often they are addressed as the moon, their wives as the sun, and their children as the stars. The Ukrainian ethnologist V. Petrov is of the opinion that these poetic comparisons did not serve literary purposes.

Petrov writes that "They were an active expression of the wish which was to be fulfilled. The wish element forms the nucleus and the most important part of the Christmas carol. The projection of pictures into the realm of the precious and the hyperboles, a specific characteristic of these pictures, are not expressions of the aesthetically creative and of free phantasy, but the consequences of the world-building function of the Christmas carol singers. The exaggeration is not descriptive but creative. In this respect the Christmas carols resemble the tricks of the conjurer." (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, New York, 1949, p. 257). One can say with certainty that they were both — artistic and utilitarian. The people made no distinctions between life and beauty. Their longing for a better and more beautiful world and the poetic gifts of the old professional singers created works of art which served as decorations and improvements to practical life. The Ukrainian Christmas epics charm as the works of art of oriental masters do. Men and their everyday troubles are looked upon as parts of the cosmos and cosmic events.

The Christmas play closes with the third and last act, the Rozples. It is an ancient dance imitating a swarm of bees, with which the Christmas singers take leave of their hosts.

Prof. Oleś HRYNIUK

Thoughts on the Origin of the Bandura, a Ukrainian Musical Instrument

Gogol¹ once wrote these words in an article about the Ukrainian folksong: "Songs, you are the history of the people, a history alive, clear, faithfully reproducing colours and truths, containing the entire life of a people."

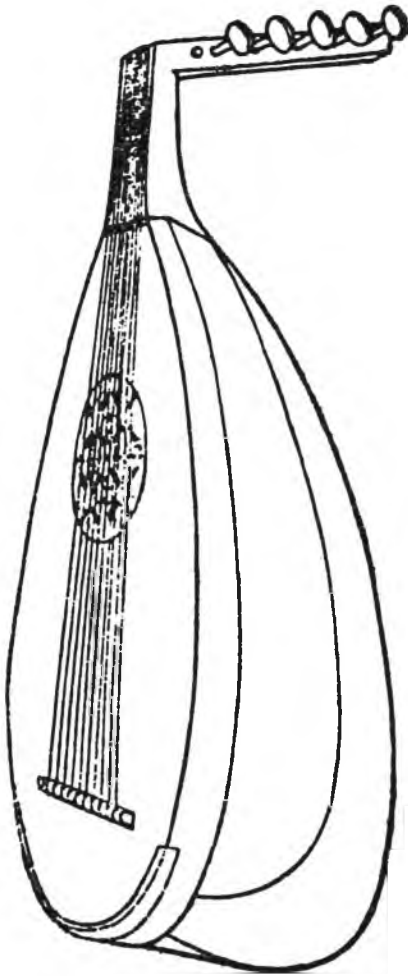
Closely bound up with the Ukrainian folksong is its accompanying instrument, the historic bandura, which was employed especially in the singing of folk epics. The songs were performed by the so-called "bandurists" to a bandura accompaniment. The subject-matter of these songs included the life of the Cossacks, the Cossack struggle against the Turks and the Tatars, the Cossacks in Turkish captivity, and so on, subjects which expressed simultaneously joy and sorrow, and in which suffering and luck were combined and counteracted each other.

The bandura is a plucked instrument, the number of whose strings varies between 25 and 60. It has six to fourteen bass strings and resembles a bass lute, as can be seen from the drawings.

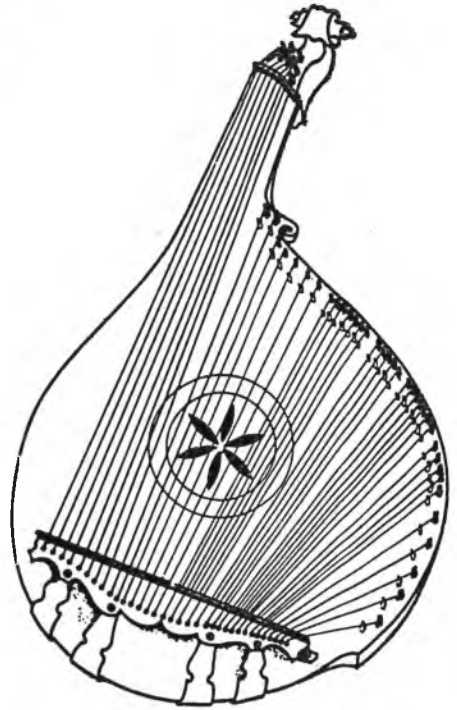
It is extremely interesting to trace back its origins, as these involve important historical factors.

At the time of Greece's antiquity, that is, around 500 B.C., what is now South Ukraine was inhabited by the Scythians. Among nomadic peoples the Scythians were masters of artistic handicraft.

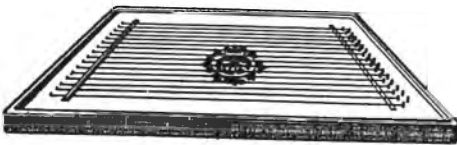
The way in which they made small ornaments points to a tradition related to those of oriental culture. The creations of Scythian sculptors have come to be regarded as a high point in the history of art, due to the perfection of their artistic form and expression. Such a high level of cultural development suggests that the musical element played more than a subordinate rôle among the Scythians. As a horse-riding people faster tempos were more natural to them



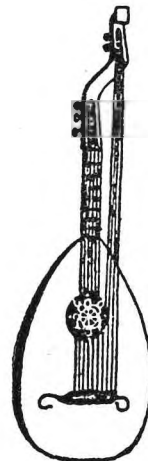
KOBZA



BANDURA



DULCIMER



BASS LUTE



ORPHEUS PLAYS THE LYRA
AMONG THE THRACIANS

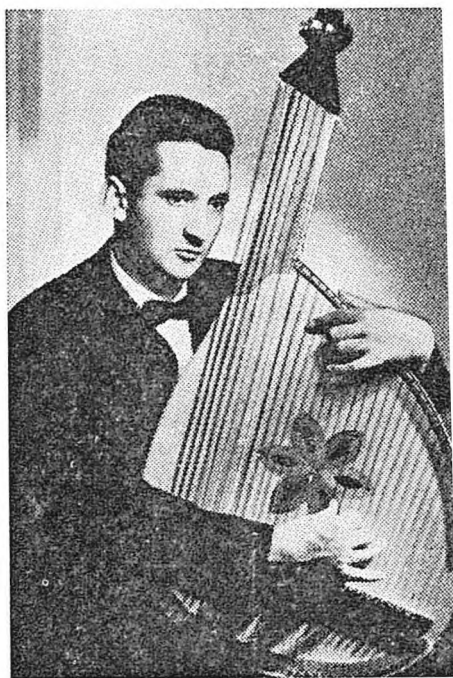
Attic vase, middle of
the 5th C. B.C.



GREEK WOMEN MUSICIANS
(from left to right): harp, kithara
and lyra, the latter, as a sound-box
provided with a tortoise-shell.
Picture on a vase, 5th C. B.C.



OLD PERSIAN LUTE
(Post-Sassanid cup)



THE HOLDING POSITION
OF THE BANDURA
(Picture: Volodymyr Luciv,
singer and bandurist, well-
known in Western Europe)

and a spirited beat was to be expected in their music, the after-effects of which were to be found centuries later in the cheerful music and the dance rhythms of the Slav Ukrainians.

At the time of which we are speaking, the Scythians' neighbours were the Thracians. While the Scythians were steppe dwellers, the Thracians settled in the mountainous regions, as far as the edge of the East Carpathians. According to Greek and Roman records they were a pious people. Perhaps they felt nearer to God in their mountain homes and more exposed to him among the forces of nature than the inhabitants of the plain felt. Their music expresses the sublime, the majestic and the sentimental.

The Greek singer and demigod, Orpheus, was a Thracian; mythology records that with his singing he cast a spell not only on men but on the rest of his surroundings, and his life has been an inspiration to many composers: Schütz, Gluck, Krenek, Offenbach, among others.

At this point I should like to make a small digression, which does, broadly speaking, belong to the subject. A much disputed question is that of the origin of the Hutsulians, Ukrainian mountaineers from East Carpathians. It can be concluded with considerable probability that the Thracians were their ancestors. The way in which they paint their Easter eggs and the motifs they use in this, which are admired throughout the world, point in this direction. That there must in fact be connections here, I became certain some years ago from a film about the island of Crete: a group of Cretan folk-singers sang a solemn song which was very like a Hutsulian melody known as "Verkhovyna" (i.e. highlands).

It is obvious that as the Greeks were becoming a world power they exercised a definite influence on the music of all the peoples with whom they came into contact.

The Greeks looked on music as a means of character-formation. For this reason they paid special attention to the instruments on which they accompanied their singing, the harp and the lyre. The harp was curved, and the resulting gradation in the length of the strings produced the variation from high pitch to low. Both instruments may be regarded as forerunners of the bandura, even though scholars are still not completely certain about the origin of this national instrument of Ukraine². The harp, or "psalterion" (from "psallein" — to pluck), as the Greeks called it, should however not be confused with the Scythian "psalterium", a dulcimer of Persian origin, on which a stronger tone quality could be obtained to suit the alien music of the northern tribes, in contrast to the finer tone of the Greek harp expressing the spirit of the Greeks.

The Scythians advanced far across the Danubian plain, came into contact with the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, and by the fourth century

were occupying country neighbouring the Celts, who adopted the psalterium from them. From this instrument has developed not only the zither, much used for folk music in the Alpine lands, but also the harpsichord and the piano.

The theory put forward here, that in the final reckoning the Ukrainian bandura goes back to a Greek origin, is further supported by linguistic comparisons.

There is still used on the Pontic coast of Greece, in other words in the former territory of the Thracians, the instrument well known as the "zanturi"³ or "zanduri." It is chromatic dulcimer with a range of four octaves. The bowl- or box-shaped bandura, tuned in fifths or octaves, is similar. The two names, "zanturi" and "bandura", show similarities, and recognition of this fact leads us to the conclusion that the two instruments have, so to speak, a family relationship. Furthermore, both expressions, "zanturi" and "bandura" are derived from the name "psalterion."

On the basis of this assumption, we can show the relationship in the following way: While the name "zanturi" was coined by the Thracian tribes of Greece, on Scythian territory — the Ukraine of today — the expression "bandura" crystallized out of the Greek "psalterion", in this way:

In the course of time the word "psalterion" underwent a sound-change in the languages of the two tribes. First of all the lingual "l" changed before "t" into "n", giving "psanterion." But later the short "e" was replaced by long "o", so that the original word "psalterion" became "psanturi."⁴ The Greek affricate "ps" underwent a split in each language: While the Thracians retained a voiced "z",⁵ and omitted the voiceless "p", the Scythians stressed the unvoiced "p", changing it later into voiced "b." In this way the Scythians produced from the expression "psanduri" "panduri" or "banduri-banduria" and finally our word "bandura." The zanturi can be regarded as a dulcimer, but the bandura, being a plucked instrument, is more closely related to the Greek psalterion or harp. The way in which the instrument is held when it is played is horizontal in the case of the psalterium, the zanduri, the dulcimer, and the zither, but vertical in the case of the bandura, in other words, like a harp — or psalterion. For this reason alone one may assume that the bandura in its earliest form was closely related to the harp; the division of the affricate "ps" on the other hand, and the coining of the syllable "pan" or "ban", points to a Scythian-Iranian linguistic influence.

This small example, the harp-like bandura, points not only to harmonious interchange between the Scythians and the Thracians in the field of music, but beyond this to the fact that the Greeks exercised an influence in Ukraine very early on, and that Hellenistic culture, through its offshoots and side-effects, also found its way to the Slavic peoples.

An instrument related to the bandura is the "kobza." The two instruments are often confused or thought to be alike. The reason for this is as follows:

On a post-Sassanidic bowl (the Sassanids were a Persian dynasty) there is a picture of an ancient Persian lute with four strings, which (in old Persian) was probably called a kobza (cf. Curt Sachs, *Geist und Werden der Musik-instrumente*, 282 pp., 331 ill., Berlin, 1929, plate 43, sketch 291). On this instrument the neck, which is fork-shaped, resembles the head of a goat or a sheep with horns. Later the word "kobza" became Ukrainian "koza" (goat), but not vice versa. (Cf. Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon*, 1962, p. 221; the number of strings on the kobza varies from 4 to 10.)

Taras Shevchenko chose the kobza-player as the title of his earliest poems, calling him the "kobzar."

Although the bandura can be traced back to Greek beginnings, the kobza is of Iranian origin. This statement agrees with evidence described by M. Hrinchenko, that the kobza was a rustic instrument, whilst the bandura was the instrument of the nobility and the Cossacks. (Cf. M. Hrinchenko: *Istoriya Ukraïnskoï Muzyky*, 2nd Edition, Ukr. Mus. Inst., N.Y., 1961, p. 59.)

In the course of the national migrations there took place not only a highly interesting differentiation of names but also the transformation of the bandura and the kobza on Europe's Pontic threshold, where East and West meet.

NOTES

1) N. V. Gogol (Ukr. Mykola Hohol), b. 31. 3. 1809 in Sorochyntsi (Myrhorod district, Ukraine), d. Moscow 4. 3. 1852. Son of a Ukrainian landowner, wrote poems in Ukrainian. In Ukrainian literature N. Gogol is known for his work *Taras Bulba* (1842). In this folk epic Gogol deals with the life of the Cossacks in the 15th-17th centuries, the struggle of the Cossacks with the Tatars, Turks and Poles. He mentions the bandura.

2) Compare Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon*, 1962, p. 29: "The exact ancestry of these instruments is not clear."

3) Santur... a trapezium-shaped dulcimer. Found in Greek expressions such as Psanterin or Psaltinx, Psantir, for a plucked instrument. Cf. Sachs, op. cit., p. 307 and p. 331.

4) Trapezium zither — main instrument is Persian santir or santur, whose name comes from the Greek "psalterion" (Sachs, *Geist u. Werden der Musik-instrumente*, p. 244).

5) Division of affricate "ps" in such examples as: Psapho to Sappho, Greek poetess, lived around 600 B.C. on the island of Lesbos; Psaros to Saros, river in Cicilia, south-east Anatolia; Psamos to Samos, island off the coast of Asia Minor.

...and Ukraine is named the "land of sweet songs", for there is no other people in the world with such a rich store of folksongs as the Ukrainians.

(L. Reinisch, Bavarian Radio)

Theodore MACKIW, Ph. D.
University of Akron

A Biographical Sketch of Prince Mazepa (1639—1709)

*Dedicated
to
the Champions
of
Freedom*

Preface

The personality and activities of Mazepa have been called to the attention of not only contemporary diplomats and many historians, but also of poets such as Byron, Hugo, Pushkin, Ryleyev, Schiller, Slowacki; composers such as Liszt, Maurer, Pedrel, Pedrotti, Tchaikovsky; and painters such as Boulanger, Gotschall, and Vernet.

Mazepa's participation in the Great Northern War, on the side of August II of Saxony, King of Poland (1697), aroused a great deal of interest in him, not only on the continent, but also in England. His alliance with the Swedish King, Charles XII (1708) and the defeat at Poltava (1709) provided especially rich material for the press.

At the mention of the name Mazepa, most English-speaking persons think of Byron's mythical hero rather than of an historical person, and yet, the historical Mazepa is very different from the one depicted in literature.

Hetman¹ Mazepa was the chief executive of the Ukrainian autonomous state under the protectorate of the Russian Tsar, a condition which at that time was quite common, even for such countries as Holland under Spain (1559-1648), Prussia under Poland (1525-1668), and Estonia and Livonia (Latvia) under Sweden (1648-1721). Although Ukraine was a protectorate under the Russian Tsar, nevertheless, as Hans Schumann, the German historian, has observed in his dissertation, Ukraine had her own territory (see map), people, language, law, administration, specific democratic system of government, and military forces, namely the Cossacks.² The word "Cossack"

¹ Hetman literally translated means "Head man", the official title of the chief executive of the Ukraine from 1648 to 1764.

² Hans Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764* (Breslau, 1936), p. 4; cf. George Vernadsky, *Bohdan, Hetman of Ukraine* (New Haven, 1941), p. 118.

is of Turkish origin, and meant a guard, a free soldier, or a freebooter. In the fifteenth century in Eastern Europe, the Cossacks became a sort of military auxiliary force for special services. There were Cossacks in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. In Ukraine, the Cossacks evolved into a social class of military force, whose objective was to defend Ukraine from the attacks of the Tartars. At times the Cossacks attacked the Tartars and the Turks and made incursions into Turkey as far as Constantinople (Istanbul). This caused frequent tension between Turkey and Poland. In addition, the Ukrainian Cossacks protected the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the populace from maltreatment by the Polish nobility. This led to the frequent Polish-Ukrainian wars, which culminated in the great national insurrection in 1648 led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who established an independent military republic (better known as **Hetmanshchyna**, the Hetman state³ which in 1654 concluded the Treaty of Pereyaslav with Russia, giving the Russian tsar the right of protection over Ukraine.

Although Mazepa's rights were limited by the so-called "Kolomak Terms",⁴ he still exercised the full power of his civil and military authority, and was regarded as the chief executive by his contemporary foreign diplomats in Moscow. For example, Jean de Baluse (1648-1718), the French envoy in Moscow, visited Mazepa in 1704 in Baturyn, the Ukrainian capital at that time, and remarked in his memoirs: "...from Muscovy I went to Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, where for a few days I was the guest of Prince Mazepa, who is the supreme authority in this country."⁵ Mazepa's contemporary, the brilliant English journalist Daniel Defoe (1661-1731), wrote in his book about Tsar Peter the Great that "...Mazepa was not a King in Title, he was equal to a King in Power, and every way Equal if not Superior to King Augustus in divided Circumstances in which his Power stood, even at the best of it."⁶ As a matter of fact, Mazepa was aware of his position, and considered himself "a little less than the Polish King."⁷

³) D. I. Evarnitsky, *Istoriya Zaporozhskich Kozakov (History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks)*, (St. Petersburg, 1892, 1895, 1897), 3 vol.; V. A. Golobutsky, *Zaporozhskoye Kazachestvo (The Zaporozhian Cossacks)*, (Kiev, 1957); M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy (History of Ukraine-Rus')*, (New York, 1956), Vol. VII; also English translation by G. Vernadsky, *History of Ukraine* (New Haven, 1948), pp. 144-216. G. Stoeckl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums (The Origin of the Cossacks)*, (Munich, 1953).

⁴) N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i mazepintsy (Mazepa and his Followers)*, *Sobraniye Sochineniy* (St. Petersburg, 1905), Vol. VI, pp. 391-392.

⁵) Baluse's memoirs were discovered by the Ukrainian historian Elias Borshchak in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: V. Sichynsky, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions* (New York, 1953), p. 113.

⁶) Daniel Defoe, *An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz... Czar of Muscovy*, etc. (London, 1728), p. 208.

⁷) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

Another French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville (1649-1706), who met Mazepa in person remarked about him: "...this Prince is not comely in his person, but a very knowing Man, and speaks Latin in perfection. He is Cossack born..."⁸

Undoubtedly, Mazepa was an unusual man, who was famous not only in Ukraine, but also in Western Europe. Already his election as a new Hetman (July 25, 1687) was reported in such newspapers and magazines as: **The London Gazette**, of October 3-6, 1687; **The Modern History, or a Monthly Account of All Considerable Occurrences**, London, December 1687, No. 3; **Gazette de France**, of December 6, 1687; **The Frankfurter Theatrum Europeum**, Vol. XIII; the Nuremberg **Neueroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal**, Vol. V; and others. Furthermore, such German magazines as **Hamburger Historische Remarques**, of January 22, 1704, and **Die Europäische Fama**, Leipzig 1704, 1706, 1708, 1712, Vol. XXV, published Mazepa's biography, and the latter also had his picture on the first page. (For details see my book **Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenoessischen deutschen Quellen**, Munich, 1963, Publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Vol. 174.) Even in America, **The Boston News-Letter**, of January 29, 1705, No. 41, reported that "...the Cossacks (are) commanded by the Famous Mazepa. That Prince has taken 2 strong castles belonging to Prince Lubomirski..." (For details see my paper "Mazepa in the Light of Contemporary English and American Sources", **The Ukrainian Quarterly**, Vol. XV, No. 4, pp. 346-362.)

Mazepa with his good education, rich experiences, and personal charm won not only the favour of the new Tsar Peter I, but was highly respected. The Austrian envoy in Moscow, Otto Pleyer (1692-1718), in his report of February 8, 1702, remarked that "...Mazepa is very much respected and honoured by the Tsar..."⁹

Brief Biography of Mazepa

Hetman Ivan Mazepa-Koledynsky was born of a noble Ukrainian family¹ at his ancestral seat at Mazepyntsi, near Bila Tserkva in Ukraine.

The date of his birth is not certain and is still a matter of dispute, but March 20, 1639 can be accepted. Some authors such as N. Kostomarov and F. Umanets accept 1629. Others, such as D. Doro-

⁸) Foy de la Neuville, *Relation curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie*, etc. (de la Haye, 1699); I used the English translation: *An Account of Muscovy as it was in the Year 1689*, (London, 1699), p. 43.

⁹) Austrian State Archives, *Russica 1-20*; cf., N. Ustryalov, *Istoriya Tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikogo (History of the Reign of Peter the Great)*, (St. Petersburg, 1858-1863), Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 573.

¹) J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, "Pochodzhennya i herb Het'mana Mazepy" (Descent and coat of arms of Hetman Mazepa), *Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Naukovoho Instytutu (Publications of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute*, further quoted as "PUNF"), (Warsaw, 1938), Vol. 46, pp. 53-63.

shenko and N. Vozniak, accept 1632. However, if Mazepa was born at that time (1629-1632), then in 1708 he would have been from seventy-six to seventy-nine years old. This contradicts the estimate of about sixty by such eyewitnesses at the Swedish headquarters as G. Adlerfelt, G. Nordberg, and J. Bardili. If Mazepa was born in 1643 as A. Storozhenko accepts, then in 1659, when Mazepa was sent to Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky as an envoy of the Polish King Jan Kazimierz, he would have been fifteen years old which would be almost impossible.

The most authoritative testimony should be considered. Mazepa's closest associate and his chancellor, Philip Orlyk, in his letter of August 22, 1741, wrote, "...I am seventy years of age, as Mazepa was in Bendery... (in 1709)",² therefore, 1639 should be accepted as the year of his birth. The day and the month given by a Polish poet, T. Padura (1801-1872), can be accepted without doubt.

Mazepa's mother, Maryna Mokiyevska, was descended from an old, noble Ukrainian family. After the death of her husband (1665), she entered a convent in Kyiv where she later became Mother Superior. This, however, did not prevent her from taking an active part in the political life of the time. Her son, as Hetman, often came to her for advice. She died in 1707 at the age of ninety.

His father, Stepan Adam Mazepa, was a Ukrainian nobleman, supposedly a Catholic. Although he was in the service of the Polish King, in the war against Poland he joined the Ukrainian Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648-1657), creator of the Hetman State. The difficult and drawn-out war with Poland led to an alliance between Ukraine and Russia in 1654 known as the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Since Russia did not carry out the terms of this treaty, Khmelnytsky's successor, Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657-1659), broke with Russia and formed an agreement with Poland known as the Treaty of Hadiach (September 17, 1658). According to this treaty, Ukraine was returned to Poland, but as a separate, autonomous state. Stepan Adam Mazepa supported Vyhovsky's policy. This may explain his promotion and his son Ivan's appointment as a page at the court of the Polish King Jan Kazimierz after he first obtained an education at the Ukrainian college (Collegium) in Kyiv and studied, according to the Ukrainian chronologist Velychko, at the Jesuit's College in Warsaw. The King sent Mazepa to Holland to complete his military studies and, upon his return, sent him on several diplomatic missions from 1659 to 1663 to the Ukrainian Hetman and the Crimea. In 1663, Mazepa left the royal court for his home in Ukraine.

² Cf.: O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba (Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his Era)*, *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka (Publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, further quoted as "ZNTS")*, (New York—Paris—Toronto, 1960), Vol. 170, p. 21. The English newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, No. 2239, of December 29, 1708, relying on the Russian source of information, also questioned that Mazepa was 70 years of age. (Actually he was 69 years old in 1708).

The most popular story of Mazepa's reason for leaving the royal court is told by the Polish nobleman Jan Chryzostom Pasek in his *inemoirs*³ and by Voltaire in his *History of Charles XII*.⁴ Both authors wrote that Mazepa had a love affair with Madame Falbowski (the christian name was not mentioned), a young wife of an aged Polish nobleman Falbowski, one of Mazepa's neighbours in Volhynia. Falbowski caught his wife with Mazepa and decided to punish him in an unusual way. He ordered Mazepa to undress himself, and then he put the naked Mazepa, bound hand and foot, backward on a bare-back horse, and fired a pistol to startle the horse. Falbowski expected that the ride through the thick forest on a furiously galloping horse would eventually result in the death of Mazepa. Fortunately for Mazepa, his horse brought him to his own estate, but in such a state of mutilation that his servants could not recognize him at first. Then they freed him and cared for him.

However, there are some differences in Pasek's story and Voltaire's story. Pasek did not name the place, mentioning only that the action took place in Volhynia, while Voltaire did not mention the name of the location at all. Furthermore, the fact that Pasek did not indicate in any way that he was in this region, but rather far away in the city of Smolensk, where he negotiated with the Russians, causes a strong suspicion that Pasek heard this story, which was quite common at that time, at second hand only.

Such stories were not unusual at that time. For example, the French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville (supposedly Bilet Adrian) 1649-1706, who was in the service of the Polish King Jan Sobieski as an envoy to Moscow, mentioned in his memoirs a similar story about a Scot in the Polish service, who had a love affair with the wife of a Lithuanian Colonel.⁵

The reason that Pasek wrote in this fashion is this: Mazepa denounced Pasek, who served with him at the Polish court of King Jan Kazimierz. In 1661, Pasek was involved in an army plot against the King. Mazepa revealed this to the King. Pasek was tried, sentenced, and his estates were confiscated. He was later pardoned and rehabilitated. Pasek could not forget what Mazepa had done to him, and apparently took advantage of the story in order to revenge himself for Mazepa's revelation to the King. Pasek called Mazepa a liar, thief, adulterer, and mentioned his love affairs indiscriminately. Pasek's story cannot be considered truthful because, as Kostomarov in his well-known monograph remarked, "...Pasek was a staunch

³) Jan Ch. Pasek, *Pamiętniki (Memoirs)*, (Kraków, 1929), p. 312-318.

⁴) Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (Rouen, 1731). I used the English translation by John J. Stockdale, *The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (London, 1807), pp. 258-262. Kostomarov mentioned several variations of this episode, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-389.

⁵) Foy de la Neuville, *op. cit.*, p. 4.



*Johannes Mazepa
Cossacorum Supremum*

Die
Europäische
FAMA,

Welche

den gegenwärtigen Zustand
der vornehmen

SÖFFE

entdeckt. in Salem.



Der XXV. Theil.

gebuckt zum ersten mal 1704.

Alldurchlauchtigster Vrsachbegünstigter und
Unüberwindlicher Römischer Kaiser,
auch in Ungarn und Böhmen
König.

Allernädigster Herr, Herr,

Es ist durch May Majestät in Allernädigstem Ansehen,
daß aus demselben der ganzen Christenheit bekannt ist,
was die ungarische Krone durch seine gütliche providenz
in dem Constantinischen Concilio und durch seinen
Heil. Stuhl, durch seine Allernädigste Majestät, so hochwirden
Capitularen bestätigt, und durch seinen heiligen
Stuhl bestätigt und geordnet confirmiert worden
ist, seine einhige und höchste Ehre und Ehre, wegen sich
von ihm, als nicht allein der Allernädigsten Tathen
und anderer der Christenheit fürder, von seinen Geistlichen,
Ständen, Fürsten und Königen abzuhalten, sondern auch
daß in der Christenheit selbst der ungarische Kaiser, so hochwirden
Allernädigsten Herr, und des Allernädigsten Fürsten,
des heiligen Stuhls, so hochwirden Allernädigsten Herr, so hochwirden

Mazepa's signature

1707. i. Sept. 1707. ante capitalis.

exce^{pt}o ex speciali s^c M^{aj}est^{atis} mandato
ad supplicantis personam solum V:
i. 1707

Edelsteinborn

REICHS-ARTEN

Imperialist des Kaiserlichen Hofes
Berlin, 1. September 1707.

Imperialist Mazepa.

Imperialist Hof
Imperialist des Kaiserlichen Hofes
Berlin.

Die kaiserliche Majestät aus
zu Danzig und Goeben
Heinrich May

Imperialist des Kaiserlichen Hofes

Imperialist
Johannes Mazepa

Imperialist des Kaiserlichen Hofes
Imperialist des Kaiserlichen Hofes
Imperialist des Kaiserlichen Hofes

The sixth and last page of Mazepa's letter to Emperor Joseph I with Mazepa's signature. The official note in the left bottom corner of the page records the grant of the title of Prince to Mazepa on September 1, 1707.

personal enemy of Mazepa",⁶ and Alexander Brueckner, a prominent historian of Polish literature, points out that Pasek was "... an incredible liar."⁷

As to how Voltaire obtained the information of the story could be answered thus: Pasek's memoirs, completed about 1688, were quite popular in Poland at that time, and they survived either orally or in several manuscripts. They were partly published in the Polish magazine *Astrea* in Warsaw, in July, 1821. The first complete edition of the memoirs was published in 1836, almost a hundred years later than Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731). It is evident that Voltaire obtained this information from the exiled Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczyński, whose daughter, Maria, was married to the French King, Louis XV. Leszczyński lived in Paris and Voltaire, who was not sure of the veracity of the story, asked the exiled King to confirm the story in a written statement. Leszczyński did this more than once.⁸

According to the German historian Otto Haintz, Voltaire's history is worthless as an historical source, because he used a worthless compilation of his countryman H. de Limiers⁹ as his source. The de Limiers book was supposedly based on the book by Daniel Defoe,¹⁰ who had never participated in the Great Northern War.¹¹

There is no evidence to support Pasek's story, but there is, however, another non-legendary version of one of Mazepa's love affairs. According to the Kievan archivist, Kamanin, who found records of the year 1663 in the Central Court in Kyïv, there is evidence that a Polish nobleman, Zagorowski, asked for a divorce from his wife, Helen, because he had intercepted many presents and letters to his wife from his neighbour Mazepa. In one of the letters, Mazepa asked the wife to make a trip with her husband from their estate to the next village, Revushki. On the road, Mazepa intended to ambush and kill Zagorowski. Mazepa's plan, however, did not work out. The outcome of the story is not known.¹²

⁶) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

⁷) A. Brueckner, *Literatura Polska (Polish Literature)*, (Paris, 1947), p. 101.

⁸) T. Bestermann, *Voltaire's Correspondence* (1958), Vol. 36, pp. 225-235. Cf.: L. Holubnychy, "Mazepa in Byron's Poem and in History", *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (New York, 1959), Vol. XV, No. 4, p. 334.

⁹) H. F. de Limiers, *Histoire Suède sous le règne de Charles XII (History of Sweden under the Reign of Charles XII)*, (Amsterdam, 1721).

¹⁰) *The History of the Wars of His Present Majesty Charles XII, by a Scots gentleman in the Swedish service* (London, 1715). Cf.: J. R. Moore, *A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe* (Bloomington, 1960), p. 183.

¹¹) O. Haintz, *Karl XII von Schweden im Urteil der Geschichte (Charles XII of Sweden in the Judgment of History)*, (Berlin, 1836), pp. 7-8.

¹²) I. Kamanin, "Mazepa i Yego Prekrasnaya Yelena", (Mazepa and his beautiful Helen), *Kyievskaia Starina* (1886), Vol. XI, pp. 522-535. Cf.: D. Doroshenko, "Mazepa v istorychniy literaturi i zhytti" (Mazepa in Historical Literature and Life), *PUNI* (Warsaw, 1938), Vol. 46, p. 16.

It is quite possible that the young, good-looking Mazepa had some love affairs, but the story about Falbowski does not appear as serious as Pasek claimed in his memoirs. There is quite an accurate biography of Mazepa in the German weekly magazine in Hamburg, **Historische Remarques** of January 22, 1704, in its November 27, 1703, correspondence from Moscow. A correspondent mentioned such very personal details concerning Mazepa as his marriage to a rich widow (Sc. Hanna Frydrykevych whom he married in about 1668 or 1669), that she died in 1702, that they had one daughter who died very early, and that Mazepa's sister was married three times. The author could even give the names of her three husbands: Obydovsky, Viruslavsky, and Voynarovsky. The son from the third marriage, Andrew Voynarovsky, came to live with his Uncle Mazepa, who sent him to study philosophy in Kyiv. It should be added that this biography was not very favourable. The author accused Mazepa of denouncing his predecessor, I. Samoylovych. According to the Ukrainian historian, O. Ohloblyn, Mazepa's signature was not to be found on the denunciation.¹³ Logically if the correspondent from Moscow had mentioned some personal affairs of Mazepa in the magazine, he surely would have mentioned the love story about Falbowski's wife. Evidently, it was unimportant, and the author chose not to mention the story.

Pasek's story seems to have little veracity, because if Mazepa had really been punished by Falbowski, as Pasek described, how could the Polish King have promoted Mazepa to a higher rank in 1665 after such a scandal? It is certain that Mazepa did not leave the Polish court because of this love story. After Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII, not one of his biographies mentioned the Falbowski affair. All of these biographies omitted any reference to this fact and they certainly would have mentioned any fact of Mazepa's life which would put him in a bad light.

In 1669, Mazepa joined the service of the Ukrainian Hetman Petro Doroshenko, whose ambition was to liberate Ukraine from both Muscovy and Poland. These two powers had divided Ukraine into two parts according to the Treaty of Andrusovo (1667). On the right bank of the boundary, the Dnipro River, was Doroshenko under the Polish King, and on the left bank was Hetman Ivan Samoylovych under the Russian protectorate.

Mazepa became Doroshenko's close associate and was often sent on diplomatic mission. In 1674 on a mission to Crimea, Mazepa was captured by Ivan Sirko, the leader ("Koshovyy") of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had their own territory and administration. Sirko sent Mazepa to Hetman Samoylovych, who was Doroshenko's political opponent. Mazepa was in a dangerous situation, but Samoylovych, having recognized his education and diplomatic skill, quickly

¹³) O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 37.

promoted him from private instructor of his children to the highest military rank and to the position of Chancellor. Since Mazepa's former commander, Doroshenko, recognized the authority of Samoylovych, Mazepa served the latter in many diplomatic missions, especially to Moscow. There he made many influential court acquaintances. Chief among them was that of Count Vasiliy Golitsyn. In order to save his reputation at the court during his first unsuccessful campaign against Crimea (1687), Golitsyn persuaded the Cossacks to depose Samoylovych and elect Mazepa as Hetman.¹⁴ This was done on July 25, 1687.

Mazepa, having had such rich experiences, realized that any attempt to rid Ukraine of Russia would fail and cause disaster to his country. He flatly rejected, for example, a favourable offer from the Polish King transmitted by de la Neuville.¹⁵ He decided to be loyal to Moscow, and through his personal charm he won the favour of the new Tsar, Peter I. The Austrian envoy in Moscow, Otto Pleyer, in his report of February 8, 1702, remarked that "Mazepa is very much respected and honoured by the Czar."¹⁶

Mazepa's policy was to strengthen the Ukraine internally, to improve education and economic-social conditions, to create strong leadership, and to make Ukraine so strong that Moscow could not easily weaken her autonomous status. Taking advantage of a period of peace, Mazepa initiated valuable steps in the fields of culture, in education, and in building schools and churches.¹⁷ In order to strengthen the position of the Hetman's office, Mazepa intended to make it successive. Since he had no children of his own, Mazepa planned to appoint his nephew, Andrew Voynarovsky, as his successor.

It is likely that Mazepa had good intention. However, by being too loyal to Moscow and by approving and legalizing the abolition of the democratic system in Ukraine which began under his predecessor, Mazepa caused deep dissatisfaction and opposition among the Ukrainian people. One sign of the dissatisfaction of the people and the Cossacks was the unsuccessful revolt led by Petryk Ivanenko 1692-96, who fled to the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1692 and tried to persuade them to attack Mazepa in order to liberate the Ukrainian people from the "new landlords." Petryk counted on Zaporozhians and also hoped to secure military help from the Crimean khan, who

¹⁴) Mazepa's election was described by Gen. P. Gordon in his diary; cf.: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

¹⁵) F. de la Neuville, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁶) N. Ustryalov, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 571.

¹⁷) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 426; see also: M. Andrusiak, "Hetman Ivan Mazepa yak kul'turnyy diyach" (Hetman Ivan Mazepa as Promoter of Culture), *PUNI* (Warsaw, 1939), Vol. 47, pp. 69-87. V. Sichynskyj, *Ivan Mazepa — lyudyna i metsenat* (Ivan Mazepa — the Man and Benefactor), (Philadelphia, 1951), and of the same author: "Ivan Mazepa — Patron of Culture and Arts of Ukraine", *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (1959), Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 271-280.

as a matter of fact recognized Petryk as hetman of Ukraine and promised him assistance. Mazepa's army awaited Petryk at the border; however, the Zaporozhians did not join Petryk as a body, and when people learned that Petryk received a band of Tatars, they did not dare to revolt. After several attempts, Petryk finally was killed in 1696 and thus the revolt was ended.¹⁸

Those who attempted any uprising against the Hetman's administration were severely punished and, as the contemporary chronologist Velychko remarked in his chronicle, "...there was silence and fear among the people..." It is necessary to add that Mazepa made some attempt to ease the tension between the people and the officers (starshyna) by abolishing the special taxes which had been imposed by Samoylovych in his proclamation, the "Universal", in 1707. This was the only action Mazepa took to alleviate the tension.

The discontent of the Ukrainian people grew when Peter I renewed the war with Turkey in 1695, and Mazepa sent the Cossacks against the Turks whenever the Tsar demanded it. Then, as soon as Peter had ended his war with Turkey, he joined the Saxo-Polish King, August II, in an attack upon Sweden in order to secure an opening to the Baltic Sea. From 1700 on, the Tsar demanded increasingly more Cossacks from Mazepa to fight against the Swedish King and his ally, the newly elected Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski. The Tsar also demanded that the Cossacks build fortresses at their own expense. In return for their services, the Cossacks received little gratitude; they did not receive any pay, and they were beaten, mistreated, and insulted in many ways.¹⁹ The English historian, L. R. Lewitter, observes in his essay "Mazepa" that "...the treatment meted out to the civilian population of Ukraine by the Russian army, with its daily routine of plunder, arson, murder, and rape, was more reminiscent of a punitive expedition than of allied troop movements."²⁰

Such conduct on the part of the Russians must have inspired a gloomy feeling in Mazepa's heart. In addition, rumours were spread in military circles that the Tsar intended to abolish the autonomy of Ukraine and annex her as a part of the Russian Empire.²¹ Moreover, the rumour was that the Tsar did not hide his intention of entrusting the office of Hetman to his favourite, A. Menshikov. These rumours were confirmed by a letter to Mazepa from his friend, the Countess Anna Dolska. The Countess, in her letter, described a conversation

¹⁸) For details see: Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-188, 190-192.

¹⁹) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-477, 489-490, 524, 530, 541, 551-554; S. M. Solovyev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremyen (Russian History from the Oldest Times)*, (St. Petersburg, 1864-1865), Vol. XV, pp. 1487, 1489.

²⁰) L. R. Lewitter, "Mazepa", *History Today* (London, 1957), Vol. VII, pp. 593-594.

²¹) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 549-550, 558-559; cf.: Solovyev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1493.

with two Russian generals, Sheremetyev and Renne. She told Mazepa that when she made a friendly remark about him, Renne said, "O Lord, have pity on that good and clever man. The poor man does not know that the Count Alexander Danilovitch (Menshikov) digs a grave for him, and after he is rid of him, Mazepa, then he himself will become the Hetman of Ukraine." Sheremetyev confirmed Renne's words. Concerning Dolska's remark that none of Mazepa's friends wanted to warn him, Sheremetyev said, "We must not say anything. We suffer ourselves, but we are forced to keep quiet."²²

After his secretary, Philip Orlyk, finished reading the letter, Mazepa said, "I know well what they want to do with me and all of you. They want to satisfy me with the title of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. They want the officer corps annihilated, our cities turned over to their administration, and their own governors appointed. If our people should oppose them, they would send them beyond the Volga, and Ukraine will be settled by their people, the Russians."²³

There is evidence that the Tsar authorized his envoy to the Vienna Court, a German diplomat in the Russian service, Baron Heinrich von Huyssen, to request the Emperor Joseph I to grant Mazepa a title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Peter van Haven (1715-1757), a Dutch scholar, to whom Huyssen left his memoirs and notes (before his sudden death in 1742 on the boat returning from St. Petersburg to Germany), reported in his work about Russia that Huyssen obtained from Joseph I the title of Prince for A. Menshikov, the title of Earl for G. I. Golovkin, Peter's Chancellor, and the title of Prince for Mazepa. The Emperor indeed granted Mazepa a title of "Prince of the Holy Roman Empire." The grant of the title of Prince, effective September 1, 1707, is recorded in an official register under "M", Vol. XII, and is also on the back of Mazepa's undated letter to Emperor Joseph I, which was published for the first time in the appendix to my article "Mazepas Fürstentitel im Lichte seines Briefes an Kaiser Josef I", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (1962, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, pp. 350-356). This letter is located in *Reichsadelsakten* of the *Austrian State Archives* in Vienna.

According to Huyssen, there was not enough money to pay for Mazepa's diploma,²⁴ although Mazepa gave Menshikov for this

²²) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550; Solovyev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, pp. 1490-1491. See also: O. Pritsak, "Ivan Mazepa i Kniahynia Anna Dolska" (Ivan Mazepa and the Countess Anna Dolska), *PUNI* (Warsaw, 1939), Vol. 47, pp. 102-117.

²³) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550; Solovyev, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 1491.

²⁴) P. van Haven, *Nye og forbedrede Efterraetninger om det russiske Rige* (*New Improved Accounts about the Russian Empire*), (Copenhagen, 1747), 2 Vols.; I used the German translation: *Unterschiedene Abschnitte aus neuen verbesserten Nachrichten von dem Russischen Reich*, published by Anton Fr. Buesching in his *Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie* (Halle, 1776), Vol. X, p. 319.

purpose 3,000 ducats.^{24a} There is clear evidence that according to Huyssen's letter of June 8, 1707, to the Austrian Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Schoenborn, Menshikov was immediately going to pay the necessary fees, as soon as the title of the Imperial Prince was granted to Mazepa.²⁵

Huyssen's explanation noted by van Haven that Mazepa's diploma was not delivered to him because of lack of money, cannot be true.

Another possible explanation, given by S. Tomashivsky, and after him by B. Krupnytsky and O. Ohloblyn,²⁶ is likewise improbable. These historians believe that the Tsar actually requested the Vienna Court not to send the diploma. The fact that more than a year elapsed (September 1, 1707, to October 26, 1708) in which the diploma could have been delivered to Mazepa, indicates rather his lack of interest in it. It is true that later, after Mazepa went over to the Swedes (October 26, 1708), the Tsar through his envoy in Vienna, Baron J. Chr. von Urbich did request that the Emperor withhold the diploma.^{26a} However, after October 1708, it is doubtful whether Mazepa himself cared about an empty title, which was in effect anyway.

Even before October 1708, Mazepa did not care about this title, because, as Tomashivsky pointed out, he suspected that this title was merely a part of Menshikov's intrigue, which was "promoveatur ut amoveatur."²⁷

Curiously, Mazepa's diploma is no longer in the Austrian State Archives, although the German historian, M. Gritzner, reported seeing it before 1887.²⁸ The fate of the diploma since then is unknown.

Almost all historians agree that Mazepa was ambitious and independent-minded, nevertheless, he was loyal to the Tsar. Mazepa

^{24a} M. Vozniak, "Benders'ka komisiya po smerti Mazepy" (The Commission of Bendery after the Death of Mazepa), *PUNI*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 127, 131.

²⁵ "...Sa de Alte de Menzikow m'a ecrit il y a quelque temps, vouloir m'envoyer l'argent pour cet effet, aussitôt qu'il verroit par la main de Votre Excellence, que Sa. Maj. Imp. ne refuseroit point cette grace au dit Prince Mazepa..." *Austrian State Archives, Russica 1-20*. This excerpt of Huyssen's letter was published by S. Tomashivsky in "Mazepa i avstriys'ka polityka", (Mazepa and the Austrian Policy), *ZNTS*, Vol. XCII, pp. 244-245.

²⁶ S. Tomashivsky, "Mazepa i avstriys'ka polityka", p. 245; B. Krupnytsky, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit*, (Leipzig, 1942), p. 159; O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

^{26a} "...dass E. M. nachdem der Mazeppa dem Tzar meineydig worden und in schwedische Dienst uebergangen ist, das ueber die ihm ehedessen zugedachte reichs-fuerstenwuerde gewoehnliche diploma nit expedieren, sondern den Mazeppa, wan er sich in Hungaren retiriren wuerde, dem Tzar aushaendigen lassen moegten..." *Austrian State Archives, Russica 1-20*; this excerpt from Baron Urbich's letter was also published by Tomashivsky in "Mazepa i avstriys'ka polityka", p. 245.

²⁷ Tomashivsky, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

²⁸ F. Siebmacher, *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, (Nuremberg, 1887), Vol. I, p. 161; cf. J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

rejected several favourable offers from the Polish King. Soon, however, Mazepa found good reasons to mistrust the Tsar.

In 1707 the Tsar ordered Mazepa to surrender that part of Ukraine which was on the right bank of Dnipro River to those Polish magnates, who supported his ally, August II of Saxony.²⁹

Moreover, Mazepa learned that the Tsar intended to abolish the autonomous status of the remainder of Ukraine in order to incorporate it into the Russian Empire. With this step the Cossacks would be absorbed into the Russian Army, and the Cossack officers ("Starshyna") would be arrested and exiled to Siberia.³⁰

Still further, the Tsar refused Mazepa's request for military aid against a possible Swedish attack. In fact, at the War Council in Zhovkva, April 1707, the Tsar expressed his refusal in these words: "...I can give you neither ten thousand nor even ten men. Defend yourselves as well as you can..."³¹ But many of Mazepa's regiments were engaged in the Tsar's service elsewhere. The remainder was insufficient for the defence of Ukraine. Therefore Mazepa had no alternative. This was "dura necessitas" as M. Hrushevsky pointed out.³² Either he could remain faithful to the Tsar and see Ukraine invaded and plundered by the Swedes, or he could negotiate for Swedish protection. Thus he planned to join Charles XII, just as B. Khmelnytsky tried to do with regard to the Swedish King Charles X in 1656.

Despite all precautions, in the Spring of 1708, two officers of his General Staff, Gen. V. Kochubey and Col. I. Iskra, informed the Tsar of Mazepa's secret negotiations with the Swedish King. However, Peter ignored this denouncement, and both officers were condemned by the Tsar to death.

Despite this, Mazepa through a Serbian or Bulgarian Archbishop, a refugee, completed a secret alliance with Charles XII either in the town of Smorgon' between February 11 and March 18, 1708, or in the town of Radaszkowice between March 27 and June 17, 1708.³³

²⁹) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 560-561. There is a copy of Peter's order to Mazepa to give up the right bank to the Poles, located in the *Swedish Riksarkivet* in Stockholm, under *Diplomatica Cosacica I*.

³⁰) Philip Johann von Strahlenberg (1677-1747), *Das Nord-und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia, etc.* (The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia, etc.), (Stockholm, 1730), p. 252; cf.: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

³¹) Solovyev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1494; cf.: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

³²) M. Hrushevsky, "Shveds'ko-ukrains'kyj soyuz 1708 r." (Swedish-Ukrainian Alliance of 1708), *ZNTS* (1909), Vol. 92, p. 12.

³³) For details see: M. Andrusiak, "Zvyazky Mazepy z Stanyslavom Leszczynskym i Karlom XII." (The Relations of Mazepa with Stanislaw Leszczynski and Charles XII), *ZNTS* 1933, Vol. 152, pp. 35-61; B. Krupnytsky, "The Swedish-Ukrainian Treaties of Alliance 1708-1709", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York 1956, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 47-57; C. J. Nordmann, *Charles XII et l'Ukraine de Mazepa*, Paris 1958 (Dissertation); O. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-285.

The original document is not preserved. However, the terms of this Ukrainian-Swedish agreement were mentioned by an anonymous Swedish Major in his memoirs, which were added to Gustave Adlerfelt's *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suède* (Amsterdam, 1740), 4 Vols. According to more recent research, this anonymous Swedish Major was Peter Schoenstroem, a secretary at Charles XII's field-headquarters. P. Schoenstroem severely criticized several Swedish generals, and therefore preferred to remain as an "anonymous Major."

This Ukrainian-Swedish Alliance of 1708 had raised the controversial question as to whether or not Mazepa had invited Charles XII to enter the Ukraine and failed to give the help expected by the Swedish King. For that Mazepa is blamed by some historians even today. However, as a matter of fact, Charles XII had no intention of entering the Ukraine, nor had Mazepa invited him to do so.

As to the campaign against Moscow, Charles XII had made his plan already in Saxony. According to his plan, the Swedish Army was supposed to proceed as follows: From the North, General Lybecker would proceed in the direction of Ingria and Petersburg to pin down the Russian troops, while Charles XII himself, with the main Swedish Army, would proceed on the route between Smolensk-Moscow. At the same time from the South, the Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczynski, with his Army and a Swedish Corps under the command of General Crassau would proceed to cut off the Russians from Ukraine.

Mazepa, according to this secret agreement with the Swedish King, was supposed to deliver the fortresses in Siveria, supply the Swedish Army with food, and join Charles XII on his "march directly to Moscow."³⁴ Mazepa did not expect the Swedish King to enter the Ukraine, and when he learned that the Swedes had entered it, he angrily remarked to his chancellor, Philip Orlyk, "...it is the devil, who sends him here. He is going to ruin all my plans and bring in his wake the Russian troops. Now our Ukraine will be devastated and lost."³⁵

Charles XII was warned by his adviser, Count Charles Piper, not to go into Ukraine. On the contrary, he urged his King to retreat in order to secure for General Loewenhaupt's Corps necessary military equipment and food, which was on the way from Riga to join the Swedish Army.³⁶ (It is true, however, that in the Spring of 1707 he,

³⁴) G. Adlerfelt, *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suède* (Amsterdam, 1740), 4 Vols.; I used the English translation: *The Military History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* (London, 1741), Vol. III, pp. 193-194.

³⁵) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 615; Solovyev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 496.

³⁶) G. A. Nordberg, *Konung Karl XII's Historia* (Stockholm, 1740), Vol. I, p. 868. See also: *Historiska Handlingar* (Stockholm, 1902), Vol. XIX, No. 1;

Mazepa, asked the Swedish King to come to Ukraine, but at that time he refused Mazepa's offer.)³⁷

Besides, according to the German historian Otto Haintz, a campaign against Moscow through Ukraine at that time, from the strategic point of view, was impossible.³⁸ (Even during World War II, Hitler's plans to attack Moscow from Ukraine proved unsuccessful.)³⁹

Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King could have been successful if Charles XII had marched into Russia on the Smolensk-Moscow route, along the border between Ukraine and Russia, as he had originally planned. If Charles had proceeded on this route, Mazepa, having been cut off from the Russians by the Swedish Army, could have continued to act as more or less an observer and could have made the final decision accordingly in the moment of victory. Charles was not able, however, to march directly toward Moscow, for the Tsar had destroyed everything in his retreat, and the Swedish Army lacked food. Therefore, in September of 1708, the Swedish King suddenly turned south into Ukraine. Many historians have assumed that he did so by Mazepa's invitation, but there is no clear evidence to support this assumption, for such an action would have been contrary to Mazepa's own intention. As a matter of fact, Mazepa was surprised by this step on the part of the Swedish King, whose situation became desperate after the loss of Gen. Loewenhaupt's corps on September 29, 1708.

The cause of the failure of Charles XII's campaign against Moscow and his defeat at Poltava, was neither his alliance with Hetman Mazepa, nor his decision to enter Ukraine. He was simply forced to enter Ukraine to save his army from famine, because as contemporary eyewitnesses in their memoirs attested, the Russians burned and destroyed everything on their retreat.⁴⁰

Charles XII's campaign against Moscow could have been successful if, first of all, the Swedish generals had carried out their King's orders at the right time and place. Charles XII's field secretary, Peter

Tomashivs'ky, "Iz zapysok karolintsiv" (From the diaries of Charles XII's Followers), *ZNTS*, Vol. 92, pp. 70-71; M. Brodtkin, *Istoriya Finlandii* (St. Petersburg, 1910), Vol. I; V. Ikonnikov, *Zapiski Imp. Akademii Nauk* (Publications of the Imp. Academy of Sciences), (1918), Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 81.

³⁷ G. A. Nordberg, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 829.

³⁸ Haintz, *Koenig Karl XII, von Schweden* (King Charles XII, of Sweden), Berlin, 1936), Vol. I, p. 119.

³⁹ Walter Goerlitz, *History of the German General Staff (1657-1945)*, (New York, 1953), pp. 399-400, ff.

⁴⁰ G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 43-44. (The Russian Fieldmarshal Sheremetyev "laid all the towns and villages in ashes, destroying everything within a circumference of ten or twelve miles; so that nothing but fire was seen everywhere, and the air was so darkened with smoke that we could hardly see the sun.")

Schoenstroem, blamed the Swedish commanding generals, "who commanded separate bodies of the Army, committed diverse mistakes, and were most unsuccessful everywhere."⁴¹

For example, Gen. Lybecker, who "had sufficient forces to invade the provinces of Novgorod and Pleskow (Pskov)",⁴² and tie up the Tsar's Army, unnecessarily retreated from Ingria to Riga, without his King's order, thus leaving the Tsar a free hand to attack Gen. Loewenhaupt's Corps (at Desna, September 29, 1708).⁴³ Gen. Loewenhaupt moved too slowly, and his "fatal delay... beyond the day fixed, was the real cause of misfortune, which afterwards befell the King of Sweden."⁴⁴ The King himself, being unaware of Gen. Lybecker's retreat, did not hurry to help Gen. Loewenhaupt, but instead, upon entering Ukraine, sent his Gen. Lagercrona to seize the fortresses in Siveria. Gen. Lagercrona by his "own Fault and Negligence" failed to do so.⁴⁵ Gen. Crassau with his Corps never arrived from Poland to join the main Swedish Army.⁴⁶ The other generals, as for instance, Gen. Roos, and especially, Field Marshal G. Rehnshoeld, who commanded the Swedish Army at the battle of Poltava (because the King was wounded), according to the Polish General S. Poniatowski, "was so at a loss here, that he did nothing but run from one side to the other, without giving one necessary order."⁴⁷

Because those Swedish generals failed to carry out their assignments, and because of an extremely harsh winter in 1708-1709, and because the Swedes through their harsh treatment of the Ukrainian population did not win its support, the result was the catastrophe at Poltava (July 7, 1709), where Charles XII and Mazepa were thoroughly defeated. After the battle at Poltava, both the Swedish King and Hetman fled to Bendery under the Turkish protection. After arriving at Bendery, the aging Mazepa (70 years old) became very ill and on October 2, 1709 (n. s.), died in Varnytsia, a suburb of Bendery.⁴⁸ On March 18, 1710, his body was transferred and buried at St. George's Cathedral in Galats.⁴⁹

41) G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 198; cf.: *Remarques d'un seigneur Polonais sur l'histoire de Charles XII*, (The Hague, 1741); I used the English translation: S. Poniatowski, *Remarks on M. de Voltaire's History of Charles XII* (London, 1741), pp. 18, 21, 22.

42) G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

43) *Ibid.*, p. 204.

44) *Ibid.*, p. 207.

45) S. Poniatowski, *op. cit.*, p. 18; G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211; (J. Bardili, *op. cit.*, p. 416).

46) O. Haintz, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

47) S. Poniatowski, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

48) B. Krupnyckyj, "Miscellanea Mazepiana", *PUNI* (Warsaw, 1939), Vol. 47, pp. 90-92.

49) M. Vozniak, "Benderska komisiya po smerty Mazepy" ("The Commission of Bendery after the death of Mazepa"), *PUNI*, Warsaw, 1938, Vol. 46, p. 107.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, Mazepa was an unusual man, who was famous not only in Ukraine, but who also became a controversial figure in world history. The crux of the controversy is as much the question of Mazepa's character (selfishness, desire for power, revenge, Machiavellianism, etc.) as the question of whether or not he invited Charles XII to enter Ukraine and then failed to give the help he had promised.

There is quite a great deal of literature written about Mazepa. The contemporary writers write about Mazepa mostly in a sympathetic fashion.

One of the first foreign eyewitnesses who met Mazepa, was Foy de la Neuville. He presents Mazepa as a man of great intelligence although not overly prepossessing in his physical appearance.

The next foreign eyewitness who knew Mazepa in person, was Patrick Gordon (1635-1699), a Scottish General in Russian service, who spent a considerable amount of time in Ukraine and was acquainted with the Ukrainian problems very well. For instance, he clearly distinguished the Cossacks from Russian troops,¹ he was eyewitness of Mazepa's election as the new Hetman (July 25, 1687) at the Kolomak River and described it in his diaries, which were used and evaluated by Nicholas Kostomarov in his notable monograph **Mazepa i Mazepyntsi**.

P. Gordon's son-in-law, General Alexander Gordon, Peter's devoted admirer, also remarked in his memoirs that Mazepa was successful in the war against the Turks,² and that Mazepa made alliance with the Swedish King, who "undertook to make him sovereign of the whole Ukraine."³

However, it is to be said that A. Gordon did not take Mazepa's side. He also pointed out that the Cossack Colonels "...seemed all of them much surprised" at Mazepa's speech in which he "stressed the tyranny and barbarity of the Russians", who "had encroached upon the liberties and privileges of the Cossacks", and appealed to them "to shake off that yoke and make Ukraine henceforeward a sovereign, independent nation... and... invited them all to march with him to join the King of Sweden with all their force, and fight with him against perfidious Russians..." The Colonels, however, did not follow Mazepa, but "returned to the Czar, giving him an account of the whole, and promising fidelity, saying withal, that if they had been

¹ *Passages from the diary of General Patrick Gordon*, (Aberdeen, 1859), p. 164.

² Alexander Gordon (1699-1752), *The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia*, (Aberdeen, 1755), Vol. I, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 283.

able, or had had any of their troops with them, they should have brought Mazepa prisoner to his majesty.”⁴

Captain John Perry remarked in his memoirs that Mazepa joined the Swedes, because “...it is certain that not only the Cossacks... who being now made uneasy by the Breach of their Privileges and Exactions... but the Russes too, who were everywhere ripe for Rebellion... if the Czar had lost the Battle of Poltava, had made a general Revolt...”⁵

The English envoy to Moscow, Lord Charles Whitworth writing his report of November 10, 1708, expressed his doubt that Mazepa as a man of seventy years of age, very rich, childless, enjoying the confidence and affection of Peter, and executing his authority like a monarch, would have joined Charles XII for selfish or other personal reasons.⁶

In his memoirs, Whitworth also emphasized that because the Russian administration made “several encroachments” on the liberties of the Cossacks in Ukraine, “from hence sprung an universal Discount and the Revolt of Mazepa with the King of Sweden.”⁷

As far as the expression “Mazepa traitor” goes, which was repeated by Captain P. H. Bruce in his memoirs after L. N. Hallard, a German general in the Russian service, and also frequently used by Defoe in his two above-mentioned books, it is to be said that according to the contemporary witnesses, Mazepa took the Swedish side because the Tsar on Mazepa’s request to send him troops to defend Ukraine before the Swedes, refused to do so.⁸ Therefore Mazepa felt that in making an alliance with Charles XII, he would prevent devastation and occupation of Ukraine, and at the same time would be able to preserve the autonomy of his country or even regain its independence.

As a direct reason why Mazepa joined the Swedes, the contemporary witnesses agree that the Russian administration treated the Ukrainian people badly.

The Prussian envoy in Moscow, Baron Georg Johann von Kayserling, wrote in his report of November 17-28, 1708, the following comments on Mazepa: “...and there could not be a doubt that this man is loved as well as respected by his people, and that he will have great support from his nation. Especially the Cossacks like him very much, because the present Government treats them very badly and they are robbed of their liberties. Therefore it is rather to be believed

4) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 283-284.

5) John Perry (1670-1732), *The State of Russia under the Present Czar*, (London, 1716), pp. 25, 27.

6) Cf.: B. Krupnyckyj, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit*, p. 161; V. Sichynsky, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions*, (New York, 1953), p. 123.

7) Charles Whitworth (1675-1725), *An Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710*, (Strawberry Hill, 1758), pp. 25-26.

8) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 567; Solovyev, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 1494.

that either all the people, or at least the bigger part of them will follow the example of their leader.”⁹

Johann Wendel Bardili, a German eyewitness and historian, who met Mazepa in person at the Swedish headquarters, and certainly was acquainted with Mazepa's objectives, considered him as an Ukrainian patriot and hero, whom even his former foe, the Turkish Sultan, refused to extradite to the Tsar, in spite of the latter's insistent requests and even threats. The Sultan justified his stand because of an old law of asylum and, according to Bardili, he did not see any “reason of importance for extradition of such a person, who because of freedom, liberty, and rights of his own people endeavoured so much and suffered so many persecutions and tortures to promote the liberation of his people from the Muscovite yoke. For this reason at first he (Mazepa) had to ask for the Turkish protection.”¹⁰

The Swedish eyewitness and historiographer, Gustav Adlerfelt, also pointed out that Mazepa had good reason to join the Swedish King, because the Russian administration treated the Ukraine badly.¹¹

Philip Johann von Strahlenberg, a Swedish officer, who spent thirteen years in Russia as a prisoner of war after the battle at Poltava, remarked in his work about Russia, that after Mazepa had discovered the Tsar's intention to destroy the autonomy of Ukraine, he told his officers and tried to persuade them to join the Swedes.¹²

Even Peter's favourite, A. Menshikov himself, reporting to the Tsar on October 26, 1708, wrote “... if he did this, it was not for the sake of his person alone, but for the whole of Ukraine.”¹³

In analysing English contemporary sources written by eyewitnesses such as General Patrick Gordon, English envoy in Moscow, Lord Charles Whitworth, or Captain John Perry, it has to be said that they wrote about Mazepa in a neutral manner and stated facts as they saw or heard about them. Furthermore, they tried to justify his alliance with Charles XII. Therefore, it is no wonder that even modern Soviet historians, for example the known Russian historian E. V. Tarle, described Lord Whitworth's reports as unfriendly towards Russia.¹⁴

⁹) Kayserling's reports were published by B. Krupnyckyj under the title: “Z donesen' Kayserlinga 1708 i 1709 rr.” (From Kayserling's Reports in the Years 1708 and 1709), *PUNI* (Warsaw, 1939), Vol. 47, p. 27.

¹⁰) Johann Wendel Bardili, *Reise-Beschreibung von Pultawa durch das Desert Dzikie Pole nach Bender*, (Stuttgart, 1714), pp. 106-107.

¹¹) G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 16.

¹²) P. J. von Strahlenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹³) *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, Vol. VIII, Part 2, pp. 864-865 (“...ponezhe kogda on (Mazepa) seye uchinil, to ne dlya odnoy svoyey osoby, no i vsej radi Ukrainy...”)

¹⁴) E. V. Tarle, *Severnaya voyna i shvedskoye nashestviye na Rossiiyu* (*The Great Northern War and the Swedish Attack upon Russia*), (Moscow, 1958), p. 6.

The English contemporary press, using the Russian reports through German and Dutch channels, also reported in a neutral fashion about Mazepa and his joining the Swedes, merely stating facts without comments, in contrast to the German contemporary press which called Mazepa "a traitor" who did not fear God, "super-rebel", "selfish", etc.¹⁵

It is to be added that at the same time, the Swedish King apparently neglected to organize properly his bureau of information because not only the foreign newspapers such as the **London Gazette**, No. 4502, of January 3, 1709, using information from Vienna, complains that "we have been long without direct Advices from the Swedish Army", but even the Swedish paper, **Stockholmske Post-Tidener**, No. 52, of December 29, 1708, remarked "...we did not have information from the Swedish Headquarters..."

There is quite a great deal of literature written about Mazepa. It was Voltaire who wrote favourably about Mazepa, and made his name known throughout Europe in his **History of Charles XII**.¹⁶ The Hungarian-German historian, Johann Christian von Engel, writing about Mazepa in the **History of Ukraine**, expressed doubts whether Mazepa should be condemned.¹⁷ The Ukrainian historian, Nicholas Kostomarov, although writing a very accurate biography of Mazepa, condemned him as a traitor.¹⁸ Kostomarov's monograph was used by E. Melchior de Vogüé in his story "Mazepa, la légende et histoire", **Revue des Deux Mondes** (1881), Vol. 48, pp. 320-351, which was translated into English (**The True History of Mazepa**, London, 1884) by J. Millington and by C. M. Anderson. The turning point in the evaluation of Mazepa was done by F. Umanets in his work **Hetman Mazepa**, (St. Petersburg, 1897), in Russian. Umanets, although using only published material as his source of information, tried to prove that Mazepa should not be condemned as a "traitor."

In English language, the English historian B. Sands in his essay on the Ukrainian history, mentioned Mazepa in a favourable light.¹⁹ An essay about Mazepa was published in **History Today** by L. R. Lewitter, who often contradicts himself in his judgment about Mazepa.²⁰ In the United States, Clarence A. Manning wrote a book in which the author in a lucid style favourably described the life and deeds of Mazepa.

¹⁵ *Europäische Fama*, Vol. 91, p. 566; the Frankfurter magazine *Theatrum Europaeum*, Vol. 18, p. 273; the Nuremberg magazine *Neueröffneter Historischer Bildersaal*, Vol. 7, p. 527.

¹⁶ Voltaire, *op. cit.*, p. 258-262.

¹⁷ J. Chr. von Engel, *Geschichte der Ukraine und der Kosaken (History of the Ukraine and the Cossacks)*, published as a continuation of *Allgemeine Welt-historie*, (Halle, 1796), Vol. XLVIII, pp. 307, 321.

¹⁸ N. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ B. Sands, *The Ukraine*, (London, 1914), pp. 31-32.

²⁰ L. R. Lewitter, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-596.

Today it is no longer necessary to defend Mazepa's policy and his alliance with the Swedish King.

Although Soviet historians condemn Mazepa and regard him as a "traitor", yet some prominent Russian historians abroad, such as S. G. Pushkarev and G. Vernadsky, do not call Mazepa a "traitor" in their recent histories of Russia.²¹ Moreover, the very well known Russian historian, a member of the Russian Academy of Arts and Sciences, S. F. Platonov (1860-1933) justified Mazepa's alliance with Charles XII,²² and Alexander G. Brueckner (1834-1896), a Russian historian of German descent,²³ not only justified his policy, but even regarded it as a masterpiece ("ein Meisterstueck") and his attempt to liberate the Ukraine as an "heroic act."²⁴

²¹ S. G. Pushkarev, *Obzor russkoy istorii* (Outline of the Russian History), (New York, 1953), pp. 292-293; G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia* (New Haven, 1961), pp. 154-156.

²² S. F. Platonov, *Geschichte Russlands* (History of Russia), Leipzig 1927, pp. 255-256.

²³ E. Shmurlo, A. G. Bryukner, (a necrology in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1897.

²⁴ A. Brueckner, *Peter der Grosse* (Peter the Great), (Berlin, 1879), Vol. IV, pp. 404-405.

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Contemporary Documentation

ASIAN PEOPLES ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (APACL) XIIth CONFERENCE IN MANILA, SEPTEMBER, 1965.

R e s o l u t i o n

On the Extention of the Captive Nations' Week Movement

The APACL 11th Conference:

Considering that the Captive Nations Week Movement, endorsed by the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives and officially designated in 1959 by former U. S. President Eisenhower to be held in the third week of July every year, is a movement which truly represents the concern and support of the U. S. people and government for all captive nations and peoples of the world;

Noting that ever since the day of its birth, the movement has greatly inspired all captive nations and peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence; and in view of the profound significance of its gradual expansion into a worldwide movement for supporting all captive nations and peoples, the Conference stresses the need of enlarging the scope of the movement;

Considering the fact that the annual convocation of this significant movement has not been accompanied by substantial actions and concrete steps for helping the captive nations and peoples to truly regain their freedom and independence;

Resolves;

1. To call on the APACL member units to inspire the governments of their own countries to adopt a decision for the implementation of the Captive Nations Week Movement in July every year, so that the movement will expand and become a worldwide movement of increasing significance;
 2. To call on the APACL member units to organize the people of all sections in their countries to participate in the Captive Nations Week Movement in July every year and thus support the enslaved peoples' struggle for freedom and independence;
 3. To urge all APACL member and observer units to obtain through the parliaments of their respective countries the passage of a Captive Nations Week Resolution similar to the one legislated in 1959 by the U. S. Congress;
 4. To call on the APACL member units to carry out thoroughly and completely the 10th APACL General Assembly's decision to assist the U. S. Committee for Captive Nations Week in convening world-wide meetings in support of the enslaved peoples' struggle for freedom and independence.
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QUESTION OF "CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK" RAISED IN THE WEST GERMAN PARLIAMENT

Dr. Oberländer, Member of Parliament of the German Federal Republic and former Minister for the Refugees, tabled the following oral questions in the West German Bundestag:

2. Is it known to the Federal Government that in pursuance of the Resolution of the American Congress (Public Law 86-90/1959) concerning "Captive Nations Week" the President of the United States calls upon the American people to observe this day of remembrance with appropriate ceremonies, and that the President has been authorized by Congress to issue a similar proclamation on the seventeenth of July of each year until such time as freedom and independence has been attained for all captive peoples?

3. Is the wording of the proclamation issued by the President of the United States in pursuance of the Congress Resolution mentioned in Question 2 known to the Federal Government, by which the liberation struggle of the Germans in the Soviet-occupied Zone and the efforts of the German people for re-unification in freedom are supported and laid down as a lawful object by the United States Congress?

4. Does the Federal Government not deem it necessary to present a corresponding bill to the Federal Parliament in order to demonstrate the solidarity of the German people with the liberation struggle of all peoples subjugated by Bolshevism, especially in the Soviet Union and the so-called "satellites", and thus to recognize the right to self-determination, that is, to national purpose of the German people for the Soviet-occupied Zone?

The following is an extract from the stenographer's record of the 190th sitting of the German Parliament on 16th June 1965 concerning Dr. T. Oberländer's questions on that occasion in connection with the declaration of solidarity with the United States Law on Captive Nations Week.

Dr. Jaeger, Deputy Speaker: We now come to Dr. Oberländer's second question.

Dr. Schröder, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs: Mr. Speaker, with your permission may I perhaps answer all three questions together?

Dr. Jaeger: Certainly. Then let Dr. Oberländer's third and fourth questions be taken as read.

Dr. Schröder: Both the American Congress Resolution of 17th July 1959 and the Proclamation which the President of the United States of America issues in pursuance of this resolution are known to the Federal Government.

The Federal Government does not consider it necessary to bring before Parliament a bill corresponding to the American Congress Resolution. The German people is especially aware that *freedom and self-determination are rights which cannot be traded in* on account of the division which has been forced upon it and on account of the 17 million Germans who have to live under Soviet rule. It thus feels the closest connection with every people which is striving for national independence and for freedom. In the opinion of the Federal Government there is no need for a law or for a legally prescribed day of remembrance to keep awake and to declare this consciousness and this feeling of connectedness.

Dr. Jaeger: Any additional question?

Dr. Oberländer: Sir, are you not of the opinion that if others demonstrate for the 17th June, namely the Americans, we should do something more visible, that we, too, should do something for the oppressed nations?

Dr. Schröder: The question is whether this requires any further lessons from the lawgivers, if I may put it this way, and to this question my answer

is "no". As far as the Federal Government itself is concerned, it has declared often enough and proved again and again through its policies that it demands the right to freedom, self-determination and national independence not only for the German people but for all the peoples of the world and that it is seeking to realize this.

*Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
San Francisco Branch.*

STATEMENT

ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA,
JUNE 21-26, 1965.

Twenty years ago delegates of democratic Ukrainian organizations attended the San Francisco conference, then as now obviously in an unofficial capacity. These representatives, determined to make full use of this international gathering, exerted themselves to the utmost to tell the whole world that Ukraine as a nation has all the right to be a member of the United Nations, but that the Kremlin henchmen displaying credentials of duly elected representatives of the entire Ukrainian nation had no mandate from our peace-loving Ukrainian people.

The world situation since June 1945 has changed considerably; however the Ukrainian question remains unchanged. Today, we still repeat emphatically, we represent the same group of democratic Ukrainian organizations, work for the same enslaved nation and subscribe to the same ideological tradition.

The Charter of the United Nations which provides the fundamental human rights for all, tolerance, dignity and worth of the human person, justice and respect under international law has been wilfully and repeatedly violated by the Russian colonial empire known as the Soviet Union.

Therefore, the position that was taken twenty years ago, present and existing circumstances are ample evidence of validity that there are actually two Ukraines:

The real Ukraine, a country of over 45 million Ukrainians, a democratic and peace-loving nation, spiritually part of the West and its civilization. This Ukraine is persecuted by Moscow, its cultural and religious life is being brutally, and continuously suppressed. This Ukraine exists in the underground (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which was active for many years), in its imprisoned clergy of Catholic and Orthodox denominations and millions of Ukrainians who fill the slave labour camps of Vorkuta, Kolyma, in Siberia and Kazakhstan.

This Ukraine has no equal rights, nor is there tolerance and freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Therefore such persistent violations of the Principles of United Nations Charter are not only endangering the world peace they are direct threat of international peace and security of all nations.

"Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own." (*Benjamin Franklin*)

IN DEFENSE OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE AND UKRAINIAN NATION!

RESOLUTIONS

adopted at the MASS MEETING of the WORKERS OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE of North America, in TORONTO, Ontario, June 6th 1965.

Whereas the Ukrainian independent state was destroyed by Moscow's occupying forces; and

Whereas the so-called Ukrainian S.S.R. in reality is not a Ukrainian state but a mere facade behind which the Moscow state apparatus is concealing and carrying on a policy of liquidation of Ukrainian national traditions and simultaneously is forcefully promoting the idea of one uniform state — USSR, as one common nation for all nationalities with Moscow as its capital, and trying to implement the name "Russia" for USSR not only outside the USSR but also more often inside of the empire; and

Whereas the Muscovite empire, in its past and at present walks the path of brutal force and permanent genocide in times of peace as well as during war, applying terror which cannot be compared with anything in the whole world, as it is permanent, systematic and perfidious, starting from the war pogroms, through resettlement of the whole population, artificial famine, concentration camps and jails, to lowering the numerical strength of the non-Russian peoples by manipulation of the natural increase and planned Russification of the subjugated nations; and

Whereas the Moscow invaders strive to achieve their ruinous goals by disruption of the family as a fundamental nucleus of every nation, by systematic and purposeful overwork of women and children of the subjugated nations of the USSR; and

Whereas the social conditions among the population, especially those in Ukraine, are reduced to the stage of serfdom, with the very hands of its enslaved people; and

Whereas Moscow's criminal policy of weakening the Ukrainian nation is especially directed against the Ukrainian youth, as this youth is being systematically evicted from Ukraine and sent to the distant districts of the USSR, seemingly, according to Moscow propaganda, — to help the undeveloped districts of the USSR, in reality however to deprive Ukraine of her most vital biological elements in order to assimilate them among population alien linguistically and culturally; and

Whereas resulting from the above mentioned planned criminal measures of Moscow, the Ukrainian nation suffered during the last fifty years such an enormous loss in millions of its population, that instead of the twofold natural increase of its population as compared with the growth of other nations, especially its neighbours, the Ukrainian nation shows a steady decrease of its numerical strength; and

Whereas Moscow does not limit itself to the physical liquidation of the Ukrainian nation but also strives to destroy it spiritually, by destroying Ukrainian Churches — Ukrainian Catholic Church and Ukrainian Orthodox Church,

— their clergy and faithful, causing their metropolitans, archbishops, bishops and priests to die a martyr's death and driving the remaining clergymen into the underground, where they are carrying on their work secretly, in conditions similar to the catacombs of the early Christendom; and

Whereas similarly impossible conditions are experienced by Ukrainian science, literature and art, as there is no freedom under the yoke of Moscow, either for individual or national development of the Ukrainian people, because Moscow destroys everyone who tries to think, work and create independently and in accordance with traditions and aspirations of the Ukrainian people; and

Whereas with the assistance of so-called socialist realism, Moscow has transformed Ukrainian science, literature, literary criticism and art into a propaganda apparatus, striving to create with its aid the so-called "man of the communist society", the said man, being a product of merging of all nations of the USSR and which is to be achieved in the Russian Soviet system by the Russification of the non-Russian people of the USSR, utilizing the "international" Russian language, the new school law which gives the Ukrainian parents "the right to chose" between Ukrainian and Russian languages for instruction of their children in Ukraine, by the resettlement of the entire population and creation of multinational republics in which, except for the Russians, no other nationality or any territory should constitute a majority of population; and

Whereas according to our fundamental conviction, Moscow is unable to complete its internal reconstruction while in state of war against the West or even in state of the cold war and in order to gain the necessary time for its internal consolidation, Moscow thrusts upon the Western nations "peace" and "coexistence" knowing that the real peace is the main goal of the West and using this knowledge to blackmail the Western nations into silence with regard to her misdeeds in her sphere of domination; and

Whereas Moscow implements a certain form of coexistence known as "cultural exchange" by sending Ukrainian writers, artists and scientists abroad to visit Ukrainian emigré centres in the Free World with the intention to infiltrate, subvert and split the Ukrainian cultural institutions in the Free World and by instigation of enmity among emigrés divide them and divert their attention from crimes perpetrated by Moscow in Ukraine; and to make them forget their primary duties: to warn the Free World against possible Russian Communist aggression; to spread abroad the true information about the situation in Ukraine and to assist the Ukrainian people in their struggle for independence in any possible way; and

Whereas the Ukrainian nation is not only the victim of Moscow's crimes but also continuously fights for its freedom by every possible means, and the assistance of Ukrainians in the Free World is of the greatest importance; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that we, the Ukrainian cultural workers of North America shall use our rights of free speech and other democratic rights to promote whenever necessary the cause of the struggling Ukrainian nation and we call upon all Ukrainian immigrants everywhere in the Free World to unite on the principle of independence for the Ukrainian nation, the originality of its cultural and spiritual endeavours and to resist Moscow's political and cultural penetration among Ukrainian emigrés living in the Free World;

— The free thought and creative power of Ukrainian people, being suppressed in many forms in Ukraine, can be developed only by Ukrainian emigrés in the Free World where under the favourable conditions of freedom the suppressed or disrupted cultural activities in Ukraine can be revived and carried on;

— Our duty in the Free World is to preserve the original trend of development of Ukrainian culture in order to foster and develop on its basis the spiritual climate for a national Ukrainian world outlook which is essential for the continuation of the struggle of Ukrainian people for the independence and statehood of Ukraine;

— We consider our sacred duty in the Free World to create the most favourable moral and material conditions for the development of independent Ukrainian sciences, literature and arts, thus facilitating for Ukrainian cultural workers the best possible conditions to counter the Russian attacks against the spiritual life of Ukrainian people, their cultural originality and the historical past with its literature and art.

— Ukrainian cultural workers in the Free World, united with the idea of Ukrainian spiritual independence and struggle for sovereignty of the Ukrainian people, should build a CULTURAL CENTRE which would inspire and mobilize Ukrainian cultural circles in the Free World to carry out such duties as are performed by every nation which is determined to live, progress and create spiritual values for its full self-expression.

— One of the main duties of the said CENTRE should be to counter the emotional and rational advances and influences of the enemy upon Ukrainian people, employing scientific methods and arguments, literary and artistic works, mass media, conferences, etc.

— We should oppose Russian offensive abroad carried out in the form of cultural exchange, with our own action aimed at an explanation of the methods of the Soviet Russian deceit advancing behind the smoke-screen of the so-called "peaceful coexistence". We are convinced that only a continuous profound study of the true state of the Soviet Russian occupation in Ukraine will provide us with an actual picture of conditions under which Ukrainian people are living now, and our moral and material support of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence will help us, Ukrainian immigrants, to comprehend our role in the Free World and find our proper place as an auxiliary force in the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its independence.

— We shall not permit our political activities in support of our native country to be slowed down; on account of our freedom-loving people at present being denied the privilege to speak for themselves, therefore we shall speak for them whenever possible and necessary.

SAVE WEST UKRAINE'S POLISH-OCCUPIED BORDER AREAS!

Resolutions of the Sixth Conference of the Organization for the Protection of the West Ukrainian Border Areas

We, citizens of the free countries of the United States and Canada, and members of the Organization for the Protection of the West Ukrainian Border Areas, met at the sixth national conference held at Passaic, New Jersey, on 23rd and 24th October 1965. The conference marked the passing of twenty years since the abominable mass murders by the Poles of our brothers and sisters, the rightful inhabitants of the Ukrainian ethnographic region of the Lemky in the Carpathians, the areas along the River San, the Kholm district and the province of Pidlyashia, to the West and North of the River Bug. The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the conference:

We are truly grateful to the governments of the United States and Canada for admitting our brothers and sisters into their freedom-loving lands — lands with neither reign of terror nor acts of violence.

We wish to convey our greetings to all Ukrainians, and especially to our brothers under Polish occupation who have been driven from Ukrainian provinces mentioned above.

We wish to convey our humble greetings to His Eminence, Cardinal Joseph Slipyj, Archbishop Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; to wish him well on the occasion of the conferment on him of the Cardinal's rank; and to ask for special pastoral care of our brothers and sisters now living in Poland. We would also ask His Eminence to consent to the appointment of a bishop of the Ukrainian-Byzantine rite to care for our fellow Catholics living in Poland. Above all, we respectfully request that he take up this matter so that the liquidation of the monuments of Ukrainian Christian culture in the Land of the Lemky be halted.

We ask all Ukrainian political and communal organizations, especially the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and the Central Committee of Ukrainians in Canada to take concrete measures to awake favourable public opinion and in this way to compel the Polish government to halt its reign of terror and the destruction of all traces of Ukrainian culture in the Land of the Lemky. We welcome emphatically the resolutions passed by the eighth Congress of the Central Committee of Ukrainians in Canada (KUK), together with their concrete suggestions with regard to collaboration with our brothers and sisters in their homeland in the cause of their cultural rights under Polish domination, their return to the settlements they have been forced to leave, and the complete restoration to them of their native places.

We warn that section of the Polish population which has settled in the areas torn from the Ukrainians against following the suggestions of the Communist Russo-Polish régime that those Ukrainians who have stayed in their native land or have managed to return to it should be terrorized. We warn the Poles not to destroy monuments of Christian culture, not to tear down our churches, not to turn over the graves of our fathers and grandfathers, for such disgraceful deeds are not worthy of any nation, and will leave a legacy of bitterness, which will call for retaliation not only from their descendants but also from Heaven, and which will bring advantage neither to the Ukrainian nor to the Polish people.

We wish to protest energetically against the creation of a so-called "church museum" at the village of Smilnyk on the San, where it is intended to bring together forty Ukrainian churches. We condemn this as the greatest act of barbarism which the Polish government has committed against the Ukrainian people. Its object is the destruction of this small piece of West Ukrainian territory, and the wiping out of every trace of our long-established settlement in this land.

Furthermore, we object in the strongest terms to the deportation of Ukrainians from the Land of the Lemky, the areas along the San, the Kholm district and the province of Pidlyashia, all of which they have occupied for centuries.

We regard it as a sacred obligation of the entire Ukrainian emigration to take such steps as are necessary so that our brothers and sisters can return as soon as possible to their native villages with a guarantee of free national, economic and religious life on the soil left to them by their forefathers in the Land of the Lemky.

Finally, we wish to state with the greatest certainty that without a free Ukraine there can never be peace in Europe and that the Land of the Lemky is an inseparable part of Ukraine.

ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH DIED IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY

The Clevelanders of Ukrainian descent in commemoration of the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — The 15th anniversary of the heroic death of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych) was marked by the Ukrainian-American community of Greater Cleveland on Sunday, October 17, 1965 with a rally at Charles A. Mooney High School Auditorium. The main speaker, the Hon. Robert E. Sweeney, 41-year-old Member of U. S. Congress (Dem.-Ohio), expressed general feelings when he paid his respects to "General Chuprynka, a military leader and a citizen of the world, who fought and died in the name of liberty, and we, the inheritors of a free society, commemorate his death in an effort to find in his dying the inspiration to carry us forward in our national and independent endeavours for liberty".

In his impressive political speech which was rewarded by warm and repeated applauses of an audience of nearly 1000 Greater Clevelanders of Ukrainian heritage, Congressman Sweeney, a veteran of World War II who actively fought to destroy the totalitarian Nazi regime, further said:

"I wish to pay tribute this afternoon to the spirit that prompts Ukrainians everywhere to hold steadfast in their love of Ukrainian Nationalism and to continue to arouse public opinion, both here and in the World, concerning the continued oppression of the Ukrainian people by the USSR.

"It is anniversary celebrations such as these that provide the occasions upon which we can re-affirm the undying aspiration of the Ukrainian people for freedom and national independence. In this afternoon's celebration, we not only salute the patriotism and love of liberty and the courage of General Chuprynka, but we more importantly place ourselves under the protection of our Blessed Mother, the Patron of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, under her title, Our Lady of Peace.

On these anniversaries, let it never be said that we, as citizens of a free Republic, have ever abdicated our responsibility or withdrawn our interest from the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberty and independence. On these days of anniversary, let us remember well the underlying principle of our own American foreign policy which has been described by our Secretary of State as follows:

"No one can convince us that the contest between freedom and communist imperialism is not for keeps. This struggle must be our first order of business until a world-wide victory for peace and for freedom has been secured. We want the communists to see that their aggressive hostility towards the Free World is not only costly and dangerous, but also futile".

"On this significant 15th Anniversary of the death of the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who died in the year 1950 in the line of duty, we reflect upon hardships and indescribable miseries of the Ukrainian people and the ruthless persecution that they have endured, for remaining steadfast and clinging to their national ideals;... General Chuprynka was an outstanding organizer of his time... Never throughout all of his activity in UPA and the OUN, did he become disillusioned at the prospect of continuing the fight against his oppressors and conquerors. Never did this great Ukrainian leader give up the struggle, and he lived for the day that sooner or later, through evolution or revolution, a Ukrainian nation would be re-established and her suffering ended".

Congressman R. E. Sweeney's masterful speech and his personality captured both the hearts and minds of the audience.

Another outstanding speaker of the evening was Nicholas G. Bohatiuk, Ph. D., professor of economics at the University of Virginia, presenting a keynote in Ukrainian. He particularly advocated the Ukrainian-American youth to remain always aware of the fact that the ancient freedom-loving City of Carthaginians finally became a victim of the Roman Empire because they lost their belief in the success of active struggle. He urged the hundreds of Ukrainian-American young people always to remember that Ukraine never should share the historical destiny of the ancient State of Carthage. This means conclusively that no Ukrainian in the free world could ever afford a cooperation with any representative (be it cultural, diplomatic or political) of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's regime, the lowly servant of Muscovite Kremlin bosses.

A public recognition was given to Mr. Joseph S. Trubinsky, Executive Committee member of the Slovak Liberation Council in the U.S., who paid personal tribute to the memory of the late General. Mr. Ivan I. Bezugloff, Jr., another Cleveland resident, a member of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations and chairman of the Cossack National Press Association, Inc., stated in his message: "Taras Chuprynka became a symbol for all the captive peoples of Eastern Europe and it was there, in the mountains and forests of Ukraine, that the idea of the ABN was born". It "represents today the strongest alliance of captive peoples against the last bastion of colonialism on this earth — Moscow".

Sponsored by the Cleveland Chapter of the Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Inc., and local Ukrainian unit of the American Friends of the ABN the program was initiated with American National Anthem by Tamara Faberovsky, a soloist of T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Chorus and with a presentation of colour-guards by the Joseph J. Jacubic Post No. 572 of American Legion. The patron of the Post was actually a first Cleveland-born Ukrainian who was killed in the line of duty as a soldier of the U.S. Army in W. W. II on August 3, 1944 at St. Low, France. The Post was established in 1945 at the Cleveland's Ukrainian National Home. Its 167 members are quite prominent in all civic and nationalities affairs here. The Post's Commander is James Ziats. His deputy is John J. Jacubic.

The opening address was delivered by Steve Zoriy, director of the Ukrainian Radioprogram on the Station of Nations (WXEN-FM) and a veteran of UPA. The musical repertoire of the festivity began with piano recital of a 16 year-old student of Cleveland's Ukrainian Music Institute, Miss Myroslava Basladynsky whose interpretation of Bethoven's "Pathetic Sonata" offered much pleasure for music lovers. The Ukrainian Ladies Quartette "Highlands" of Toronto, Ont., directed by Helen Hlibovych, appeared in colourful national costumes presenting several Ukrainian military songs. This group has magnificent sopranos and unique altos. Accordingly the Ukrainian Cleveland youth provided them with huge bouquets of yellow and red roses. A member of the Youngstown Symphony Orchestra, Myron Zmurkevych, professionally performed on viola the works of A. Rubinstein, F. Hofmeister and J. Joachim. Sophie Melnyk-Bury of the T. Shevchenko Chorus recited the fragments from O. Babij's poem "The Insurgents".

This commemorative festivity was noted by Ohio largest daily newspapers with headlines like "Ukrainians To Honor Memory of General" by Theodore Andrica in *The Cleveland Press* of October 11, 1965 as well as "Ukrainian Rites" and "Ukrainians Commemorate Underground Leader's Death" by Geraldine Javor in *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* of October 17 & 18, 1965 respectively.

Z. V.

RESOLUTIONS

of the Eleventh Combatants' Rally in Great Britain

1. The Eleventh Annual Combatants' Rally greets the Ukrainian People in the Ukraine and all over the world; greets our brothers and sisters who, in their heroic struggle against the enemy, are firmly and unflinchingly fighting for the right of the Ukrainian Nation to live in freedom in its own land, in the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State.

2. On the 15th anniversary of the heroic death of Lieutenant-General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) we, Ukrainian combatants, bow our heads in deep respect for the late Great Son of the Ukraine, who has become a bright example and guiding torch for the present and future generations of the Ukrainian Nation who will never cease to fight for their liberation, to the point of final victory. We bow our heads in respect for the late Ukrainian soldiers who, in the ranks of Ukrainian and foreign armies, have lost their lives for the Fatherland — for the late revolutionary fighters and women-heroes who lost their lives in the course of their revolutionary struggle, believing in the final victory of the great aim, even not gained in their time but by the future generation.

3. We, Ukrainian combatants, send our greetings to the Hierarchs and Priests of the Ukrainian Churches, Ukrainian institutions, organisations, associations, scientific institutions, youth and women organisations, leaders and members of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, the Ukrainian Combatants' Council, Ukrainian Generals, Officers; non-commissioned Officers, and Ukrainian soldiers in the free world.

4. The Eleventh Annual Combatants' Rally greets the Central Ukrainian Social Cultural and Welfare Organisation, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, on the occasion of its 20th anniversary of continuous active and creative work for the Ukrainian community and appeals to Ukrainians to give all possible support to this important Ukrainian Institution.

5. The Combatants' Rally appeals to the Ukrainian youth to unite in their youth organisations — the SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and PLAST (Boy Scouts) — to gain and increase their knowledge with diligence, to use it for the benefit of this country, as well as for their faithful service of the Ukrainian Nation and its ideals.

6. Affirming that the onslaught of communist Moscow on the Ukrainian Nation is not weakening — on the contrary — is being intensified, we, Ukrainian combatants, appeal to all combatants and the Ukrainian community to oppose the enemy action which, in the shape of "cultural relations" and other artful manifestations, aim to demoralize, disorientate and weaken the vigilance and stability of the Ukrainian community.

7. The Eleventh Annual Combatants' Rally appeals to the Governments and communities of the free world to support the liberation struggle of the Ukraine and other enslaved peoples by Moscow, and to oppose communism not only as an ideological and political system, but also as aggressive totalitarianism with its imperialistic predatory intentions against the freedom loving world.

8. The dismemberment of the present Soviet empire into independent sovereign national States and the overthrow of communism in China are the most important prerequisites of a just peace in the world. The victory over communism cannot, however, be gained by means of local peripheral wars, or by the policy of containment. Communism on the offensive in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, must be met with a determined counter-offensive of the free world.

9. The Rally affirms that there cannot be a just peace in the world without freedom for the enslaved peoples, and that an international just system all over the world can be built up only on the principle of complete equality among all free and sovereign nations.

10. The Ukrainian Nation, fighting together with other peoples enslaved by Moscow, for the restoration of their independent national States, is fighting not only against communism but also against every form of Russian imperialism in this never ceasing struggle and there can be no compromise with Moscow.

11. We, Ukrainian combatants, affirm that, in accordance with the oath of allegiance we have taken, we remain faithful to Ukraine and the Ukrainian arms, and that by our work in various sections of Ukrainian organised life, we are fulfilling our duty as soldiers to serve the people and the Motherland, and that we are always ready to rise in arms against Moscow.

Rochdale, 2nd October, 1965.

RESOLUTIONS

of the Ukrainian Rally in London on the 15th Anniversary of Gen. T. Chuprynka's Death

We, Ukrainians, who have gathered today, 17th October, 1965, at Hammer-smith Town Hall, London, to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the heroic death of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych), bow our heads before the glorious memory of the man who for several years led the struggle of the Ukrainian Nation for its freedom and independence against the Russian Communist enslavers, as well as before the memory of all the heroes of the Insurgent Army.

Commemorating also the Sixth Anniversary of the death of the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the vanguard of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, assassinated by an agent of the Russian communist secret police in Munich, Germany, in October, 1959, we reaffirm our undying devotion to the cause of a Sovereign and Independent United Ukrainian State, free from any foreign domination and oppression of individual human being, for which aim we resolve to work and fight with all the means at our disposal.

We voice a protest, not only on our own behalf, but on behalf of our brothers and sisters in our Motherland, Ukraine, against the continued suppression by Moscow of the sacred rights of the Ukrainian people to their national independence, to the possession of their own homeland, to free cultural, economic and political development, to the freedom of religion and conscience. All these rights are at present being cynically violated by the chauvinistic Russian rulers of the most detestable prison of nations, the reconstructed Muscovite Empire masquerading under the deceitful signboard of the U.S.S.R.

We appeal to all the friends of the Ukrainian people throughout the world, to all sincere and honest men and women, to render moral, and, whenever possible, material support to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian Nation which stands alone, like David facing the powerful-seeming Goliath, in the life and death struggle against the most ruthless tyranny in all human history.

Above all we appeal to Her Majesty's Government and to the fair-minded British people to enable the Ukrainian people in our homeland to learn the truth, by introducing Ukrainian language broadcasts of the B. B. C.

We warn the statesmen of the free world against recognising the iniquitous status quo in Eastern Europe and Northern Asia as legal, and as expressing the real aspirations of the many nations inhabiting that vast area now tyrannically ruled by Russian Communist imperialists. A just order in the stated area can be built only on similar principles as in the free world, namely on the principle of free and sovereign, independent national States with their boundaries drawn according to the ethnic principle. We warn the free world that a lasting peace cannot be secured in the world as long as Russian Communist Empire exists, and that the only way to achieve a just and lasting peace is to help the nations now enslaved by Russia, above all Ukraine, to regain their national independence.

THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM IN MOSCOW'S RESTAURANTS (Weltwoche, No. 1667, 22. 10. 1965)

by Hano Mashartl

Hryhoriy Andreyevych Slobodsky is a Ukrainian from Kyiv, by profession a machine engineer, 45 years old, married with three children. When I got to know him by chance in the restaurant 'Aragvi', he was on a business journey, on 'komandirovka.' Later we became good friends. Whenever he had anything to do in Moscow and had a little spare time, he used to visit me or ring me up, and we met over a glass of wine or bottle of Vodka.

Hryhoriy Andreyevych had of course colleagues and superiors in Moscow, but no friends. He did not like the Russians. "The Russians", he said once, "they are as stupid and gloomy as their country. — Look at Moscow, a village with 7 million urbanised peasants. With no trace of culture. Look over there", he continued, nodding with his head towards a table full of drunken officials and their wives who were dining and noisily gesticulating, "this is how the Russian master nation is: boorish, uncouth. But they provide the directors of the big industrial works and state farms in Ukraine, in Lithuania, in Armenia, and Kazakhstan, in the Far North, and the Far East, and in the deep South of the country. Everywhere it is the Russians that are in command. But when things go wrong, when the harvests go bad, when whole stocks of machines go rusty, when the plans are not fulfilled, then we are the scapegoats. Then the Ukrainians and the Uzbeks, the Latvians and Moldavians are responsible for it."

Handkisses in Moscow

Hryhoriy Andreyevych Slobodsky is a Ukrainian patriot. Kyiv was for him the most beautiful town in the whole Soviet Union, and when he enthused about his May trips to the banks of the Dnipro, to which he repeatedly invited me, his eyes would shine. His antipathy towards the Russians, which he shared with many of his fellow countrymen, was based on a feeling of superiority, a superiority of mental temperament, of education, culture, and tradition. The hand kiss, with which he always courteously greeted my wife, was not his usual practice, and was not deliberately designed to demonstrate bourgeois behaviour or way of thinking. However, he wanted, by this completely unusual sign of politeness in Communist society, to make it known to us, that "we Ukrainians know what is proper, we have manners, we are not savages like these Russians."

I have noticed a similar consciousness of superiority in intelligence, alertness, and cultural tradition, compared with the Russians among the Armenians and Georgians, whose proportion of the total population of the Soviet capital, in comparison with other ethnic groups, is relatively high.

Even the Ukrainians many years ago had their meeting place in Moscow, the national restaurant "Kyiv", in Mayakovskiy Square. One day it was closed for renovations, while the horribly pompous hotel 'Ukraina' in the new Kutuzovskiy Prospect, on the other bank of the Moskva, was being built. This coldly feudal eating hall was indeed recommended to the Ukrainians in Moscow as a substitute, but in practice it remained reserved for foreign delegations, government guests and foreign exchange earning tourists from abroad. When the restaurant 'Kyiv' was reopened, it was called 'Sofia.'

A Right to Prejudices

A Soviet state makes no secret of its declared intention of calling a halt to the formation of local patriotic meetings and centres in Moscow. There are already no organisations, clubs and meeting places of the kind where the many thousands of the citizens of the constituent nations of the USSR, who have settled in the capital, are able to cultivate their common ties of language

and culture, because of the efforts of the regime, with the aim of closing down and alienating these national restaurants, to force the acceleration of the total russification of the non-Russian peoples of the Union. The Russian man in the street does not worry at all about the nationalities policy of his government. To him the problem is alien or of no interest. He is aware that he is the master in the country, and thus has a right to his privileges. The Asians altogether remain for him 'dikiy narod', savages. He respects the Armenians, Georgians, and Azerbaijanians mostly as 'cunning rascals', he allows the Ukrainians to pass, and is impressed by the Baltic states, because the Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians already belong nearer to the West, and because the only Radio and TV sets, which are any good, come from Riga. He is not interested in what the others think about him and the Russians; after all Yuriy Gagarin is his fellow countryman, and the Kremlin is still to be seen in Moscow. And there is nothing to beat Russian cabbage soup.

RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS DESTROY UKRAINIAN CHURCHES

The Kyiv *Robitnycha Hazeta* (Workers' Gazette) of 16th September 1965 reports that vandals have removed the crosses from a small church on the Dnister, a church which stands as a monument to the ancient skill of Ukrainian architects.

"It is utterly inexcusable", reads the article, "that some people have no love for the past and do irreparable damage to the monuments of ancient Ukrainian culture. For example, a short time ago, a camping site for tourists was opened on the picturesque bank of the Dnister where a monastery once stood, and someone from among the excessively enthusiastic administrators, gave the order that the crosses should be forcefully removed from the ancient little church. This wooden church was constructed without a single nail, since, when the church was built, more than five hundred years ago, the builders had only two tools at their disposal: an axe with a pear-tree handle, and a soul filled with love to its native soil. The little church itself is a joy to see with the singular beauty of its lines. And perhaps this very church would now stand there disfigured, had not an official of the tourist office fought decisively against the thoughtless order and averted this insult to the creation of our folk artists."

Such acts of vandalism are simply the product of Russian Bolshevik education. Better individuals stand up for the monuments of Ukrainian culture.

Recently, the creation of open-air museums where ancient wooden churches and other monuments of folk architecture should be brought together, has been proposed. According to *Radyanska Ukraïna* of 9th September 1965, the Lviv architect Y. O. Novakivsky is working on such a project for the Lviv region in the Shevchenko Park. The first exhibit is an old wooden church "of rare beauty" which has been taken there from the village of Kryvky in the Lviv region:

"In the museum, which is 100 hectares in area, numerous monuments of wooden architecture, in which the Lviv region is very rich, will be gathered."

This plan is not at all to be recommended, as those same vandals could destroy these monuments of Ukrainian culture in one go by setting fire to them, just as they did to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Library in Kyiv recently. Indeed perhaps this plan is being put into operation in order to destroy all these monuments together. It would be far more appropriate to preserve the churches where they are instead of collecting them in a wood, for tradition cannot be renovated just where one likes. The churches should be used for worship; they should be preserved by the people in their towns and villages, not placed under the guardianship of a foreign, hostile, and godless state.

ABN Correspondence

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