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Ethnic-Origin Question

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Bohdan S. Kordan

with the assistance of Rita F. Chow

UKRAINIANS AND THE 1981 CANADA CENSUS ETHNIC-ORIGIN QUESTION *

Ethnic Origin and the 1981 Census

The Canadian census definition of ethnic origin has undergone various modifications in the past, but its intent has always remained the same: to empirically record the ethnic mix of the Canadian population. Thus, the distinction between ethnicity and citizenship has historically been preserved,¹ and the criterion of patrilineal descent (ancestry on the male side) has survived as the determining factor of ethnic origin.² Both features, for instance, surfaced in the 1971 census ethnic-origin question, which asked: "To which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?"³ As with past censuses, the use of the guidelines in 1971 restricted the individual to providing a single, clearly defined response.

Official dissatisfaction, however, was expressed with the historical definition dealing with ethnicity because of certain methodological and theoretical difficulties associated with it. The use of the paternal criterion as the determinant of ethnic origin, in particular, created certain restrictions that undermined the validity of the data. For example, it ignored maternal influence on ethnic identity and perpetuated the fiction of the homogeneous bloodline. Moreover, in the case of the Metis, it made it impossible to give an account of their number, because on the basis of the paternal guideline only Native Indian or European heritage could be recognized.⁴ There were other problems that were not caused by the definition itself, but were clearly seen as consequences of it.⁵ This suggested that a more flexible definition should be used in determining ethnic origin. Consequently, in 1981 the census question dealing with ethnicity was changed to read: "To which ethnic or

*The author wishes to thank B. Krawchenko and the anonymous referees for their welcome comments.

cultural group did you or your ancestors belong on first coming to this continent?"

The new basis for defining ethnic origin in the 1981 census was the concept of "roots." The determinant "roots" was used to record the respondents' *perception* of their ethnic background and the cultural group with which they identified.⁶ The individual, in effect, was no longer restricted to the narrow definition of lineage based on the male side. Equally important, in extending the logic of the definition the census ethnic-origin question also allowed for the recording of multiple responses. The respondents could, if they so desired, indicate the multiple roots of their ethnic ancestry. For example, the individual whose ancestry included Ukrainian and French could claim both as his or her ethnic origin.

The 1981 census question dealing with ethnicity was a radical departure from the past. Its rationale was located in the attempt to redress deficiencies linked specifically to the old definition. Implicit in this attempt was the desire to capture the heterogeneous character of Canadian society. Although the intention was well meaning, it would seem that what benefits could be derived from such an experiment were lost because the methodology was neither consistently nor universally applied. Let us examine this more closely.

In the 1981 census, 7.6 percent of the non-inmate population indicated more than one ethnic origin.⁷ This percentage excludes British combinations (English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh), which are treated in the preplanned output as a single response, although they are in fact multiples. If tallied as multiples, the percentage of the non-inmate population with multiple ethnic origins increases significantly to 11.6 percent.⁸ The treatment of this plurality as a single homogeneous British response reduces, in effect, the validity of the census ethnic results. Indeed, the substitution of the political abstraction "British" for an ethnic group departs from the standard census practice of making a clear distinction between *ethnos* and nationality. The *1981 Census Dictionary*, for instance, clearly distinguishes between the strict concept of ethnic group (English, Irish, Scottish, etc.) and the notion of citizenship (British), yet this guideline is ignored.⁹

Moreover, the reduction of multiple origins to a single British response contradicts the census practice of treating single and multiple responses separately. The fact that they have been combined in this instance necessarily inflates the proportions of this "ethnic group." The result, of course, is that the data for the British group greatly contrasts

with that for the other ethnic minorities, whose numbers have been deflated because they operate under this imposed constraint.

The implications for public policy are enormous. Budget decisions on ethno-cultural programming, for example, are based on empirical data. Results such as these, of course, can only weaken an ethnic group's case for an equal share of the social-welfare pie. They raise a number of questions, not least of which is the utility of having changed the original ethnic-origin definition.

This latter point is further illustrated when one considers that comparison of the 1981 census with previous censuses has been made impossible given the break in the methodology used to determine ethnic origin. In fact, no serious inter-census comparisons can be made because of this basic disjuncture. For example, 1971 data reveal that on the basis of patrilineal descent, there were 580,655 individuals whose ethnic origin was identified as Ukrainian. In 1981, with the new definition, there were 529,615 individuals who claimed Ukrainian to be their *single* ethnic origin. A decrease *appears* to have occurred. Yet, technically speaking, this observation is inaccurate and the comparison misleading. The 1981 estimate is a measure of an entity that is qualitatively different from its 1971 counterpart; the former was subjectively determined, while the latter was based simply on the criterion of male descent. Consequently, it would be incorrect to treat the 1981 figure as though it were a result of the same process of enumeration, and therefore, equally wrong to compare the 1971 data with the 1981 single-origin responses.

It should be noted that in addition to the 529,615 individuals who claimed Ukrainian to be their single origin, another 225,360 multiple-origin individuals declared Ukrainian to be at least *part* of their ethnic heritage. The natural tendency to combine these multiple responses with the single-origin respondents for purposes of comparison with earlier census results is inappropriate. Within the ancestral background of those individuals who indicated multiple roots, no one origin has any greater significance than another; each shares equal status with one or more other possible origins in the respondent's own subjective evaluation of his or her heritage. Therefore, any attempt at combining single- and multiple-origin responses would be misleading.¹⁰

The change in the ethnic-origin definition has affected comparability. This is disastrous from the point of view of historical demography, for any discussion of an ethnic group must include not only an idea of where the group is on the historical continuum, but also

where it has been and whither it is going. Consequently, if anything is to be said about an ethnic group over time, the discontinuity must be corrected or overcome.

The shortcomings associated with the 1981 definition of ethnicity suggest that an analysis of the impact definitional change has had on the census results would be in order. We propose to examine, therefore, with specific reference to the Ukrainian minority in Canada, the effect of this change on their absolute number. This will be accomplished by calculating a 1981 estimate of the Ukrainian population on the basis of the old 1971 ethnic-origin criterion—paternal lineage—and comparing it with the actual 1981 census figure.¹¹ A population projection model based on nonstringent assumptions of population growth will be used in the calculation of this estimate. The 1971 census results will serve as the data base; this, of course, implies the use of the old criterion.

The difference between the projected 1981 figure and the actual 1981 result will signify the total population change that can be attributed directly to the reformulation of the ethnic-origin definition. Expressed as a percentage, this differential could serve theoretically as an adjustment factor that would link data on Ukrainians in the 1981 census to data from previous censuses. At the same time, it could help to determine what fraction of the total population change would have constituted the true growth in population during the years 1971–81 had the ethnic-origin definition remained the same.

Population Projections for Ukrainians: Method and Findings

Any change in the demographic composition of a population is a function of three basic components: fertility, mortality, and migration, each of which produces independent, as well as interactional, effects affecting population growth. The following equation illustrates the relative independent contribution of each.

$$P_2 = P_1 + \text{fertility} - \text{mortality} + \text{migration}^{12}$$

where P_1 = population at time₁(t_1)

P_2 = population at time₂(t_2)

fertility = births over time($t_2 - t_1$)

mortality = deaths over time ($t_2 - t_1$)

migration = immigration – emigration over time ($t_2 - t_1$)

This equation serves to theoretically inform our population projection. Although certain assumptions underlie the use of these components,

they are generally considered to be nonheroic and therefore admissible. These will be elaborated upon at the appropriate point in the discussion.

The base population (P_1) to be used in our projection is the 1971 (t_1) Ukrainian population in Canada, grouped by five-year age categories and by sex, as given in the 1971 census. Since the factor determining ethnicity in 1971 was the paternal criterion, our projection will be based on this indicator. The second variable in our equation is the 1971 estimated age-specific fertility rates for Ukrainian women (ages 15 to 49).¹³ The assumption underlying the use of these rates is that they remain constant over the entire projected period. This is not a bold assumption because of the limited time frame involved and the relative demographic stability of the group. It should be noted that the total fertility rate is 1.63, well below the replacement level of 2.1; this should adversely affect growth.

In projecting mortality (the third component of our equation) one of two measures can be employed: age-specific death rates or age-specific survival rates. The most frequently used measure is the survival rate, which expresses survival from a younger age to an older age. Survival ratios for Ukrainian males and females were calculated from abridged life tables for Canada.¹⁴ The Canadian abridged life tables for 1975-77 were used because they were thought to closely approximate the real life expectancy of the Ukrainian male and female in 1976.¹⁵ The assumption, of course, is that these coefficients remain constant; it is justified, since life expectancy in this instance has not been subject to significant fluctuation.

Data on migration was somewhat more difficult to acquire. In 1967, the collecting of official statistics on immigrants' ethnic origins was discontinued. Since that time only information on their place of birth and citizenship has been gathered. Therefore the number of Ukrainian immigrants cannot be adequately determined: their ethnic identity has been submerged within the general category of Soviet citizenship. What data exists, however, indicates that the annual number of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada during the period from January 1966 to June 1971 was about 500.¹⁶ Data concerning the ethnic composition of emigrants leaving Canada are also not available. It is assumed, however, that the number of Ukrainian emigrants is negligible, less than 100 annually. Although there is no direct evidence of this, it is thought to be a reasonable estimate, given the developed sense of community among Ukrainians in Canada and the existing political conditions in the homeland, which would deter many from returning.

Thus, the net annual Ukrainian migrant population is considered to be about 400, or 4,000 over the period in question.

In determining the age-sex distribution of the migrants, it was necessary to employ age-sex data for 1976 European immigrants.¹⁷ The age distribution in five-year cycles, however, was only available to 70 years of age. Those 70 years old and over were treated as a single category. To standardize the data, distribution calculations were made for the 70+ age group. Base data was obtained from a 1978–79 source,¹⁸ and these were translated in the calculations into 1976 equivalents. Because of the difficulties involved in obtaining migration data, it was felt that results for two population projections should be shown: one open to migration, and the other, of course, closed.

The preset population projection programme PROJ5,¹⁹ which uses cohort-survival techniques²⁰ was used in the projections of the Ukrainian population. Projections were run for the 1981 census year and the interval year 1976. Only the projected results for 1981 will be shown.

Table 1 contains the results of the population projection for 1981; in it the migration factor is suppressed. It indicates that the total number of Ukrainians was estimated to be 602,764, of which 300,458 were males and 302,306 were females. When migration is accounted for, the estimate results reveal that on the basis of 1971 data (and consequently on the basis of the old ethnic definition) there should have been 607,173 Ukrainians in 1981, of which 302,664 were males and 304,509 were females.

Percentage changes in the Ukrainian population were calculated from reported and estimated census results. The percentages are presented in Table 2. If we examine official census data for both 1981 and 1971 and, for illustrative purposes only, compare the two, a decrease of 8.79 percent in the Ukrainian population is observed during the period in question (see Table 2, column A). This differs sharply from the estimated 4.47 percent increase, the calculated differential between the 1981 projection (open to migration) and the reported 1971 census data (see Table 2, column C). In real terms, this means the true growth in the Ukrainian population would have been 26,518 individuals—the objective increase, or actual growth, that should have occurred, given the old ethnic definition.

The question of the overall decline in the population is more important. The differential between the 1981 projection (closed to migration) and the reported 1981 census data is -13.81 percent, or an absolute decrease of 73,149 (see Table 2, column D). When migration is

Table 1
Ukrainian Population in Canada, 1971-81
(actual and projected)

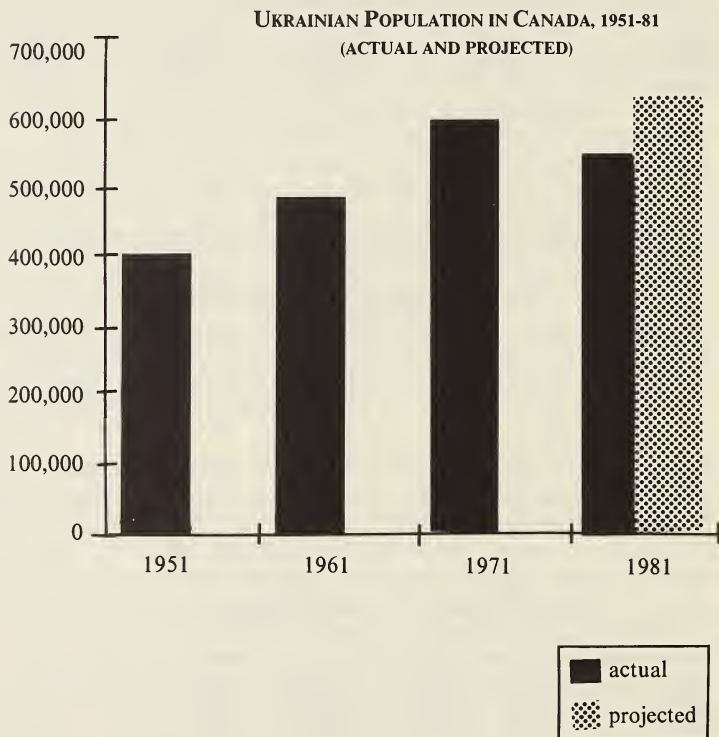
	(1) 1971 Census	(2) 1981 Census	(3) 1981 PROJ1 (closed to migration)	(4) 1981 PROJ2
Total	580,655	529,615	602,764	607,173
Males	295,720	265,210	300,458	302,664
Females	284,935	264,405	302,306	304,509

Table 2*
Percentage Changes in the Ukrainian Population
in Canada, 1971-81

	A (2)-(1) 1981C-1971C		B (3)-(1) 1981PROJ1-1971C		C (4)-(1) 1981PROJ2-1971C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	-51,040	-8.79	-22,109	-3.51	+26,518	+4.57
Males	-30,510	-10.32	-4,738	-1.60	+6,944	+2.35
Females	-20,530	-7.21	-17,371	-6.10	+19,574	+6.87
	D (2)-(3) 1981C-1981PROJ1		E (2)-(4) 1981C-1981PROJ2			
	No.	%	No.	%		
Total	-73,149	-13.81	-77,558	-14.64		
Males	-35,248	-13.29	-37,454	-14.12		
Females	-37,901	-14.33	-40,104	-15.17		

*Derived from Table I.

considered, a further decline is observed. The percentage change is -14.64 percent, which, when translated into an absolute figure, amounts to a decrease of 77,558 individuals (see Table 2, column E). This figure represents the total effect of the change in the ethnic-origin definition on the Ukrainian ethnic group in 1981. A graphic depiction of this appears below.



Conclusion

This case study has afforded us an examination of the impact that the change in the 1981 Canada Census ethnic-origin question has had on the demography of an ethnic population. If we consider the effect of its statistical results on government policy, then the degree to which this

becomes a political question for the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada should be apparent. Analyses of data for other ethnic minorities will undoubtedly reveal similar marked decreases and political implications.

We have also noted that the 1981 change in the ethnic-origin definition has severely affected comparability of the 1981 census with previous censuses. The -14.64 percent figure represents an adjustment that theoretically could be used if one wished to compare the 1981 census single-origin data with previously compiled statistics. Again, similar studies must be undertaken if linkage factors are to be created for other ethnic groups.

Footnotes

¹ The distinction has been based on anthropological criteria rather than on political designations. For a historical discussion of this distinction in the Canadian census, see J. Kralt, "Ethnic Origin in the Canadian Census, 1871-1981," in W.R. Petryshyn, ed., *Changing Realities: Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians* (Edmonton, 1980).

² The paternal criterion has not been applied consistently, however. In the 1911 census, for instance, the maternal criterion was substituted as the controlling factor in the case of mixed Native Indian origin because of difficulties associated with their enumeration. *Ibid.*, 21

³ The distinction between cultural descent and citizenship was made clear to the enumerator in an accompanying instruction manual, wherein language was identified as an appropriate guideline in establishing origins.

⁴ It would appear from discussions with those involved in formulating the 1981 census ethnic-origin question that the issue of providing an accurate count of the Metis proved most pivotal in changing the ethnic definition.

⁵ For a discussion of these problems, see Kralt, 27.

⁶ Statistics Canada, "Addition and Revisions to Section 4 (Special Notes)," *1981 Census* (Ottawa, 1983), 1.

⁷ The 1981 Canada Census does not include data on residents of "institutional" collective dwellings. These include orphanages, general hospitals, psychiatric hospitals, penal and correctional institutions, juvenile delinquent homes, and jails. Inmates represented about 1.1% of the Canadian population in 1981.

⁸ Statistics Canada, "Additions and Revisions," 1.

⁹ *1981 Census Dictionary* (Ottawa, 1983), 15.

¹⁰ The claim that there are 754,975 Ukrainians in Canada—a function of combining single and multiple responses—is misleading. This is not to belittle the fact that apart from the 529,615 single-origin Ukrainians there were another 225,360 who claimed Ukrainian ancestry. But again, by definition, as multiple-origin respondents, they have not attributed any special significance to their Ukrainian heritage, which prevents their inclusion with single-origin respondents. The distinction between single-# and multiple-origin respondents must be maintained. Consequently, when we speak of the composition of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada, this can be discussed only in the context of the categories provided for. That is to say, there are 529,615 Ukrainian single-origin respondents, as well as 225,630 multiple-origin individuals who declared Ukrainian as being only *part* of their heritage.

¹¹ The comparison of two entities that are defined differently raises the questions of whether the 1981 estimate and 1981 census results can be

compared and for what purpose. In the Ukrainians' case, it is not to determine whether the 1981 census underestimated their population, but rather to determine the effect that the change in the definition has produced. This can only be ascertained by comparing the estimates and actual census results, which have, at their root, different definitions.

¹² The demographic equation and the method used here, commonly referred to as the "component change" method, are basic to population projections. There is a range of projection methods that could be used, including such simple mathematical extrapolation methods as the linear, geometric, and exponential change methods or the logistic curve. However, the component change method, which focuses directly on the specific change in those factors that affect population growth (fertility, mortality, and migration), is a much more powerful forecasting tool than, let us say, fitting a mathematical trend equation to an existing data base. The latter assumes constancy and does not allow for the influence of variance produced by factors that may affect the growth components. For a brief but lucid discussion of the component change method, see *Population Projections: Proceedings* (Edmonton, 1980) in the Population Research Laboratory (University of Alberta) publication series.

¹³ The general fertility rate is defined as the number of live births per 1,000 women 15 to 49 years of age, among which the range of probability of conception is significant. The age-specific fertility rate is defined as the number of live births per 1,000 women for a specified age group at midyear. The age-specific fertility rate is affected not only by age structure, but also by the indirect influence of prevailing social practices and norms. For example, the increasing acceptance of premarital cohabitation among the young has resulted in an increasing fertility rate among this cohort. To have any effect on population growth, the fertility coefficient must be greater than 2, since offspring must replace both parents.

¹⁴ The general formula used in calculating survival ratios from the abridged life tables is

$$S = \frac{{}_nL_x + n}{{}_nL_x}$$

where ${}_nL_x$ = the number of years lived between ages x and $x + n$.

The most common form of survival rate in population studies is based on five-year age groups and five-year time periods. There the formula would read

$${}_5S_x^5 = \frac{{}_5L_x + 5}{{}_5L_x}$$

Because survival rates based on five-year age groups and five-year time periods cannot be calculated in the regular fashion from the 0-to-4-year age cohort, a modified version of the formula is used:

$$S_{0-4} = \frac{L_0 - 4}{{}_5\ell_0}$$

where

L_0-4 = total number of years lived between age interval 0 and 4
and ℓ_0 = number of living at beginning of age interval 0 and 1.

Life tables represent the summary effect of mortality conditions upon a population at a specific point in time. They are an estimate of how long an individual of a particular age group will live if he or she experiences a given set of mortality conditions over a span of a lifetime. For a more detailed discussion of survival rates, their calculation, and application, see H. Shyrock, J. Siegel, et al. *The Methods and Materials of Demography*, vol. 2 (Washington, 1973), 452-53.

¹⁵ The argument is based on earlier approximations. In the years 1960-62, the life expectancy at birth was estimated to be 69.5 for the Ukrainian male and 74.9 for the Ukrainian female. The equivalent Canadian life expectancy at birth was 68.35 for males and 74.17 for females. William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds. *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada 1891-1976* (Ottawa, 1980), 640, table 60.2.

¹⁶ In 1966 there were 550 Ukrainian immigrants. For the following two-year and two-and-one-half-year periods, 1967-68 and 1969-71 (June), there were 1,070 and 1,140 immigrants respectively. Consequently, it is assumed that there are approximately 500 immigrants per year. Darcovich and Yuzyk, 566, series 51.45-60.

¹⁷ We feel this data to be appropriate because most ethnic Ukrainian immigrants, with few exceptions, originate in European countries. 1976 *Immigration Statistics* (Ottawa, 1977), 8.

¹⁸ *International and Interprovincial Migration in Canada, 1978-79* (Ottawa, 1980), 22-23, table 2.

¹⁹ The program was created by Dr. N. Lalu of the University of Alberta Population Research Laboratory. We are indebted to Dr. Lalu for his kind permission to use the program.

²⁰ The cohort-survival technique entails calculations performed separately for each age-sex group on the basis of separate allowances for each component. The standard procedure involves the use of five-year, class intervals. Our projections conform to this general practice. For a full discussion of the cohort-survival method, see Shyrock, Siegel, et al., 778-79.

Robert B. Klymasz

MALE AND FEMALE PRINCIPLES AS STRUCTURE IN THE RITUAL FOODWAYS OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA¹

One of the most productive aspects of New World ethnicity is the myriad of traditional food complexes that dot North America's cultural landscape. Recognition of this fact usually draws attention to the "colorful" nature of this phenomenon and, on occasion, to the commercially successful transformation of Old World village foods and foodways into marketed commodities that service and exploit the cosmopolitan pursuits of large segments of the continent's population.² Nonetheless, in spite of a deluge of ethnic recipe books and related matter, there are no studies of the crucial manner in which the features of the individual ethnic foodways system are continually sorted out, adjusted and readjusted, and codified to meet the demands of a new environment and mainstream setting. Some of these trends represent accelerated carryovers of processes that began earlier in the Old Country of origin; others are unique and special to the Canadian experience and reach their apogee within the matrix of the New World situation.

In the course of these changes, pressures favoring consolidation in place of variability have constituted a major characteristic that permeates entire ethnic folklore complexes.³ As far as the foodways system within a given complex is concerned, one way in which it can obtain and operate is through the use of sexual metaphor as a powerful, symbolic tool to help structure, crystallize, and lend meaning to the emergent ethnic foodways system itself.⁴ As one Ukrainian-Canadian academic has declared, "Food does not fill the stomach directly; it always works through symbols."⁵

This paper explores the Ukrainian-Canadian ritual foodways system, in which ritual feasting takes place on two important religious occasions during the annual calendric cycle—Christmas and Easter.⁶ On

Christmas Eve, the Ukrainian family sits down to a ritualistic dinner composed of a series of nondairy, meatless dishes. These are usually twelve in number and commemorate, as is commonly held, the twelve holy apostles. Preparations sometimes include a symbolic sheaf of grain (*didukh*, from Ukrainian *did*, “grandfather,” “old man”), usually wheat, placed upright against the wall in a corner of the room. The most distinctive, most significant, and usually first item on the Christmas menu is the mandatory *kutia*, a dark, porridge-like substance composed of three basic ingredients: honey (diluted with water), poppy seeds, and cooked wheat kernels. The rest of the menu includes a variety of fish dishes (both hot and cold), cabbage rolls, dumplings, and assorted condiments and pastries.⁷ It is important to note as well that a few days later, on New Year’s Eve, celebration and revelry generally focusses on the curious figure of *Malanka*, a jocular female who is always a male dressed up as a woman, and whose reputation as a housewife leaves much to be desired. Early on New Year’s Day, young boys in the community go from house to house and “sow” wheat by scattering kernels of grain at the threshold, and wish householders good luck and a good harvest in the coming year.

The formalities of the Christmas Eve supper described earlier are repeated, on a smaller scale, almost two weeks later, on the eve of “little Christmas” (the Feast of the Epiphany). This meal again includes the all-important *kutia* as the central ritual food item.

About three months later, on Easter Sunday morning, family members gather to partake of a somewhat different set of food items. In contrast to the Christmas Eve feast, there is no restriction regarding the consumption of animal products. Firm, nonliquid foods, such as hard-boiled eggs and Easter ritual breads (*paska*, *baba/babka*), predominate. Other traditional food items include a variety of pork dishes (sausage, ham, roasts), condiments (dill pickles, horseradish), and pastries.⁸ The entire menu tends to be cold, since the Easter Sunday breakfast (nowadays often brunch) takes place as soon as the family arrives home from church with its baskets of consecrated ritual food items.

As suggested above, the two occasions for feasting relate to one another in a manner that is mutually exclusive but simultaneously complementary. “On Christmas eve, you bring *Didukh* [sic], bundle of grain, old man, to the table. And at Easter, you bake *baba*, old woman.”⁹ In terms of their detail, nature, and intent, the two feasts exhibit factors that in some instances separate them and in others join

them together. A binary profile composed of a number of selected distinguishing features offers the following insights into the underlying duality governing the pattern of Christmas and Easter feasting among Canada's Ukrainians:

	Christmas Feast	Easter Feast
I. Temporal considerations		
1. Season	winter	spring
2. Date	fixed	moveable
3. Meal of the day	supper	breakfast (brunch)
II. Specifics		
4. Number of dishes required	twelve	unspecified
5. Ecclesiastical rulings	no animal products	ritual blessing of Easter foods
6. Special ritual food items ¹⁰	<i>kutia</i>	hard-boiled egg and ritual breads (<i>paska</i> , <i>baba/babka</i>)
7. Dominant food texture, shape	soft-form, liquid, fluid, hot ¹¹	hard-form, firm, cold

The complexities of folklore combine with church custom to influence and underpin almost the entire range of traditional features associated with feasting at Christmas and Easter, including such facets as food categories, courses, and scheduling. The primary focus of attention here, however, is the sixth aspect listed in the table: the special symbolic and obligatory ritual food item or dish that dominates at the feast as the unique edible sign and marker of the feast-event itself. Explications regarding the symbolism and socioeconomic *raison d'être* for most of the foods and their ingredients are readily available.¹² What could be more natural, for example, than for the people of the "bread basket of Europe" (as Ukraine is commonly designated) to underline their agrarian occupations by using wheat and related cereals to commemorate, celebrate, and prognosticate? An authoritative collection of traditional Ukrainian recipes collected in Canada presents the story of the Christmas *kutia* as follows:

The origin of this dish goes back to days immemorial when the early Ukrainian ancestors first cultivated wheat. It is a relic of customs practised three thousand years before the Christmas era. The exact meaning of *kutya* is not known. However, scholars of folklore generally believe that originally *kutya* was an important part of ancient religion and symbolized a spiritual clan unity of all living and deceased members. It may have also been a ritual offering to the Sun God from whom came both the earth and harvest. A similar dish... is traditionally served at a memorial service. This custom is observed by a number of European countries.¹³

Descriptive accounts such as these fail, however, to pose certain other basic questions that await scholarly attention. Why does the complex continue to concentrate on this particular mixture of poppy seeds, honey, and wheat kernels at Christmas, and on eggs, sausage, and ritual breads at Easter, when so many other possibilities and combinations could have emerged and crystallized as the appropriate ritual foods? And from another perspective (as shown under point seven), in the contrastive juxtaposition of features presented earlier, why should so many of the Christmas foods be soft and fluid in texture as opposed to the dominant hard format of Ukrainian ritual foods at Easter? And finally, what in this patterning is incidental, and what is central to the Ukrainian ritual foodways system in Canada?

To answer these fundamental, searching queries, a discriminating examination of diachronic data and firsthand observation are required. The Christmas *kutia*, for example, can range in color from grey-black (indicating a dominance of poppy seeds) to a mellow dark brown (when cooked wheat kernels are dominant). The third ingredient, the honey, lends a golden glaze but does not affect the coloring. For the Slavist, the *kutia's* wet, earthy texture readily brings to mind the age-old epithetical references in Ukrainian folklore to Ukraine's black and rich soil as "mother damp/wet earth" (*mat syraia zemlia*).¹⁴ Such an edible metaphor within the socio-historical and cultural context of the Ukrainian peasantry would not be out of place. Some Victorians would tend to agree.

... to the Earth, the great recipient, in the bosom of which all things are produced, man attributed the same powers and modes of reproduction as in human nature. The human intellect being finite, man is incapable of imagining a personal god inseparable from the functions of human nature. Sex was given to them; the sun or sky was considered the male, or active power; the earth, the female, or passive power. The sky was the

fecundating and fertilizing power; the earth was looked upon as the mould of nature, as the recipient of seeds, the nurse of what was produced in its bosom.¹⁵

To the mainstream North American of today, a bowlful of *kutia* would resemble caviar, perhaps a blackish fish-eye stew, or potted seed awaiting germination in the nursery of some avid horticulturist. This incubative function suggested by the visual, metaphoric aspect of *kutia* likens the dish to some dark, moist, impregnated womb, an image that is represented by three indispensable components: seed (the wheat kernels), earth (the poppy seed),¹⁶ and moisture (the honey).¹⁷ In effect, then, the power of *kutia* as visual, tactile, and edible metaphor marks it as a ritual food that has survived from prehistoric times, when it was believed that "the generative power was the most mysterious of all powers. In the vegetable world, the live seed placed in the ground, and hence germinating, sprouting up, and becoming a beautiful and umbrageous tree, was a mystery. . . . In the view of primitive man generation was the action of the Deity itself."¹⁸ The essential femaleness of the Christmas feast is not restricted to *kutia* alone. *Kutia's* usual position as the first course and the most distinctively different dish on the Christmas menu sets the sexual tone, as it were, for the rest of the feast, which the *kutia* (occasionally garnished [in Canada] with a maraschino cherry!) marks as a subliminal female culinary extravaganza. The female sexuality imbuing the Christmas feast is reinforced by other soft dishes that, significantly, never appear as part of the approved Easter feast menu: borsch (beet soup),¹⁹ curvaceous, container-like, soft "perogies" (*varenyky/pyrohy*—meatless ravioli or wonton-like boiled dumplings),²⁰ and cabbage rolls with rice or buckwheat filling.

Whereas the germ of life represented by the Christmas *kutia* is exclusively nonanimal in substance and focusses on vegetable/plant life, the germ of life in the Easter feast is symbolized primarily by animal matter, in the form of hard-boiled and often delicately ornamented eggs.²¹ In connection with this, it is interesting to note that in ancient Greece "the egg was carried in procession at the celebration of the mysteries, because, as Plutarch says, it was the material of generation . . . containing the seeds and the germs of life and motion, without being actually possessed of either."²² In the Ukrainian language, the word for "eggs," *iaitsia*, is commonly used in the vernacular to designate testicles.²³ The male connotation is reinforced by most of the other food items that form part of the Easter feast menu: coils of meaty

garlic sausage,²⁴ horseradish root,²⁵ and especially the ritual Easter bread, *baba/babka*, "one of the most distinctive of all Ukrainian breads...a rich yeast-raised cake bread...always baked in a tall cylindrical pan²⁶; looking like a stovepipe, "it should be baked at a moderately high temperature at first in order to puff up and form a firm crust...."²⁷ With its cap of white glaze or icing, the *baba* resembles a primeval phallic symbol.²⁸ This visual suggestion is bolstered by accounts of how in medieval France, for instance, "small cakes, baked in the form of a phallus, are made as offerings at Easter, and are carried and presented from house to house.... The custom of making cakes in the form of sexual members, male and female, dates from a remote antiquity and was common among the Romans."²⁹

In terms of external expression, the maleness of the Easter *baba* contrasts strikingly with the fluid Christmas *kutia*. The metaphors differ in terms of culinary composition and visual shape, but they are alike and inextricably linked to one another insofar as the message of fertility and potency is concerned. Within the wider theological context, these covert sexual formulations are supported and amplified still further: the macho nature of the Easter message (Christ's superhuman victory over death on the cross³⁰ and His ultimate union with God the Father) versus the more subdued, tranquil commemoration of the Virgin Birth at Christmas corresponds closely with the female orientation of the Christmas feast (expressed by the *kutia*-as-womb metaphor) on the one hand, and the male orientation of the Easter feast (shown by the equation of eggs, sausage, and perpendicular breads with male genitalia) on the other. In addition, when related to contiguous ritual moments, these ritual foods can be seen to constitute part of a logically constructed sequence of interlocked elements that together focus exclusively on the agrarian climacteric—the harvest.

The basic, universal formula (male=female=birth) finds its application in a uniquely patterned cycle of semination, fecundation, and maturation, which obtains not only once but twice, in the form of a reinforcing duplication of the same message. The scheme below shows how this takes place.³¹ The ritual enactment of actual birth is omitted; this is undoubtedly reserved for nature itself to perform on the fields, culminating with the harvest as the terminal highlight that proves the efficacy of the protracted drama of ritual acts.

It is unlikely that the sexual correlations and signs of homeopathic magic traced above are ever perceived as such by those who actually

Semination (male)	Fecundation (female)	Maturation/ distension (female/male duality)
1. <i>didukh</i> (sheaf of ripened grain)	<i>kutia</i> (Christmas)	<i>Malanka</i> (New Year's Eve)
2. <i>siiannia</i> ("sowing") note: both <i>didukh</i> and <i>siiannia</i> are male ritual elements and mark the introduction of uncooked grain	<i>kutia</i> (Epiphany) note: as discussed earlier, <i>kutia</i> represents the female, womb-like element in the chain of ritual acts	<i>baba/babka</i> (Easter) note: both <i>Malanka</i> and <i>baba/babka</i> , show the male as female via external, superficial features, such as dress or designation ³¹

partake in the solemnity of ritual feasting.³² This being the case, what is the purpose, role, and function of the underlying sexual symbols, which have not blurred but continue to appear as an essential aspect of ritual feasting among the Ukrainians in Canada? The solution to this problem lies in the larger system of inherent dichotomies that divides the traditional Ukrainian calendric ritual cycle into two main clusters (as shown in the table). In spite of inconsistencies, overlappings, and ambiguities, the organizing principles of opposition, juxtaposition, and contrast dominate throughout and, as indicated above, operate on a variety of levels. That Christmas and Easter ritual foods should be cast in visually distinct, opposing/complementary, and latently sexual molds does not, as one sixteenth-century commentator complained, reflect "the degeneracy of manners, when Christians themselves can delight in obscenities and immodest things even among their articles of food."³³ Instead, one tends to side with the Victorian evolutionists who saw that "Reverence for the mystery of organized life led to the recognition of a masculine and feminine principle of all things spiritual or material."³⁴

These symbols, representing male and female, were also used to symbolise life, as the early peoples reasoned that only by male and female can life be made, or life was a product of sex. Further, seeing that life continuously propagated seemed to be eternal or ever-lasting 'from generation to generation,' the male and female symbols became the

emblematical representation of the continuity of life—life without end, and even of the god who was supposed to have the power to confer eternal life, 'from begetting to begetting.'³⁵

Furthermore, from the theological point of view, celibacy as reflected in the separateness of the female and male paradigms (as tabulated earlier in reference to Christmas and Easter foodways) suggests a focus on Man's union with God as a spiritual, holy union. Earthly unions with mortals of the opposite sex (as celebrated by marriage and wedding rituals) require no such separation in the foodways system. Hence, although such sexual, metaphoric patternings remain largely forgotten and go unnoticed, their potential as meaningful, powerful, and universally applicable images constitutes a subconscious force that continues to operate today, if only in a mechanical fashion and not cognitively.

Finally, what about noncalendric ritual feasts among the Ukrainians of Canada? To what extent, one may ask, are sexual metaphors in evidence as part of foods associated with feasting at other events and rituals—weddings, funerals, christenings, festivals, and so forth? It is noteworthy that on these occasions all of the special food restrictions and orientations (including the set of dichotomies featuring the male/female aspect of the traditional foodways system of calendric rituals) associated with Ukrainian Christmas and Easter are either dropped or inoperative.³⁶ Such unfixed events as nuptials, funerals, and ethnic festivals are more secular and profane in nature, and the feasts held in connection with these highly crucial rituals constitute among Ukrainian Canadians a seemingly indifferent set of foodways—a system that is, so to speak, richly promiscuous in its selection of traditional food and drink. This freedom of choice transforms the ethnic community's traditional-foodways legacy into a potent and superproductive resource that, in the New World at least, can be utilized and exploited virtually at any point in the annual calendric cycle to support and enhance those rituals and events that express the group's special ethnic identity (ethnic festivals), commemorate the dead (funeral dinners), and promote unbounded human regeneration (wedding banquets).

Footnotes

¹ An earlier version of this paper was delivered in Toronto on Thursday, 29 March 1984 at the Annual Meeting of the Popular Culture Association, and two days later, at the St. Vladimir Institute, Toronto. Comments made from the floor on both occasions were most helpful.

² See Zenon Pohorecky, "Ethnic Food for Thought," *Saskatchewan Multicultural Magazine* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1982): 10–11.

³ See Robert B. Klymasz, "From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore: A Canadian View of Process and Transition," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 10 (1973): 131–39.

⁴ The metaphoric associations of eating, food, and human sexual activity are not foreign to Ukrainian folklore; they are reflected, for example, in the following ditty (*kolomyika*) recorded in Canada in 1983 and housed in the Ukrainian Folklore Archives of the Slavic Department of the University of Alberta in Edmonton.

Ishov hutsul z polonyny
A hutsulka z bani,
Posidaly pid berezou,
Zrobyly snidanie.
Iake toto snidaniechko—
Ne bulo shcho isty:
Vyliz hutsul na hutsulku—
Tai ne khotiv zlizty!

(A Hutsul was coming from the pasture/ And a Hutsul girl was coming from her bath,/ They sat down together under a birch tree/ And made breakfast./ Such a breakfast that was—/ There was nothing to eat:/ The Hutsul got on top of the Hutsul girl—/ And didn't want to get off!)

For supportive statements and relevant comparative insights, see Michael Czaja, *Gods of Myth and Stone: Phallicism in Japanese Folk Religion* (New York and Tokyo, 1974), 14; Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 60–68; Karen Dwyer and Patrika Brown, *The Erotic Baker Cookbook* (New York, 1983); and Peter Farb and George Armelagos, *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating* (New York, 1983), 100–108. Contemporary scholarship in the field of Ukrainian erotica remains nonexistent. An exception is Krystyna Pomorska's "Observations on Ukrainian Erotic Folk Songs," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1977): 115–29.

⁵ Prof. Wsevolod Isajiw, a sociologist with the University of Toronto, as quoted in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression among Canada's Ukrainians* (Edmonton, 1984), 176. See also Farb and Armelagos, 129: "In simple societies, almost everything about eating is hedged in by metaphoric associations, magical practices, ceremonies, and taboos—and to a somewhat lesser extent the same thing is true in complex societies as well."

⁶ I have approached the subject matter from the viewpoint of synchronic folkloristics, as reflected in the capital work of the late Pierre [Petr] Bogatyrev, *Actes magiques, rites et croyances en Russie Subcarpathique* (Paris, 1929), later translated into Russian and published in his collection of selected works, *Voprosy teorii narodnogo iskusstva* (Moscow, 1971), 169–296.

⁷ For a list of "suggested dishes for Christmas Eve supper," see the menu in Savella Stechishin, *Traditional Ukrainian Cookery* (Winnipeg, 1967), 22.

⁸ For a list of "suggested dishes for Easter breakfast," see *ibid.*, 27.

⁹ From an unpublished script for a musical play by Vancouver's award-winning Ukrainian-Canadian playwright, Ted Galay, entitled "Tsymbaly" (1981), 126.

¹⁰ These are presented here as specified by Stechishin, 22 and 27.

¹¹ The *kolach*, the traditional Christmas ritual bread among the Ukrainians, appears to contradict the thesis presented here. In contrast to the Easter *paska* and *baba/babka*, however, the *kolach* is not exclusively reserved for Christmas but (with its suggestive hole in the centre into which a candle is thrust) serves, within the tradition in Canada, as a wedding bread as well. Fish is a similarly problematic item on the standard Christmas menu. The possibility of the fish being a visual expression of maleness or phallicism at Christmas, as sausage is at Easter, is destroyed however, since fish is rarely, if ever, served whole. The fish is usually cut into chunks and fried, or ground up and served as fish cakes or in aspic.

¹² See, for example, L.F. Artiukh, *Ukrainska narodna kulinariia: Istoryko-etnografichne doslidzhennia* (Kiev, 1977).

¹³ Stechishin, 233; cf. also 18–19.

¹⁴ Compare, for example, "O wet/damp earth—you are my mother" (*syraia zemlia,—ty zh maty moia*), as recorded by Amvrosii Metlinsky in his collection of Ukrainian folksongs, *Narodnyia iuzhnorusskii pesni* (Kiev, 1854), 19.

¹⁵ Hodder M. Westropp, *Primitive Symbolism as Illustrated in Phallic Worship or the Reproductive Principle* (London, 1885), 11. See also the chapter on "The Earth, Woman and Fertility" in Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1958), 239–64.

¹⁶ The poppy has prolific qualities, as evidenced by the multiplicity of its seeds. It is in this sense of fecundity that the poppy was used metaphorically by Aristophanes in his comedy, *The Birds*, and by peasants in certain parts of

Ukraine, where children were showered with poppy seeds for good luck ("Opys odnoho zvychaja," *Wista* 5 [1891]: 650). With regard to the association of the poppy with the fig and other fruits as an erotic designation for the female reproductive organ, see Thomas Wright, *The Worship of the Generative Powers during the Middle Ages of Western Europe* (1866); reprinted as the second part of *Sexual Symbolism: A History of Phallic Worship* (New York, 1957), here 69–71.

¹⁷ On the productivity of honey as a folkloric element, see motif number D1037, "Magic honey," as listed by Stith Thompson in his *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols. (Bloomington, 1955–58). For historical references to honey as "life sap" and "life substance," see Hilda M. Ransome, *The Sacred Bee in Ancient Times and Folklore* (Boston and New York, 1937), 48. With regard to honey's association with female sexuality, see the section "Food and Love" in Alexander P. Obolensky's *Food-notes on Gogol* (Winnipeg, 1972), 23, with its provocative note on how one of the female characters in the work of the prominent nineteenth-century Russian-Ukrainian writer, Nikolai Gogol, entertains her paramour but eludes his efforts to kiss her, saying, "Anything else you want? When there's honey, a man needs a spoon!" For further comparative insights, see the section "Sex as Food" in James T. Henke, "He Shot Her with Great Stones: Prominent Sexual Metaphors in the Non-Shakespearean Drama of Renaissance England," *Maledicta* 1, no. 1 (Summer 1977): 53–54.

¹⁸ Westropp, 57.

¹⁹ Ted Galay (see n. 7 above) has recorded a joke that holds considerable interest as support for the female/borsch and male/sausage dichotomy advanced in this paper:

This guy and this girl, they married. And on the wedding night, they get undressed. And she points and says, "And what's that?" So he says, "That's my *kubasa* [i.e., sausage]." And then he looked at her and said.... "And what's that?" and she says, "That's my oven." So he says, "Maybe I could put my *kubasa* to cook in your oven?" and she says, "Oh, no. Today I'm cooking borscht [i.e., beet soup]."

²⁰ J.B. Hannay, in his *Sex Symbolism in Religion* (London, 1922), 29, notes that "any almond-shaped or lens-shaped thing represents the female." Similarly, Stephen R. Inglis, in his "Creators and Consecrators: A Potter Community of South India" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1984), notes that among the Velar of South India, "The association between pots and the female body is reinforced by the frequent association in mythology and common metaphor of the pot with a womb" (p. 188). Also, Natalia M. Kolb-Seletski, in "Gastronomy, Gogol, and His Fiction," *Slavic Review* 29 (1970), notes (p. 53) how Gogol used such soft doughy items as *varenyky* to underline the intentions of one of his female characters as she sets about to seduce her chosen victim by using dumplings as bait. For a descriptive account of the preparation of many of the food items mentioned in this paper, see Elizabeth Goldstein and Gail Green, "Pierogi and Babka-Making at St. Mary's," *New York Folklore* 4 (1978): 71–79.

²¹ For a standard statement on the origins, functions, and categories of Ukrainian Easter eggs, see Stechishin, 24.

²² Richard Payne Knight, *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* (1786); reprinted as the first part of *Sexual Symbolism: A History of Phallic Worship* (New York, 1957), 35.

²³ For comparative purposes, it is interesting to note that an aboriginal tribe in Australia believes geese and turtle eggs resemble man's testicles. "Indeed, the same word . . . may be used for both eggs and testicles, as well as scrotum. So the Wik-Munghan say that when a man gives geese or turtle eggs it is as if he is giving part of himself." David McKnight, "Sexual Symbolism of Food among the Wik-Munghan," *Man* (new series) 8 (1973): 194-209.

²⁴ The word for garlic sausage in Ukrainian, *kobasa*, is jokingly used in the vernacular to refer to the human penis. The identical metaphor is found in Aleksandr Afanas'ev, *Erotic Tales of Old Russia* (Oakland, California, 1980), 52. The combination of eggs and sausage appears in the following Ukrainian jingle recorded in Toronto in 1984: "*Iaitsia, iaitsia, kobasa / Solonyna, ha-ha-ha!*" The second half of the same jingle also obtains as "*Honki, honki, ra-ra-ra!*"

²⁵ Gratings of the strong, mustard-like, pungent, fleshy, white horseradish root are scattered over the other food item as a relish. For possible aphrodisiac connections, see Wright, 49.

²⁶ Stechishin, 322-23. L.F. Artiukh, 86, points out that in some areas of Ukraine the *baba* or *babka* (literally "grandmother" and "little grandmother") was a special bread prepared according to custom by elderly midwives as talismanic items for the newborn and its mother. Etymologically the word derives from a root meaning "to swell" or "to puff up."

²⁷ Stechishin, 335.

²⁸ Farb and Armelagos, 129, report that the ancient Egyptians fashioned bread "in the shape of a phallus, an association that may have been suggested by the way the loaf swells as it rises and bakes." An illustration showing the glazed *baba/babka* is found in Stechishin, 318, and a film distributed by the National Film Board of Canada, "Svadba—A Balkan Wedding in Canada," includes footage of comparative interest. Further analogous data is contained in Weston La Barre's *Muelos: A Stone Age Superstition about Sexuality* (New York, 1984).

²⁹ Wright, 87-88. Cf. Westropp, 23, 26. More recently, a Santa Monica, California newspaper, in an item titled "'Obscene Cookies' Crusade Crumbles" reported that efforts were initiated in Annapolis, Maryland, to prosecute a cookie shop for "selling traditionally shaped gingerbread men and women with discernible sex organs." *Evening Outlook*, 8 January 1981.

³⁰ With regard to the cross as a symbol of the male phallus, see Knight, 53-54, 188 (n. 2), and Hannay, 219-20.

³¹ Regarding the female/male duality shown here, it is notable that in peasant societies male offspring are preferred over female. *Malanka* and *baba/babka* are female disguises that possibly functioned as prophylactic magic to ward off evil forces and to protect the male element from harm. See P.A. Radwanski, "'Negative Wishing' among the Slavs and Western Peoples," *Man*

63 (1963): 160–62.

³² Although few foods or dishes are named in Ukrainian after parts of the body, their appearance and shape are sufficiently suggestive to stimulate the articulation of the connotations they bear from time to time. In this connection it is interesting to note that miniature *varenyky* are made as a condiment for borsch at such special occasions as Christmas; these are called *vushka* ("little ears"). In Ukrainian this particular part of the body has no gender ascribed to it and remains, so to speak, sexless. See the recipe-article "Borsch with Vushka tops list," *The Edmonton Sun*, 16 May 1984.

³³ Wright, 89. I have documented, nonetheless, passing reference to the genital suggestiveness of various foods and vegetables from Ukrainian-Canadian cooks and story tellers who joke about such matters in a lighthearted manner. In this regard, see the joke in n. 19 above.

³⁴ Westropp, 12.

³⁵ Hannay, 432.

³⁶ This is not to say that the sexual metaphor in the shape of a food item does not appear at other times. Weddings are especially propitious occasions for the use of such symbols, as documented by, for instance, Théodore Volkov, "Rites et usages nuptiaux en Ukraine," *L'Anthropologie* 2 (1981): 419–26; and Vl. Yastrébov, "Pains de nocés rituels en Ukraine," *Revue des traditions populaires* 10 (1895): 454–60.

Ярослав Гординський

ЖІНОЧЕ ПИТАННЯ В ПОВІСТІ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ УКРАЇНИ

Жіноче питання не належить до найважливіших питань у повістях та романах Радянської України. На перший план виступають там найчастіше інші справи (соціалістичне будівництво та под.), а жінці відведена в їх розгорненні звичайно тільки невелика роль. І доходить до того, що деякі автори намагаються майже зовсім відсунути жінку від широкого повістєвого тла, як це пробує вчинити хоч би Григорій Епик у своєму великому романі „Перша весна“ (1931), не кажучи вже про таку агітаційну „Повість металу й вугілля“ Валеріяна Поліщука (1930), або про ранішу „Повість наших днів“ Петра Панча (1927), бо в них белетристичний елемент майже зовсім зникає. Але таке мало що не викреслення жінки з повістєвої акції відбивається так некорисно на повісті, що критика завважила скоро це явище й зазначила його шкідливість (нпр. у місячнику „Життя й Революція“ за 1933 р.).

Тому не дивно, що спеціально жіночому питанню присвячено в українській радянській повісті не багато окремих творів — ледве 8 більших: повість Аркадія Любченка „Образ“ (1927), романи Гордія Брасюка „Данна Анна“ (1929), Олександра Копиленка „Визволення“ (1929), Євгена Кротевича „Звільнення жінки“ (1930), Гео Шкурупія „Жанна Батальйонерка“ (1930), повість Н. Язововської „Дарка Безфамільна“ (1931), роман-пролог Андрія Головка „Мати“ (1931, невдала перерібка 1935) та роман Якова Качури „Ольга“ (1931). Із менших творів, що також називаються повістями, належать сюди: Володимира Кузьміча „Італійка з Мадженто“ (1926—7) та Варвари Чередниченко повість-плякат „Горпина Трактор“ (1929). Крім того ще в багатьох інших повістях та романах зачіплені важні жіночі справи, або виступають помітні жіночі постаті, але їм не припала там передова роль. Це треба сказати навіть про повість Наталі Забіли „Тракторбуд“ (1931—2) і про романи талановитого Івана Ле, що створив

чи не найживіші жіночі постаті в новій українській літературі загалом.

Жіноче питання в українській радянській повісті розгортається в головному на тій основі, що її витворила комуністична, більшовицька патрія. А більшовицька партія завдавалась не багато з жіночим питанням: їй здавалось, що ця незвичайно складна справа вирішується, так сказати б, одним махом. Отже замітне, що в численних писаннях Леніна (а їх вийшло в українському перекладі за редакцією Миколи Скрипника до 30 великих томів) — жіночому питанню не присвячена довгий час окрема увага, хоч у комплексі інших питань порушене воно вже у ранніх Ленінових писаннях. Окремо про жіноче питання заговорив Ленін аж 19 листопада 1918 р. у короткій „Промові на I. Всеросійському Зїзді робітниць“ і далі у двох теж дуже коротких статтях із 1920 р.: „До жінок-робітниць“ і „До міжнароднього дня робітниць“ та в листах до Кляри Цеткін. Ленінове становище в цій справі зясоване в оцих небагатьох словах:

„Радянська влада перша і єдина в світі знищила повнотою всі старі, буржуазні, підлі закони, що ставлять жінку у нерівноправне становище з чоловіком, що дають привілеї чоловікові, наприклад, у царині шлюбного права, або в царині відносин до дітей... Але цього мало. Рівність за законом — це ще не рівність у житті. Нам треба, щоб жінка-робітниця домогалася не тільки за законом, а й у житті рівності з чоловіком-працівником. Для цього треба, щоб жінки робітниці щораз більшу участь брали в керуванні громадськими підприємствами і в керуванні державою. Урядуючи, жінки навчатися хутко і доженуть чоловіків“.

І далі:

„Жіночий робітничий рух головним своїм завданням ставить боротьбу за економічну й соціальну рівність жінки, а не тільки формальну. Прилучити жінку до суспільно виробничої праці, видерти її з „хатнього рабства“, визволити її з підпорядкованості, — що ступлює її й принижує, — одвічної чи виключної обстави кухні, дитячої кімнати — ось головне завдання“.

А ще перед тим:

„Джерело буржуазного бруду, пригніченості, приниженості — шлюбозрозлучний процес — радянська влада знищила цілком... існує цілком вільне законодавство про розлучу. Ми видали декрет, що знищує різницю у становищі шлюбної чи позашлюбної дитини.... Ми знаємо, що весь тягар застарілих правил покладається на жінку робітничої класи. Наш закон вперше в історії викреслив усе те, що робило жінок безправними. Але справа не в законі. У нас по містах та фабрично-заводських місцях цей закон про цілковиту свободу шлюбу прищеплюється добре, а на селі ще часто-густо лишається на папері. Там досі (мова про 1918 рік!) переважає церковний шлюб... Боротися з релігійними забобонами треба незвичайно обережно;

багато шкоди завдають ті, хто вносить у цю боротьбу образу релігійного почуття“...

І здавалось би — кінець, справа вирішена: знищити досьогочасні релігійні, семейні та економічні звязки й поставити на їх місце громадянсько-державні з принципом повної рівності з чоловіками — і жіноче питання розв'язане. Одначе в практиці, в дійсному житті все те вийшло зовсім не так просто. Показують це вже хоч би й комуністичні жіночі часописи. Візьмім нпр. харківський „двотижневий журнал центрального відділу робітниць і селянок комуністичної партії (б) України“ п. з. „Селянка України“ за 1929 р. Зміст цього часопису можемо в головному схарактеризувати оцими словами допису про одну сільську школу хатнього господарства:

„В школі викладають: дошкільне виховання дітей, охорону дитинства, санітарію, юридичні права жінки, кулінарію, а також — суспільствознавство, кооперацію, агрономію тощо“.

Оце й є ті справи, що ними постійно цікавиться „Селянка України“, розуміється, йдучи за живим життям. Щоправда, передові статті присвячені: індустріялізації, участі жінки у військових організаціях, різним комуністичним святam і под., але постійною рубрикою є обговорення участі жінок у сільрадах та делегаціях і коопераціях, далі лікарський poradnik — передовсім у дитячих справах (ясла, недуги й ін.), особливо підкреслюється сільське господарство, тут і там у дрібних порадах подано кухарські приписи й завваги про домашнє господарство. Словом, не зважаючи на гучномовні етикети про повноту жіночих прав, селянській жінці залишено й далі передовсім домашнє й пільне господарство та дитину — все інше є додатком до тих жіночих зайнят. Протирелігійну пропаганду перенесли в головному до оповідань із ілюстраціями. Подібний характер має також „орган центрального відділу робітниць та селянок ЦК КП (б) У“, тижневик „Комунарка України“, тільки цей часопис пристосований більш до життя фабричних робітниць, тому тут менше говориться про сільське господарство; зате є додаток про модні одяги. Отже життєва практика не зовсім іде в парі з категоричними гаслами комуністичної пропаганди в жіночій справі.

Скільки відомо, не маємо праці, що обговорювала б цілість жіночого питання в Радянській Україні, окрім агіток. Але зате є книжки, що говорять про російську жінку в Совітській Росії, якась німецька праця др. Фанніні Галле з 1932 р. Хоч д-р Галле глядить на справу крізь надто рожеві окуляри, вона охоплює ціле жіноче життя сучасної Росії, й тому варт приглянутись її спостереженням. Жіноче питання в більшовицькій Росії обіймає кілька фаз. Перша фаза — це час загального заколоту в часі 3-літньої громадянської війни (1917—1920). Вже перша загально-російська конференція робітниць і селянок у Москві в листопаді 1918 р. зазначила, що немає спеціально жіночого питання, а існує тільки загально пролетарське пи-

тання, партійне. Тому не організовано окремих жіночих товариств. У висліді того повстає велика жіноча армія — озброєних фронтовичок. Декрети Леніна з 19. і 20. грудня 1917 р. касують церковний шлюб, і совітський кодекс із 1918 р. згадує тільки про реєстрацію подружжя в уряді цивільного стану (загс). Але все те не забезпечувало жінці відповідних аліментів, тим більш, що друга фаза, час дволітнього голоду після закінчення громадянської війни, вводить ще більший заколот. Настає справжня анархія вільної любови, збільшена у третій фазі т. зв. неп-ом, із поширенням спожиттям алкоголю. Почалась прилюдна дискусія над способами зменшити лихо, а 1925 р. 160 мільйонів дискутували над новим подружнім законом, що став обов'язувати від 1927 р., починаючи четверту фазу в розвитку жіночого питання в сучасній Росії. Цей новий закон має причинитись тільки до управління нових правних відносин і до охорони інтересів матері й передовсім дитини та зрівняння подругів. Решта — це справа приватна, держава є найвищою інстанцією хіба в спірних випадках. Зрівняно з правного боку реєстроване й нереєстроване подружжя, полігамія властиво не заборонена, не має там понятя: подружжя — нешлюбний, подружа зрада, *in flagranti* й под. Реєстрація подружжя дуже упрощена, розвід дуже легкий.* Тим самим не має нешлюбних дітей. Управильнено справу аліментів. Материнство признано громадянським обов'язком, зорганізовано опіку над матір'ю й дитиною. Охрматмлад — стала складовою частиною цілого суспільного життя в Росії; дитячі ясла дійшли 1932 р. до числа 3 мільйонів; годування дітей до 3. і 4-ого року життя намагається перебрати на себе сама держава. В комсомолах, де зразу запанувала розпутність, звернено молодь до будівничої праці; а в цілості того життя запанувала коєдукація. Одначе при тому повному звільненні російська жінка не почуввається щаслива: її позбавили чуттєвих, еротичних переживань. „Виявляється, що совітські російські жінки мають, щоправда, всі права, але не мають права бути жінкою у вищому розумінні того слова“. Патріархальна родина загигає. Цікаві форми має боротьба з вуличною торгівлею коханням — тут найзамітніші профілякторії, де вуличні жінки можуть лічитись і де їх виховують на корисні громадянки, перероджуючи їх духово. Жінка бере участь у всіх ділянках життя — всі уряди не тільки для неї доступні, але її щиро втягають до них, починаючи від зборів делегаток до сільських та міських рад аж до високих урядів у військових штабах та командах на кораблях. Розуміється, в практичному житті ці широкі установи зустрічають такі елементарні перешкоди, як: недостачу помешкань та їх перелюднення,

* Про руїнищю шкідливість такого закону та його погубні наслідки переконалися й самі більшовики і в 1936. р. видали новий закон, що вельми утруднив розводи й зривання подружжя. Зокрема повстав більшовицький проєкт закону, що забороняв би переривати вагітність, накладав би податок на безженних і признавав премії для численних родин (див. „Діло“ ч. 98. 1936 р.).

Редакція.

недостачу їжі, мила й под. Не помагає на те навіть усупільнення господарства та кухні у комунах. Як на суспільності відбивається протирелігійна пропаганда, про те д-р Галле не згадує, але вже з поданого короткого перегляду її праці кожному це ясне.

II

А як пристосувала ці гасла українська радянська повість та роман? Відповідно до бажань урядових кол, висловлених нпр. П. Постишевом та А. Сенченком у доповідях, надрукованих опісля в київській „Літературній Газеті“ за 1935 р., совіська література повинна керуватися своєрідним т. зв. соціалістичним реалізмом, тобто відбивати сучасну дійсність у світлі потреб і наказів комуністичної партії. І таке наставлення, партійне, декуди вузько пропагандове треба мати на увазі при обговоренні також української повісти. І нас буде цікавити не тільки те, якими ідеями й фактами передає українська повість та роман у Радянській Україні жіноче питання, бо тематика тих творів приневолена числитись із важким натиском урядових кол, але цікавіше буде пізнати своєрідне освітлення тих фактів та ідей, пристосовання їх до українського ґрунту, спроби створити свій власний світогляд і, що найважливіше, свою власну мораль.

Отже передовсім жінки, що виступають в українських радянських повістях та романах, є найчастіше нерелігійні, а то й яскраво безбожні. Одначе релігійну справу потрактували повістярі Великої України назагал дуже епізодично: звичайно згадують про неї тільки ледве одним — двома натяками (нпр. Брасюк). Тільки винятково піднесено релігійну справу до принципіального значіння. Замітне, що таке зустрічаємо власне в повістях, присвячених спеціально жіночому питанню: у Кротевича й Явовольської. Дарка Безфамільна розповідає про причини своєї антирелігійности. Вихована, як підкидень, у московському виховному будинку, вона добре затирила довгі ранішні церковні богослужби, що так мучили безпритульні дівчата:

„Це вже почалася мука... Відправа некваплива, безконечна. В животі пуста. В голові пливуть сині плями від втоми. Болять коліна, а ти стій, бо побачать, що сіла, або притулилася до стіни, зараз же з церкви і тоді без обіду. Скільки разів зомлілу її виводили з церкви... особливо підчас великодних відправ, коли всі постили, без молока мяса й риби“.

До того ще й трапилось, що безсумлінний Дарчин хлібодавець, розпусний поліцмайстер, зломив їй життя власне у великодню ніч, здоровлячи її цинічно словами: „Христос воскрес!“ Коли ж Дарка, не вважаючи на те, добилась врешті заряду в домі для виховання дітей, а даєня настоятелька намовила дітей іти до церкви, то Дарка, перепоєсна наскрізь більшовицькими ідеями, попадає в гнів. Та все таки читач повісти Явовольської заскочений однією несподіванкою: Перше любовне запитання від більшо-

вицького провідника Мальцева почула Дарка у підземній... каплиці. Пояснення тієї події залишаємо самому читачеві.

Не так було з Кротовичевою Оленою Нехитрою, що пробула 14 літ у Дитячому Притулку в Донбасі й полюбила щиро цей Притулок. Тут не було кому виховати у дітей релігійні почування. Єдиним побожним виховачем у Притулку був учитель, що його діти ненавиділи за крайнє непедагогічну поведінку. Зрештою, в Притулку не вкоренились ні релігійні, ні офіційно-патріотичні почування, бо в його оточенні „майже не було отого ґрунту, отого постійного впливу, який так часто спостерігається в родинному житті“, а релігійні обов'язки сповняли діти недбало. Тому не дивно, що коли трапився симпатичний дітям, нерелігійний викладач письменства, він розбив легко їх хитку віру, бо „вона не мала в нас особливого кореня, бо не вглиблювалася в нас із наймолодшого віку, з самого дитинства“. Та як би там не було, особливої ненависти до релігії не повинно було витворити це оточення. Тому з немалим здивуванням читаємо таку розмову з малою донечкою героїні:

„Та ось незабаром дівчинка, якій тоді пішов уже шостий рік, запитує мене: — Мамусю, що таке хамка? Мені ясно, звідкіль це — і я навмисне досить докладно, не змінюючи змісту, розповідаю їй отой біблійний міт про Ноевого сина Хама, що з відійшлих у непамять людства дзвен перетворився в його уяві в зразок усього нестерпно-невихованого, вульгарного, бридкого — в трафарет справжнього „хамства“. — Так значить Хам посміявся з отого нехорошого Ноя, що припустив собі пиячити й валятися п'яним на землі? І це все-е? — зробила Лю спочатку великі очі, ніби хотіла додати: — Ну, чому ж тоді вчувається з оцим словом щось кепське, образливе?... Але миттю вона вже вільно-превесело сміється. — Ха, ха, ха! Так він же хороше, дуже хороше зробив отой Хам. Чудово, просто! Хіба ж то зле ставитись отак до тих, що пиячать? Чи не правда, мамусю? Я ствердно хитаю головою, чомусь сама переповнююсь радістю. — Так, так, зовсім не зле зробив тоді отой Хам. Взагалі потрібно завжди не шанувати того в людях, що припускають вони собі бридкого, нехорошого. І це зовсім так — хто б вони тоді не були: навіть тато, навіть я. Ще веселіше сміється Лю, аж порснула сміхом. Такою смішною удалася їй одна вже думка про те, що і я могла б бути в такому стані, як Ной. Але хутко залишає сміятись: — Отже я тепер ніколи-ніколи, мамусечко, не буду ображатись з хамки. Хай собі там!“

Оця своєрідна оборона хамства й бажання залишитись хамом такі відразливі, що засуджують самі себе. Але такий божевільно схиблений характер мають майже всі протирелігійні виступи в українській радянській повісті — всупереч виразному заповітові самого Леніна. На щастя, як згадано, вони не такі часті. Рідко повісті не доторкають зовсім релігійних справ, зате часто обмежуються до таких загальних натяків, як нпр. Олександр Копиленко у „Визволенні“: „Революція звільнила людей

від усіх забобонів старої моралі і релігії“, або ще виразніше в романі Олеся Досвітнього „Гюлле“ (1926), де туркеня Гюлле покохала чужинця Ремо й наважилась зламати прадідні звичаї, що признавали східню жінку за невільницю, а її милий Ремо відповідає мусулманинові Ахметові: „Як бачиш, жінку, твою сестру, я не одурив. Вона тільки стала людиною наполовину і хоче бути людиною цілком... Твоя віра, як і всяка віра, цього не дозволяє. Тепер вона звільнилась од неї. А проте... яке кому діло?“; або до дотепів, майже все безнадійно недотепних і брутальних. І тільки дуже вийняtkово попадається повість із згадками про релігійні настрої без ніяких завваг (Семен Скляренко „Тиха пристань“ 1929), або де виведено поважнішу протирелігійну диспути (Іван Ле „Юхим Кудря“ 1925), чи навіть такі несміливі завваги, щоправда в устах поета в півній:

„А ми? Кінець-кінцем, усі наші ареопляни, радіо й задушливі гази — нікчемний дріб'язок проти втраченої надії на рай... Слухайте, ви думали про страшну суперечність людини, що свідомо безглуздости свого минушого існування, а увічнити його неспроможна? Я боюсь, чи не стоїмо ми перед відродженням віри?“ (Валеріян Підмогильний „Місто“ 1927).

Також тільки вийняtkово трапляються романи, що в усій своїй основі проводять послідовно протирелігійну тенденцію, чи може пропаганду, як ось: Івана Ле „Роман Міжгір'я“ (1926—33), повісті (для молоді!) В. Таля „Любі бродяги“ (1927) і „Дивні пригоди бурсаків“ (1929), або недокінчений ще Івана Микитенка „Ранок“ (1935). Одначе всюди тут нерозважна й нетактовна тенденційність така яскрава, що дуже понижує мистецький рівень у тих романах. Сюди належить і Я. Качури „Ольга“ — тут одним із проповідників безбожництва стає священник у церкві, хоч він формально не зриває з Церквою.

Зрештою, релігія представлена як щось далеке, переборене. І, здається, чи тільки не один раз виступає така лікарка Ксана (у повісті В. Вразливого „Перемога“ 1932), що, як християнка, не втрималась від тяжкого гріха й поклала на себе кару.

Бо звичайно, коли релігія ще держиться, то хіба в людей відсталих, що неспроможні сприйняти нову добу. Така нпр. стара жидівка Єтель у повісті Леоніда Первомайського „Земля обітована“ (1926). Вона не може зрозуміти новітніх змагань у своїх синів, а все ж таки вона така величня у своєму материнському болю:

„Було два сини в мене, як двоє очей у лобі, як сонце і місяць на небі, а тепер немає моїх очей. Як я буду блукати цим великим, холодним світом сліпа?... Хто зважить біль? Бог у небі — він бачить... Помру колись — кадішу ніхто не промовить над могилою, як сука, а не як єврейка — мати своїх дітей... Двоє їх було в мене, як двоє очей у лобі...“

І чи ж дивно, що син її Єрухим тужив усе за нею, той сам Єрухим, що замість Палестини знайшов нову „землю обітовану“ в комунізмі й не хотів на батьківській могилі сказати прощальне

„кадіш“. Інші матері не приймають так глибоко цієї різкої зміни в поглядах „новітньої людини“ і годяться з тим як із якоюсь мирною меланхолією, як це чинить Надія Степанівна у повісті Наталі Забіли „Тракторобуд“. Але буває й таке, що побожність і прихильність до Церкви виставляється як одну з прикмет протикультурного світогляду та контрреволюційного настрою — такі є всі побожні жінки у Яволовської. Ще іншу постать вивів Гео Шкурупій: дочка професора петербурзького університету Жанна Барк, названа Жанною Батальйонеркою, бавиться у теософію та викликування духів — але це тільки панські примхи.

Як бачимо, ще часто являються в українських радядських повістях постаті жінок із поглядами давніми, не більшовицькими. І то не тільки епізодично. Вони є й деколи головними повістевими героїнями, як ця нещасна Софія Кравчик у повісті Григорія Епіка „Без ґрунту“ (1928—29). Софійка живе вже, шоправда, в нових часах устійнення більшовицької влади, але своїм характером і долею нагадує вона зовсім безпомічні жертви суспільних відносин у повістях Квітки, Левицького, Мирного. Супроти нових більшовицьких бюрократів і міської біди вона зовсім безсильна. Вона не вміє знайти собі самостійної праці й для здобуття свому малому братанкові життєвих засобів, піддається насильству більшовицького злочинця-урядовця, а коли врешті її полюбив щиро чесний більшовицький робітник Юхим Скляр, вона кінчить самогубством, щоб його не обдурювати. Інша знов є таємнича Марта з роману Олекси Слісаренка „Чорний Ангел“ (1932). — Вона пройнята якоюсь сонливою, містичною вірою в „Чорного Ангела“, провідника протибільшовицьких повстанців; для нього вона не побоялась спричинити важку катастрофу для комуністичного агронома Артема Гайдученка, що приймив її до себе. До жінок старшого покоління можна зачислити й таку Ніну Василівну в повісті О. Слісаренка „Плантації“ (1925), що, хоч дочка жандармського генерала, залюбилась у хлопці, що виявив себе революціонером та приневолив її ще врятувати йому життя. Але є й такі вигадки, як у романі О. Досвітнього „Алай“ (1924), що жінка тягне революціонера у протиреволюційне оточення. Жінки старших поглядів, що не можуть погодитись із перемогою більшовиків, заповняють замітний сатиричний роман Юрія Смолича п. н. „Фалшива Мельпомена“ (1828), де законспірована петлюрівська організація, залишившись під більшовицькою владою, переминається в мандрівну театральну трупу. Це істеричні й вередливі жінки, що замість реального життя бачать давні мрії, але все ж таки вміють у важких хвилях піддержати мужчин, а панночка Маруся здобувається навіть на таку енергію, що, коли її любий Котигорошок ставить їй питання: „Справжнього є два: діло (розум. патріотичне) і ти... І я зараз не знаю: що зараз для мене більше?“ — вона відповідає обурена: „Як ти можеш таке казати? Та коли „діло“ скаже вбити тебе, я, не роздумуючи...“ — Вона червоніє і, не докінчивши, розгнівано відверта-

ється" й опісля додає поважно: „Ніколи не жартуй так...! З цим не можна жартувати. Кожна людина мусить мати щось велике, щось більше над усе, і це ніколи не мусить бути його особисте щастя". І Маруся бажає бути Котигорошкові дружиною, аж довівши боротьбу до кінця, а покищо вона хоче бачити Котигорошка дужим, запальним, фанатичним... Але попри те виходять між жінками в цій оригінальній трупі й суперечки за маленькі особисті справи: Катерина і Неоніла мало не побилися за місце в ролях. Справа з жіноцтвом кінчається смішно трагічно: політичні розходження доводять до того, що Котигорошок стрілив до Марусі, але не вчинив їй нічого, бо револьверові патрони були клейтухові. Отже Маруся, хоч і не погоджується з більшовицькими порядками, є вже людиною чину, активною.

III

І не сентиментальна пасивність, що піддається надто своїм почуванням, але діяльна активність є основною прикметою нової жінки в українській радянській повісті. Втратило ціну ніжне жіноче почування, що дозволяє легко чоловікові зовсім запанувати над жінкою; воно просто знуджує новітнього чоловіка. Герой голосного роману Валеріяна Підмогильного „Місто" Степан леліє золоті сни про наївну Надійку:

„Хай тільки вона схилиться до нього — вони вдвох переможцями ввійдуть у браму міста... Саме ім'я її було надією, і він повторював його, як символ перемоги“.

Але коли довірлива Надійка не думає сперечатись із його перемогою, настрій Степана, подратованого життєвими невдачами, різко міняється:

„Він почував свою над нею владу і хотів, щоб вона корилась. Вся прикрість його на ній зосереджувалась, і він може вдарив би її, коли б вона надумалась сперечатись. Але вона покірно пішла“.

Та коли Надійка без протесту віддає Степанові своє кохання, він брутально крикнув до неї:

„Ти, ти винувата! — І пішов геть, повний туги та гніву“.

Надійка остогидла йому відразу. Подібно без жалю, хоч уже спокійніше, покидає Степан старшу від себе Тамару Василівну з такою філософією:

„Кажіть ви, я мушу мовчати. Нічого я не знаю. Не знаю, що буде зі мною. Але одно я зрозумів — живемо ми не так, як хочемо й... мусимо робити іншим боляче. Це я зрозумів. Іноді буває гарно, як зараз. Затишно, тихо. Те, що ви зробили для мене, ніхто вже не зробить... я мало думав про вас, коли ви біля мене були, але завжди згадуватиму, коли вас не буде“.

Але Тамара знає, що таке мусіло прийти:

„Я ж вірила в Бога... тобто колись вірила. А коли побачила тебе, знову почала молитись. Дарма! Я прийшла до тебе,

як сновида. Ти відіпхнув мене — я пішла. Покликав — я прийшла. Воля моя зломилась. — Вона стиснула йому руки“.

Так ; щира, віддана любов не вистачає вже, не має зрозуміння, вона скоро прикриється. І знуджений такою відданою любов'ю Петро Гамалія у Копиленковому „Визволенні“ покидає без надуми свою жінку Уляну разом із трьома дітьми на велику біду, але його син Сава зовсім розуміє батька:

„Бачиш, ми надто консервативні, нас переконали, що одруження повинно бути міцним, ніби людей приковують одного до другого. Справа не в законі, а в побутових вимогах... Закон одне, а життя інше диктує. Мати моя надто по-старому про все мислить. Ти зрозумій, батько став біля такої роботи, що вимагає розвиненого інтелекту... Йому треба мати помішницю в роботі, що розуміла б його. Чи цікава йому тепер та містечкова, підстаркувата молодиця Уляна, що ледве вміє читати—писати та добре знається на хатньому господарстві? Розвивати її?... Для цього стара вже, а для чоловіка — сорок три роки вік невеликий... Мати напевне розуміє це все, у неї голови на трьох розумних вистачить... Нехай кожен живе на свій смак і як захоче... Мені подобається все ж, що батько розрубав вузол і нічого не злякався. Ми ще по-старому мислимо собі родину й одруження. Зійшовся з якоюсь жінкою — обов'язково живи з нею, доки здохнеш! А коли переріс її на п'ять голів? Я дуже люблю матір і вважаю, що вона надзвичайна людина... Коли б мені сказали, що я мушу ціле життя прожити із своєю дружиною, я б ніколи не одружився“.

Отже безпосереднє, глибоке, чисте почуття у жінки не імпонує вже новітньому чоловікові в Радянській Україні. Це, на його гадку, застаріле й нудне.

„Любов занепала — приблизно на аршин від серця — говорить київський поет Вигорський у романі В. Підмогильного „Місто“. — Тобто вернулась до свого вихідного пункту... Дикунки не знали її, а наш вік є вік освіченого дикунства... любов „знижається“. Пісня кохання проспівана. Любов стає поруч муз і надиhaє разом з ними тільки старомодних поетів. Натомість висувається те, що було найголовніше в дикунстві — праця. Справжній поет може бути тільки поетом праці“.

В іншому романі — п. з. „Недуга“ Євгена Плужника (1928) кохання представлено як ця справжня недуга, що спиняє в корисній праці героя твору Івана Семеновича — він може повернутись до тієї праці, тільки поборовши в собі кохання до зрадливої акторки.

А яка жінка імпонує тому новітньому чоловікові? Яких жінок створили нові обставини?

Новітня жінка в Радянській Україні -- це не тільки пробу-джені під впливом кохання азійські жінки: туркения Гюлле з роману Досвітнього, що покидає батьківське село й віру та втікає з милим у широкий світ, не завагавшись виступити проти своїх навіть із зброєю; це не тільки узбечка Бімба-хон із „Роману

Міжгір'я", що не побоялась покинути прадідівський одяг „паранджу“ та здерти з лица східню заслону „чімнат“, але й відважилась виступити з прилюдною промовою та здобути собі європейську освіту. Це — передусім та Аглая з роману М. Хвильового „Вальдшнепи“, що її „від природи покликано до кипучої діяльності, що хоче „творити життя“ і вміє те життя здобувати силою своєї рішучої волі, а далі це комсомолка, піонерка-ударниця, — словом, дівчина-активістка. Автори комсомольських повістей (Іван Кириленко „Кучеряві дні“, 1930, Леонид Первомайський „Плями на сонці“, 1927 — оба заголовки дуже характеристичні) стверджують дуже обережно, але зовсім виразно, деморалізацію в комсомольських організаціях і слабкі спроби боротись із тим моральним занепадом. Коректор Усик у Первомайського питається просто „передовика молоді“ Ничипоренка:

„А норми поведінки... у вас же єсть яканебудь етика?... признайтесь, ви пили цю ніч? А? Єсть у вас якісь норми? Дозволяє ваша етика пити?“

На це Ничипоренко відповідає дуже характеристично: „Ну, захотілось мені — я й свиснув“ і Усикові залишається хіба заввага: „Мерзотна етика! Етика авантюриста з великого шляху... „Захотілось мені“... А ви знаєте, що „я“ — остання літера абетки?“ Чи ж дивно, що після нічних п'яток такий Ничипоренко підлабузнюється опісля навіть до підстаркуватої, негарної робітниці Насті, але „відчув доброго стусана ліктем у груди й почув притамовано схвильований голос: — Іч... Молокос... чого так забажалось?... Думаєш, плещуть на мене, так і правда тому, так і кожному шмаркачеві даюся? Соплі втри! А ще й на зборах про розкріпачення жінок п'ятякає...“ Та Ничипоренко загрузав далі: „...містом ходили чутки, ніби в підвалі профшколи відбулася оргія, трохи не „атенська ніч“ з участю Лізи Лазаренкової, „а також говорили про те, що гульбище влаштував комсомольський осередок. У цьому є частина правди“. Правдою було те, що Ліза, серед такого п'яного товариства, поводитись дуже свободно й говорила надто інтимно. Та справа кінчається ще добре: Ничипоренко, дійшовши до краю упадку, хотів повіситись, одначе його врятували, а й Ліза улаштовує своє життя.

І в Кириленка змальований душевний розклад та відродження діяльного комсомольця Никодима Гринюка, при чому жіночі постаті виступають тут чіткіше. Ось і зовнішній образ такої робітниці-комсомолки, що нею захоплюється Никодим:

„Коли три місяці тому, приїхавши на роботу в райком, він зустрів там Катю, йому одраз сподобалась ця жвава активістка, що гаряче сперечалась, а головне — дивилась на життя так само соняшно і радісно, як і він. На перший погляд це була звичайна комсомолка, що їх так багато можна зустрічати в осередках, райкомах чи десь в радустанові. Ще два-три роки тому вона, як і всі, ходила в шкурятянці, повязана була червоною хусткою, по хлоп'ячому намагалась курити цигарки і говорила „шамать“ замість їсти. Але згодом жити стало краще, у акти-

вістів з'явилися краватки, і по кредитованню можна було дістати пристойного костюма. Молодь гарячково вчепилася зубами за школу, за книжку, за розумну розвагу. Правда, були одиниці, що взивали це переродженням, ухилами і навіть буржуазністю. Та таких поволі перестали слухати, і могутній масовий процес культурного зростання робітничої молоді хоч краєчком зачіпав кожного юнака чи юнку. Тепер до Катриних чорних очей більше личив темно-синій англійський костюм, ніж загрубіла витерта шкурятянка. Біла блузка з краваткою дуже відтіняла тонкі вороні брови і пухлі малинові губи. Двадцять осінь її життя, така запашна і хвилююча, принесла їй палкі дівочі мрії і настирливі вимоги молодого тіла*.

І оця Катря любила Никодима „за якусь внутрішню животворну силу, що завжди горіла, запалювала всіх, примушувала уперто переборювати всі витрибенки вередливої господині-життя“, а „громадська думка комсомолського району відразу прихильно поставилася до товаришування Гринюка з Катрею“. Але якийсь час обмежувались короткими, теплими розмовами десь у клубі, райкомі чи осередку. Більшого дозволити не могли, бо гарячкова робота... забиравала весь вільний час і снагу. До того ще Гринюк розумів, що за ними стежить весь районний актив, а тому зайва обережність не пошкодить. „Та й без того він був розважний і знав, що поспішати в таких справах не рекомендується. Правда, іноді тихого вечора... кров Никодимові ставала гарячою“, а тоді Гринюк „думав про те, що завтра ж поставити перед Катрею питання рубя: його вона чи ні? У такі хвилини Никодим схвильовано блукав з кутка в куток по кімнаті і врешті сідав за книжку. Книжка помалу втихомирювала розпалену голову...“

Але раз „він чогось раптом підхопив Катрю під руку і, наче поспішаючи кудись, поволік її за собою“. У себе, вдома, не захотів слухати Катриних сумнівів щодо її становища до партії. І Катря почала хвилюватися, та коли Гринюк ставав надто нахабний, вона „раптом відчула, що він якийсь чужий і далекий їй. „Невже це він, агітпроп райкому? — майнуло в голові — Ганчірка якась?...“ А в серці тоскно занило ображене дівоче почуття“.

Та Катря скоро простила Гринюкові:

„Жіноча чутливість і ніжність заговорила в ній сьогодні з усією силою, а одна настирлива думка уперто ворушилася в голові: „Треба неодмінно поговорити сьогодні. Хай він не думає, що я до нього погано ставлюся. Ні. Я просто була здивована раптовою зміною його відносин до мене“.

І підо впливом маніфестаційних демонстрацій вони годяться з собою:

„Точка, Катю... забудьмо про старе. Та й хіба можна згадувати якісь там особисті дрібязкові справи, коли ми живемо в такий неповторний час?... Катря відчула: Гринюк стає самим собою, цебо колишнім агітпропом райкому, що своїми промовами завжди захоплював, підносив настрої, викликав бажання невинної боротьби і творчої праці“.

Та все ж таки — вона зголосила в загсі своє подружжя з іншим витриманішим партійцем, бо Гринюк заламався: він дозволяв собі на дешевеньке кохання то з сусідкою, жінкою Мері, що виявилась опісля зручною діяльною боєвичкою проти більшовиків, то зневажив себе вуличним коханням. Його зняли з районного проводу й він дійшов до гадки про самогубство й тільки в час спинили його товариші-комсомолці; він відроджується до нового життя. Але й Катря захиталась у партійних переконаннях: вона ходила потайки на збори опозиції, та опісля усе виявила партії. Товариськими сходами з нагоди Катриного шлюбу кінчається ця Кириленкова комсомольська повість. Вона не дає ясно зарисованої постаті української комсомолки. Особисті й партійні справи грають тут, щоправда, дуже характеристичну ролю, але загальний образ виходить ще доволі імлістий.

І аж Л. Первомайський у своїй повісті „В повітовому маштабі“ (1929—1930) вспів, чи не перше, дати доволі закінчений образ української комсомолки в особі Ольги. Це — наскрізь пролетарка. Дочка робітника, що згинув від вибуху в копальні манганової руди (улюблений мотив у совітській літературі!), і матері, що її вбив полюбовник, Ольга залишилась сама із старшою сестрою Варварою й 18-літньою дівчиною опипилась разом із Варкою у коммолі та „з нерозважної дівчинки стала виростати в мужню товаришку“. З того часу жила в комунці, з незачиненими дверми до хлоп'ячої кімнати. І тоді обік неї знайшовся комсомолець Лев — вони покохались. Але

„думки про народження кохання значно пізніше з'явилися у Лева, як і в Ольги... Але народження кохання? Чому не пам'ятають ні Лев, ні Ольга початків його, чому не могли вони згадати тієї першої краплі, що з неї власне почала рости велитенська гаряча хвиля, що трохи не залила їх обох? Може й справді звиродніло давно кохання, що про нього писалося в старих романах, друкованих нерівним єлісаветінським шрифтом на грубом жовтому папері ручного розливу... Зовсім інше й несхоже кохання народжувалося в серцях безвусих юнаків і прозорих дівчат з комуністичних спілок молоді. І воно не могло бути схожим, бо часто-густо першою прочитаною книжкою такого юнака чи дівчини була: „Удержат ли большевики государственную власть“, — а першим незрадженним коханням — революція“.

Отже політичний мотив, партійна справа виростали в комсомольському коханні в часі громадянської війни до значіння першорядного рішального чинника. І ось перед читачем оригінальна любовна дія:

„Ім довелося разом чергувати коло озназу. Це було давнішньою мрією Ольги. З Варвариною рушницею, загорнувшись

у довгу коршунову шинелю, стояла вона коло чохаузу. Біля воріт, насвистуючи салдатську пісню, стояв Лев. Він лише приїхав з губкому, ледве прорвавшись крізь загорожу бандитських роз'їздів, і його не пустили в заставу. Ніч була тривожна. Застави стояли за містом. Наближався легендарний Сухоручка, що про нього доводилося нераз чувати найжахливіших оповідань. Того ж таки дня Варвара оповідала в комунці, як Сухоручка, забравши Старгород, видав наказа виказати всіх комуністів, комсомолів, а якщо ні — усе містечко вогнем візьметься“...

„Вони залишилися вдвох. Тиша висіла над містом і здавалося, що в цій тиші великі березневі зірки звучать. Секретар організації і рядова комсомолка стояли за декілька кроків одне від одного й обом хотілося підійти одне до одного... Мезальянс! — сказав би комсомольський скептик Мадика.. Обом хотілося підійти одне до одного, зазирнути у вічі, всміхнутися може й не говоривши. Ользі чомусь згадався далекий приємний зимовий вечір, коли Лев уперше з'явився в комунці і їй видалося, що саме тоді вона вперше захотіла залишитися з ним на самоті, притулитися до нього теплим тілом, відчутти на плечах своїх його руки... Не можна було кидати постів. Ольга мріяла, загорнувшись у коршунову шинелю. Шинеля пахла шинелею, салдатським сукном, трохи кінським потом, стайнею, Це панило. Лев насвистував салдатської пісні коло воріт і — секретар організації! — думав про рядову коммолку Ольгу... Мезальянс! — як сказав би коммольський скептик Мадика. Двері чохаузу та ворота осназівського двору виходили на один бік вулиці. Їм треба було мінятися місцями, не кидаючи з поля виду постів. Таким чином вони посеред дороги зустрічалися... на одну мить. Це ж так просто... Майже разом вони рушили одне одному назустріч. Їхні очі зустрілися. Розійшлися... Це сподобалося обом. Вони знову йшли одне одному назустріч, знову дивилися в очі і усміхалися. І коли вже стало темніти, коли ніч востаннє збирала чорні сили, коли вони зустрілися невідомо вже який раз, — Ольга зупинилася. — Льво! — гукнула вона й простягнула до нього руки. Це був їхній перший поцілунок і вже за хвилину вони знову стояли на своїх місцях, а коли трохи згодом прийшов Карнач здіммати їх з постів, він... між іншим запитав, здивований бадьорим виглядом, свіжістю щік та очей Ольги: — Молодчина! Не спала? — А чого б мені спати? — просто відповіла Ольга й егоїстично розсміялася... Ходім, Льво! Березневий ранок загорявся румянцем. Березневий ранок пнявив її запахом чохаузу, запахом червоноармійської шинелі й першого молодого кохання... Із застав поверталися коммольці. Вони йшли по дорозі й співали... — Я люблю тебе, Льво, — дивлячись на них, сказала Ольга. — Мовчи... Я знаю...”

Отже їх кохання розцвіло серед комсомольсько-червоноармійських обставин, воно мало виразно партійний підклад. І прогріх проти партійної карності — стає й прогріхом проти кохання та нищить його. Тому, коли Лев, висланий із відділом червоно-

армійців, що попали в руки Сухоруччиного загону, посмів рятувати власне життя й не згинув разом із 84-ма, в душі Ольги відбувається важка боротьба:

„Лев вийшов би з її серця, вона б забула його. Ні! Вона б не забула його, бо першого поцілунку не можна забути, не можна забути кохання, одягненого в червоноармійську шинелю і важкі чоботи... Вона б не забула його, хоч можливо й напевне покохала б іншого, і іншого кохала б глибше й більше, ніж Лева... Але тепер — ні! Вона кохає його й що їй до того, що він зрадник? Так, він зрадник, він покинув своїх товаришів у небезпеці, він живий, а 84 лежать у глибокій могилі... Він помер і для інших товаришів... Хіба це так важно, що фізична смерть ще не наступила, що її може, і не буде? Він їм не товариш... Він боягуз і зрадник. Та вона любить його від того не менше“.

Але сталося не так — Ольга знайшла лік на своє кохання у діяльному чині: вона пішла на бойовий фронт. І не повернула вона кохання ані Лвові, ані не полюбила червоного команданта Сак-Саговського, що говорив „сумним голосом, іронізуючи над самим собою, над Левом: — Ото ж ми суперники... А вона не вибрала жадного з нас... Та ти не сумуй. Вона повернеться, та тільки не до тебе й не до мене“.

Порівняймо з тим багато простіший образок такого фронтового кохання в романі О. Досвітнього „Нас було троє“ (1927): фронтовичка-революціонера Жабі приводить серед бою без довгих церемоній партійного товариша у свою кімнату:

„Хтось досліджував епохи і зробив висновок, що в часи жорстоких бойових, великих епідемій та лихих явищ, що поволі нищать життя, — людей охоплює швидкокриций ерос“.

Але бойові жіночі відділи в Росії з'явилися ще до більшовицької революції. Вже Керенський намагався створенням жіночих батальйонів підійняти духа російської армії й таку батальйонерку змалював прегарно Гео Шкурупій у своїй „Жанні Батальйонерці“. Гарний, примхливий витвір інтелігентського оточення, 22-літня Жанна, захопилась так дуже російським патріотизмом, що з дитинства плакала мрію: стати Жанною Д'Арк, святою жінкою-салдаткою. Тому, коли після скинення царя Росія знайшлась у небезпеці й Керенський із Брусіловим створили жіночі батальйони, вона опинилась в одному такому батальйоні поруч із дівчатами з різних суспільних шарів. Батальйон кинули на фронт — і в окремому розділі п. н. „Поїзд Ероса“ дає Шкурупій дуже яскравий образок подорожі того батальйону — на втіху розпутним салдатам. Батальйон бере участь і в страшному наступі на багнети та розбитий повертається до Петербурга. Жанна переживає всі страхіття фронтової війни, але повертається ціла. Однак червона революція не захоплює її й вона навіть розходиться із своїм милим Стефаном Бойком, коли дізналась, що він покинув фронт і організує нову революцію. Та червона революція вибухла і Жанна згубилась у її хвилях; або вона пішла на вулицю, або опинилась у революційних рядах, або... читач

не знає, що з нею сталося. Отже й у Шкурупія розбивають кохання політичні розходження.

IV

Громадянські почування беруть верх над особистими і доводять до того, що, як ми бачили, Катря не могла заспокоїтися у своєму партійному сумлінні, аж доки не донесла владі про те, що була на зборах опозиції й не висловила свого покаяння з того приводу. Оця психоза підзорів, доносів, відкликувань, партійних покаянь із метою за всяку ціну утвердити диктатуру партії — довела до зображення однієї з найяскравіших, але zarazом найжахливіших і найсоружніших жіночих постатей у Радянській Україні; до створення в літературі постаті жінки чекістки. Зобразив її своїм геніальним пером той, що кровю власного серця змалював безоднисті нетрі власної душі, заплутаної в невимовне горе Радянської України, той, що мав відвагу своїм проречистим символом і алегорією кинути одвертий протест проти сучасних порядків і запечатав той протест вкінці власною кров'ю — створив її найбільший прозаїк Радянської України, Микола Хвильовий. Ледве кількома рисами змалював Хвильовий постать Майї у своїй „Повісті про санаторійну зону“ (1922—23). Але тих кілька рис із Дантового Пекла чи Шекспірової леді Мекбет — можуть читача довести до божевілля. І недаремно переносить автор читача до санаторії на Гралтайських Межах для божевільних чи напівбожевільних істериків. Усі хорі й сестри-доглядачки звернули увагу на гарну, веселу Майю. Але Майя кохає божевільного велетенського фантаста, волохатого Анарха. І даремне любить Анарха тиха, мрійлива сестра Катря — та сама, що висловлює глибоку гадку:

„Боротися для того, щоб вибороти собі право бути додатком домашнім, є безглуздя“.

Зрештою, Анархові розмови з Катрею зараз підслухає Майя:

„Майя так тихо підійшла до веранди, що Анарх і сестра Катря, почувши її, здригнули. — Підслухувати, кажуть, некрасиво! — кинув анарх. — А ви відкіля це знаєте? — Майя, прищуливши очі, зійшла на веранду... А тепер скажіть мені: чого мені не можна підслухувати. — Коли ви така наївна, то я вам можу сказати: це не гідно серйозної людини. — Ха-ха! Серйозної людини? По вашому, виходить, всякий охраннык є втілення наївності? — Я трохи не так висловилась, — почервоніла сестра Катря. — Але я гадаю, що ви мене розумієте. І потім: ви ж не охраннык? — А ви відкіля це знаєте, що я не охраннык? — Майю! — сказав анарх. — Покинь говорити дурниці. — О, мої наївності! Мовчу, мовчу як сфінкс. — І раптом додала: — А все таки ваші розмови про франк-масонів я підслухала“.

Та це невинна дрібничка. Незабаром читач із найбільшим здивуванням чує з уст Майї таке брутальне вияснення кохання, що, не знаючи ще дальшого розвитку подій, він обурюється на цей дуже різкий, але все ж мистецький засіб. І в тій розмові

про „нетрі женської душі“ про „фікцію плятонічного кохання“, про Майїні найінтимніші переживання — падають ніби жартібліві слова:

— „Але, власне, я й досі від тебе нічого не почув — кинув анарх. — І це правда! — засміялась Майя. — Це, у знаєш, у мене такий прийом: я хочу тебе зацікавити і воджу за ніс. Це прийом чекістів. Да... — поволі говорила вона. — Я ти гадаєш... багато серед нас, хорих, чекістів? — Навіщо це обі? — Та так... Мені чогось здається, що й ти таємний чекіст! — Покинь говорити нісенітницю! Кажі скоріш, навіщо ти мене покликала сюди? Мені ніколи! — Ніколи? — різко сказала Майя й нахмурилась. — Да... А як ти... повірив би, коли б я тобі сказала, що я — тайна чекістка? Ти як... повірив би мені? — Ці розмови вже його виводили з себе“.

І „нетрі женської душі“ освітлює осліпна блискавиця. У хвили, коли пізньою осінню санаторійне життя хилиться до кінця, коли Анарх упав у важку гарячку, тоді йому приходить на думку розмовитись рішуче з Майєю, а вона йому так відкриває „нетрі женської душі“:

„Скажіть мені, чого вам треба від мене? Невже ви і досі мрієте, що я вас колинебудь кохала?... А втім, мені не треба говорити вам, що... моє кохання для вас не більше, як соломинка, за яку хапається тонучий... Але зараз я вас трохи ненавиджу... Я колись сказала вам про те, що між нами є тайні чекісти. Я навіть натякала на те, що й я належу до цієї категорії людей. Ви мені тоді не повірили. Тепер, гадаю, повірите!.. Я тайна чекістка, агент червоної охоронки. З самого першого дня вашого приїзду на санаторійну зону я стежила за кожним вашим кроком. Я чомусь вірила, що ви є справжній анарх, який провокаційними засобами затесався в наші кола. І знаєте, тоді по-своєму покохала вас. Я багато знала мужчин. Але по-своєму... кохала тільки двох... Так, я вас кохала!.. Бо я думала, що ви є справжній анарх. Я сподівалась, що ви мені дасте кілька прекрасних хвилин. І віддаватися вам, скажу щиро, було для мене щастям. Я знала, що моє тіло, моя ласка розв'яже вам язик, і ви мені розкажете те, чого я потребую. Так! Я вірила в це: до осені ви будете сидіти в підвалі!.. Бо ж подумайте: в цім уся я. Ви розумієте? — Майя похилила голову і задумалась. Анарх мовчав. І хоч він узнав од неї зараз, що був її червоною офірою — і тільки, що вона не як коханка, а як тайна чекістка ходила за ним, стежачи за кожним його рухом, навіть більше — бажаючи, щоб він зробив якийсь непевний крок, котрий привів би його до тюрми. . саме тепер, як ніколи „він почув близькість до неї“. А Майя говорить далі: „Мої пацієнти були віртуозами. Але я робила це, як ті ідіотки, які із спокійною душею йшли на вогнище... І що мені з того — сто чортів! — що моїх пацієнтів одправляли на той світ у „двадцять чотири години?...“ Але не забувайте... За кілька років барикадних боїв я мала справу не з одним мужчиною, і не з десятима, і, можливо, не з двадцятьма.

Звичайно перша гарячковість пройшла, але її місце заповсіла звичка. Ви розумієте? Це вже не нетрі женської душі, а це нетрі взагалі. Я просто звикла висліджувати, доносити. І, оскільки до інших справ була постійна індиферентність і оскільки я завжди пам'ятала, що охоранці я віддала все, що могла, я не тільки полюбила цю справу, — я просто — сто чортів! — не можу без неї жити!“

Але нехай читачеві не здається, що на тому кінець — геній Хвильового доводить диявольську постать Майї до повноти. Бо коли вона притулилась щільніш до анарха, він, помовчавши, раптом сказав: „От що... Я найшов! — і хоробливо засміявся. — Що ти найшов? — скинулась Майя. — Це, власне паліатив, — сказав він, — але це, можливо, на деякий час дасть тобі задоволення... Я от що надумав... Як ти гадаєш? Не було б краще тобі, коли б я... одійшов... у двадцять чотири години... ти знаєш, куди... Майя здригнула... А для чого ж це мені потрібно? — спокійно спитала вона. Але в її голосі анарх почув і легкий дріж, і сховану радість. — Як для чого? Ти підеш тоді в охоранку й скажеш, що от, мовляв, була така то людина і... Словом ти щось там придумаєш. Ти можеш сказати, що мене перехитрила, розкрила мою „провокацію“, і я мусів або втікати... або зробити те, що зробив. Можна навіть найти якісь фалшиві документи... — А в тебе револьвер єсть? — несподівано спитала вона й поставила свій погляд до анархових очей. І в її очах він побачив тваринну радість. — Револьвера в мене нема, — сказав анарх. — Так тоді, — і Майя фалшиво засміялася, — я тобі дам свій!“

Револьвера анарх не дістав, але обіцянку сповнив — кинувся в каламутні хвилі холодної осінньої ріки за прикладом іншого хорого. Але Майя не взяла учусти в похоронах.

„В той час, коли процесія пересікала роздоріжжя, вона стояла з заплученими очима... одкинувши голову на гілку. Майя щось шепотіла, наче творила якусь невидиму молитву“.

Постать Майї відсуває у тінь усі інші жінки-активістки в українській радянській повісті — навіть оту Люцію Пальчіні, оту італійку з Мадженто в повісті В. Кузьміча, що проводить бунтові в інтервенційному кораблі „Офіоне“ та рятує червоних моряків на Чорному морі проти англійської міноноски смілим помислом запалити довкола корабля нафту і в кривавому садизмі власноручно стріляє полонених офіцерів, аж доки:

„я схопив за руку Люцію й нельсоном повалив її долу. — Сакраменто, діаболо! Насильство... Але ж вона билась на землі й послала в останнє ще один постріл. Коси її розпустилися, впавши долу каштановим сіном, а груди дихали сильно й глибоко“.

А обік згаданих маємо ще цілу низку червоних активісток у різних ситуаціях, нпр. постать українки Ганни Маркушевської, здібної робітниці в текстильній фабриці, в сензаційному романі Олекси Слісаренка „Зламаний гвинт“. В інтересах робітничої партії переміняється Ганна в партійного детектива з метою роз-

крити зрадницьку діяльність провокатора Томи Берніца. Разом із Генріхом Турком насмілюється вона навіть виїхати потайки в Радянський Союз, щоб там простежити Берніцову роботу й паралізувати її. Серед численних авантюричних пригод, що в них треба було показати велику проворність, хитрість та душевний гарт — Ганна й Турок виконують блискуче своє завдання. Ще відважніша інтелігентна українка, агрономка Юлія Сахно в науково-фантастичних романах Ю. Смолича „Господарство доктора Гальванеску“ (1928) та „Що було потім“ (1934). Вона не боїться виїхати від імени Радянського Союзу в землі таємничого й жахливого злочинця д-ра Гальванеску, вміє притомністю свого ума перебороти високу інтелігенцію того дивака й не вважаючи на всі його технічні винаходи, видає йому серед смертної загрози тайну гальванізовання людей-машин. Та, здається, з-поміж тих боєвичок врізуються в пам'ять читача не так ширше виведені постаті, як радніше одна епізодична постать, змальована ледве кількома скупими рисами. Це Саня в Кротевичевому романі. Вихована з Даньком у Притулку, належала до тих нечисленних винятків, що опісля подружились. У часі революційних боїв „вдвох лежать вони поруч, мовчки посилають куля за кулею ворогові“. Поцілений кулею Данько гине, а Саня серед бою пробує його винести на своїх плечах. А коли її стали досягати ворожі постріли, тоді вона „спокійно поклала трупа свого мужа, спокійно лягла за ним, як за прикриттям“ і почала відстрілюватись. „І припала, порізана кулями, Саня в останнє до друга — до мужа, споеднавши на віки свою кров із Даньковою... Отаку то пару покидьків, підібраних з вулиці, дав наш Притулок“.

І загалом поширеною постаттю в радянській літературі стає жінка на послугах революційної пропаганди, як ця гарна єврейка Єма в романі О. Досвітнього „Американці“ (1919), що перейшла революційні рухи ще за царської Росії, опинилась в Америці й у часі світової війни прибула в японське Токіо, щоб тут, як секретарка інтернаціонального бюро, підготувати більшовицьке повстання не тільки в Росії, а й у цілому азійському Сході; обік неї виступає в цьому романі й консулева жінка корейського Сеулу, Ємілія, що із змуженої життям без мети жінки стає під впливом кохання до більшовицького діяча Шергеля в ряди діяльних революціонерів у Далекому Сході.

Сюди належить і Ніна Георгіївна, чи властиво товаришка Оксана, в повісті Петра Панча „Голубі ешелони“ (1927), де з талановитою сатирою змальовано поїзд із розбитими останками української протибільшовицької армії, а в тому поїзді смілу більшовицьку агітаторку, що вспіла не тільки розкинути між військом відозви, але й видати тайни від української місії до Антанти — та при кінці читач не знає, чи Ніна, як агітаторка й шпигун, є реальним явищем, чи це тільки хороблива примара важко раненого сотника Лец-Отаманова.

Але й по другому боці протибільшовицькому, не бракує відважних жінок-шпигунок. Такою ми бачили вже вродливу Мері

в Кириленковій повісті — вона, видавши очайдушною хитрістю більшовицьких бойовиків на розстріл, відважується залишитись у Радянській Україні, аж доки її не зрадила маленька записочка до її любчика; така є німкеня Фріда Шотер у виробничому романі Володимира Кузьміча „Крила“ (1927—1929) — вона веде шкідницьку працю в летунстві Радянської України; така є Ольга в Микитинковому романі „Ранок“ — вона, як ігуменя жіночого монастиря у Прилуччині, організує протибільшовицьку акцію.

Та не тільки жінка-революціонерка, що має за завдання руйнувати ворога, являється ідеалом в українській радянській повісті. Ми бачили, що Смоличева Сахно бажала б здобути у Гальванеску тайни вищої агрономії для позитивного будівництва. І власне найновіші радянські повісті підкреслюють щораз виразніше тип жінки-будівничого комуністичного соціалізму, що передусім виконує пляни п'ятилітки. Це — звичайно жінка з вищою освітою — жінка-інженер, як нпр. інженерка Кудрявець у романі Гордія Коцюби „Нові береги“ (1930—32), що, перейнявшись ідеєю будови гідростанції у Дніпрельстані, відривається для тієї праці навіть від любої дочки. Одначе найвиразнішу постать такої інженерки створила Н. Забіла у своєму „Тракторобуді“. Молода конструкторка залізобетонної групи при будові великої фабрики тракторів Галина — це наскрізь комсомолка-ударниця. Приватне, семейне життя є для неї тільки дуже побічним епізодом, головна основа її життя й уся спрямованість її гадок та волі — тракторне будівництво та життя в партії. Їй доручено провід у робочих проєктах допоміжних цехів у тракторобуді й додано їй до помічі трьох молодих людей.

„Галя невеличка й тоненька. В синій вовняній сукні, що високо відкриває сухі ноги в чорних панчохах — вона подібна до дівчинки-школярки, а не до поважного інженера. З круглого білого комірчика тонка шия трохи погордливо тримає темнорусяву, по хлопчакому — коротко підстрижену голівку. Галя не красива, завжди наче стомлена, під великими сірими очима ледве помітно тінню лягли сині смуги. Тільки очі такі бадьорі, такі весело-молоді, що, глянувши на них, вже не вірили, щоб цій молоденькій дівчинці могло бути не вісімнадцять років, а двадцять три“.

Коли Галиних товаришів лякає скорий термін закінчення роботи, Галина піддержує відважно їх духа. І даремно висловлюється про неї скептично Роленський:

— „Жінкам, та ще й таким молодим, як ви... все ж таки не зовсім підходить наша робота. Жінка — істота ніжніша, нервовіша за чоловіка, тим то їй більш личить мистецтво, театр, музика, а не чорнова буденна робота в будівельній конторі. Я, звичайно, не хочу відкинути ваших здібностей, вашої доброї, серйозної роботи, але все ж таки дозвольте мені... висловити свою думку: захоплення будівництвом (соціалістичним будівництвом!) інженерською роботою (дорога жінці!), це для вас тимчасове, й рано чи пізно — ви повернетесь до вашого справжнього призначення... — До горшків та пелюшок? — глузливо перепитала Галя... — Ви

вульгаризуєте мої думки! — пересмикнув плечима Роленський. — Я просто не маю особливого бажання заводити дискусію на цю тему, — спокійно відповіла Галя, — і це з кількох причин: поперше, мені вже набридло доводити всім відомі істини про права жінки та й вас однаково не переспориш, подруге, зараз нема для цього часу, а потретє, я ще маю деякі причини суто особистого характеру, щоб не бажати говорити на цю тему.“

Однаке скептик Роленський мав частинно рацію: „причина суто особистого характеру“ та „горщики і пелюшки“ вплинули все ж на Галину роботу й під впливом тих сильних почувань вона сповнила небезпечну помилку в розрахунках конструкційних плянів і тільки завдяки випадкові цю помилку виправили без надто великих витрат.

У тому самому „Тракторобуді“ робітниця при бетономішалці Лета Азарова так характеризує новітню жінку:

„Значить у першу чергу праця, комсомол, соціалістичне будівництво й світова революція. Потім — дитина. Потім — учоба... Так, значить, це потретє, а вже почетверте — всілякі мої особисті справи“.

Оце й теоретично повинна бути програма жіночої проблеми й на Радянській Україні.

Передрук з Бібліотеки “Дзвонів”, ч. 19 (Львів, 1937). Я. Гординський (1882–1939)—відомий галицький літературознавець.

Valeriiian Pidmohylny

VANIA

Valeriiian Pidmohylny's novels, *Misto* and *Nevelychka drama*, are among the better known works of modern Ukrainian literature. Both have been republished in the West, and an English translation of the latter exists under the title *A Little Touch of Drama*. A number of Pidmohylny's short stories are also widely known among Ukrainian readers. German readers can enjoy translations of two of them—"V epidemichnomu baratsi" and "Ivan Bosy." But English readers have thus far had available to them only a translation of "Problema khliba."

This translation of "Vania" will, I hope, attract new readers to Pidmohylny. It may also benefit those readers who, while otherwise acquainted with Pidmohylny's works, do not have access to the now rare volume of his stories (*Tvory*, 1920) in which "Vania" appeared. (It is only through the generous assistance of Dr. Igor Kaczurowskyj that I obtained a photocopy of this collection.)

Readers familiar with some of Pidmohylny's other works may be surprised by this story. The social, political, and philosophical themes that are typical of Pidmohylny's novels are not apparent here. On the surface it seems to be a simple story about a boy and his dog. But when it is compared to Pidmohylny's other works, specifically to the other stories in the collection in which it first appeared, "Vania" becomes a deeper and richer work. Such a comparison offers a startling, new interpretation of the story and suggests a subtler and more meaningful reading of the collection and of Pidmohylny's works as a whole.

The links between "Vania" and Pidmohylny's other works are most evident in the context of unifying themes and motifs. Among the most prominent are youth, sexuality, religion, and a preoccupation with fantasy. Furthermore, "Vania" displays a number of important internal and external parallels in its construction. Certain episodes are clearly comparable to other events in the story or to events in other stories. The encounter with the man-eater in the gully of the steppe, for example, is presented as a rough equivalent to the experience with the dog in the forest. The tortures Vania imagines he will have to endure in hell are a child's version of the guilt that many of the protagonists in the other stories feel.

A detailed analysis of the recurring themes and parallels in "Vania" reveals a level of psychological complexity and realism that was not evident on a first reading of the story. This enriched reading, however, draws even more attention to the unresolved central problem of the story: Why does Vania feel so guilty about what he did in the forest? While there is no decisive answer to this question in the story, an analysis of the parallels and similarities between "Vania" and the other stories in Pidmohyl'ny's first collection points in the direction of a psychoanalytic interpretation of the story as a symbolic discovery of sexuality.

M.T.

Further Reading

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In the morning, Vania would get up at eight o'clock, wash, kiss his father and mother, and sit down to tea. All this he would do in great haste, because mornings there was the most to do. First of all he had to run down to the garden to see if the eggplant that had started reddening yesterday had ripened. He had to weed out the grass in the furrows where the flowers were planted. Then, quietly, so no one would see, he had to sneak out of the yard and run into the steppe to the gully. There, far from any people, Vania had his own little garden. In the spring he had planted some eggplants and melons there. True, only two bushes of eggplant and one vine of melons had taken root, but even this little patch was enough trouble—three times a week he had to sneak out there with a jug of water to water it.

In general, until the fruit was ripe and ready to be picked and eaten, Vania had to keep up his diligence. He couldn't tell any of his friends about his garden, because they'd be jealous and ruin everything. But oh, how he wanted to show off his work! To see the jealousy in their eyes! But he couldn't allow himself that satisfaction.

To reduce the temptation, Vania spent less time playing with his friends and mostly sat in his room building a railroad out of wooden blocks.

Vania drank his tea and went outside. He went over to look at the little boar his mother had given him as a present. The boar was completely red, and neighbors always came to look at it because of its unusual color. Vania was proud to be the owner of this unusual boar and took especially good care of it. Vania pushed a stick through a crack in the pigpen and carefully scratched the boar behind its ear. Conscious of the favor bestowed on it, the boar rolled over on its back and grunted in delight. Finishing up with the boar, Vania went over to the garden to look at the eggplant. It had reddened, but only on one side. Vania broke it off and left it to ripen on the pigpen, where the chickens wouldn't peck at it. There wasn't much grass growing in the flower bed, and Vania decided to leave it till tomorrow.

And now for the main thing—to run out unobserved to his own garden in the gully.

None of his friends were on the street. Vania quickly ran up the hill and down the other side. There he walked on quietly, pushing aside the tall grass. Swarms of grasshoppers jumped out of the grass, buzzing off in every direction. Somewhere above a lark was singing—a happy, powerful, easy tune. Ahead and on either side out to the horizon stretched the endless and monotonous expanse of the steppe.

Vania feared the steppe. It was so silent and morose that if it were not for the song of the lark and the chirr of the grasshoppers, perhaps Vania would never have ventured out on it. The summer savory underfoot gave off a strong aroma—heavy and tangy. Mixed with the hot rays of the sun, it filled his head with sweet waves of immediate and desired somnolence. The grass on the steppe was not green but yellow-gray, as if some evil thing had sucked out its life juices, leaving behind worthless stalks.

Vania was walking into the heart of the steppe. There were no trails or paths, because no one else ever rode or walked there. The gully was far away. Cut into the ground by rain water, with every passing year it became deeper and more frightening. In the middle of the flat steppe it abruptly plummeted, its banks glistening with yellow clay. It seemed as if a part of the steppe had deliberately been ripped out to show that it was even yellower inside than on the surface.

The gully wound its way though the steppe, here and there removing giant clumps of earth. But it always appeared the same: steep, yellow, and deep.

The first time Vania saw it, he shuddered in fear as he stared at the terribly silent and inscrutably mysterious gully. To Vania it seemed that the earth had parted and was waiting for someone to climb down into its depths. Then, with a slow and stubborn determination the gully's walls would begin to close and disregarding the frenzied cries and furious struggle, would crush the unwitting sacrificial victim and then come apart again to lure more people. Descending into the gully for the first time, Vania took a step and waited to see if its walls would indeed close. Only when he was convinced that they wouldn't did he become calm and take another step.

Vania carefully climbed down the bluff. The dry clay slipped out from under his feet, and to avoid falling he had to grab hold of prickly shrubs of wild boxthorn—the only green plant on the sides of the gully. The bottom of the gully was bright with the sun's rays, which reflected off the yellow banks. All the clay's moisture had been sucked out by the sun, and the dry air, saturated with the bitter clay dust, irritated his throat with every breath. Everything turned red before his eyes; he wanted to thrust out his tongue and pant with his mouth wide open, like a dog.

In one place the gully narrowed, and the passage was blocked by a couple of trees, which had somehow survived in these inhospitable conditions. This passage was the most frightening place in the gully, and it was no wonder that Vania was scared of it. Once, while he was climbing through the grabbing branches of the trees, Vania's shirttail had caught on a small branch. When he turned to look back, he saw among the tangled branches the indistinct outline of something large and gray. Knowing that it was the man-eater who had caught him by the shirt and was not letting go because he was going to eat him, Vania let out an unearthly cry. As the cry echoed loudly down the gully, he pulled free and ran, leaving a piece of his shirt on the branch. Breathless from trying to flee the wild cries, which the gully angrily reverberated, and hearing, without looking back, the heavy footsteps of something behind him, Vania fell to the powdery ground, beat his head against it, and tore at it with his fingers, terrified of imminent death.

Having calmed down a little, Vania started climbing out of the gully. But then he changed his mind and taking a thick stick, crawled back to the trees on his stomach.

He peered eaglelike into the thicket. He made a wild lunge and with stick raised high threw himself into the tangled branches. But no one was there any longer. Vania sat down and chuckled from happiness. The man-eater had run away, the man-eater got scared!

After this unexpected encounter with the man-eater, Vania thought long about whether it wouldn't be better to go deeper into the steppe to avoid the scary narrow passage. Thinking about the man-eater was both frightening and enticing. As if by a strong magnet, Vania was pulled back into the gully by those secrets that were hiding so carefully

between its yellow, crumbling walls.

As soon as Vania again reached the gully, a force drew him to descend in the same spot as before. When he again approached the trees, he felt nothing at all except a hellish chill. His hands and feet went cold. He felt something heavy on top of his head, crushing it. His heart was barely beating. Pale as a corpse and with his fists tightly clenched, he climbed into the thicket, not even protecting himself from the branches that scratched his face. Once on the other side of the passage, Vania laughed and cried.

A little beyond the terrible place, a patch of black earth drew attention to itself amidst the yellowness. Here, carefully marked off by stakes, grew two green bushes of eggplant and a vine of melons. Vania straightened one of the stakes. Everything was in order, as it should be.

On his way there, Vania always worried about seeing footprints other than his own. That would mean not only the death of his garden, but the gully itself would lose its mystery and allure. Ever since he had chased away the man-eater, Vania considered the gully his very own. One time he even gave the gully a strict order not to let anyone onto its bottom, and if anyone should be so bold as to try, to crush him between its walls. The gully silently accepted this command, and in this silence Vania felt he had been given a solemn promise, an oath.

* * *

On the way home, Vania met one of his friends—Mytka, whom he didn't like. He didn't like him because Mytka was stronger than he was and also because Mytka always found things in the forest, like a mulberry tree or a wild pear, but wouldn't show them to anybody until he got a few kopecks.

Now Mytka was running up the street, riding on a big stick with a whip in his hand. From the big smile on his face, Vania could see that Mytka had found something again.

"Hi," said Mytka. "Where've you been?"

"Around."

"Know what I found? I found a melon in the forest. Cross my heart—a real melon. It's yellowing already."

This was getting interesting.

"Will you show me?" pleaded Vania.

Mytka made a fist.

"Here it is! Want it? I'll eat that one myself. And it's big, too!"

Mytka laughed gleefully and made his horse rear. Vania wanted to hit him, but Mytka stopped laughing and, coming up close to Vania, whispered in his ear:

"I know where Zhuchok is!"

Vania was shaken by this.

"You're lying. Where?"

"Nothing doing. Give me your white toy pistol and I'll tell you. Otherwise, don't even ask."

Mytka snapped his whip, spurred his stick, and galloped off down the street raising a cloud of dust. Vania stood there for a while and then slowly set off for home. He was angry at Mytka and didn't believe that he knew where Zhuchok was.

* * *

Vania's Zhuchok had gotten into a fight with a rabid dog and had had to be killed. Before they killed him, they tied him to a stake in the yard for two days just to make sure that he had really been infected.

On the first day Zhuchok had been calm. A couple of times he barked steadily for a while, but that was because he didn't like being tied up. Vania watched him from a distance, not understanding why Zhuchok was tied up and why he wasn't allowed to go near him and play with him as usual. When Vania brought out some bread for him, Zhuchok caught it in the air, yelped, and wagged his tail.

The next day Zhuchok was not himself. His eyes had become bloodshot, large, and fierce-looking. He barked raspingly and tore constantly at his leash. Later he put his tail between his legs, raised his head, and began howling, quietly and sorrowfully at first but then more loudly, wildly, uncontrollably. Vania wanted to calm him and brought out some bread. Zhuchok attacked the bread as if it had been a stone thrown at him. He tore at the bread, scattering it everywhere, and

continued to growl and howl.

"Zhuchok, Zhuchok!" Vania called to him.

Zhuchok stretched his head toward the boy and looked at him misty-eyed. In that blank expression, those red, uncomprehending eyes, in the open and frothing mouth, Vania could see what was called madness. Although he didn't know or understand what it was, in his heart Vania could immediately feel that it was a stubborn and ruinous force. It frightened him. Vania ran to his mother.

"Mommy, mommy! What's the matter with Zhuchok?"

Vania was sent out to play, and Zhuchok was shot and dragged off somewhere. Vania cried and begged to see Zhuchok, but he was told that the dog had broken off the leash and had run away. Vania accepted this story and calmed down.

And now Mytko was saying that he knew where Zhuchok was. True, he wanted the white toy pistol, which didn't quite work right, but was still worth keeping. Yet he really wanted to see Zhuchok. After lunch, Vania took out the white toy pistol and looked at it for a long time. He started building a railroad, but that didn't go well. Then Vania called Mytko and told him:

"For this pistol, you show me where Zhuchok is."

Mytko examined the pistol.

"It's not in the best of shape, but it'll do. Isn't your mother going to ask what happened to it?"

"I'll tell her I lost it."

"O.K. Let's go."

"Where?"

"The forest. That's where he is."

"What's he doing there?"

"What do you mean 'What's he doing there?'" laughed Mytko. "He's dead. He's lying there."

Vania's heart thumped and his eyes filled with tears, but he said nothing. They went on.

The forest was large and dense. Going into it was like entering a different world. On one side of the wall of trees were life, sun, day—while on the other side were death and chilly evening. The air smelled of damp soil and vegetation. Last year's grayish-yellow leaves rustled, and the dry fallen branches crackled underfoot. The trees silently raised their gray fungus- and moss-covered trunks to the sky.

From somewhere came the chirp and chatter of unseen creatures that lived in the forest. But this monotonous chatter and singing of distant birds did not disturb the silence that always ruled the forest. On the contrary, they gave to it a finished quality, they made it harmonious.

Above, in the dark thicket of branches locked in a kiss, through which even the brightest daylight couldn't pass, reverberated the songs of the forest, songs as sad as grief itself. These songs called to something great and strange, but unknown. Yet no matter how long you might listen, you won't hear it—no matter how much you might plead, you won't be answered. The forest won't tell you to what its songs, magical as happiness, are calling you.

Mytka and Vania took each other by the hand.

"I'm scared," said Vania. "Why does it rustle?"

"The forest? Good question. Why *does* it rustle?"

They both stopped, deep in thought.

"I think because something is hurting it," said Vania.

"Maybe. Let's hurry up."

They reached the swamp. Their legs sank over the ankles into the cold, sticky mud. The air was so heavy and filled with plant mold and the strong aroma of the colorful swamp flowers that breathing was difficult and unpleasant. Here, by the rustling reeds on the trampled soft grass, lay Zhuchok. On his side, in those places where the buckshot had hit him, little lumps of dry blood glistened red. Above the battered corpse, the air was thick with the unpleasant buzz of a small swarm of greenish-gold flies frightened by the appearance of these two creatures, terrifying and incomprehensible to them. After a moment, the flies again settled down on Zhuchok and scurried around the dried blood, pausing here and there, wherever there was a tasty portion.

Zhuchok's eyes were closed and he seemed to be slowly, almost imperceptibly, breathing. Vania had immediately noticed how rhythmically the mangled side moved.

"He's breathing!" yelled Vania.

"It's true," whispered Mytka. "I didn't notice it before. He's still alive."

They stood still, not knowing what to do.

"You know what," said Mytka gruffly, "let's kill him off so he doesn't suffer anymore."

"How?" asked Vania. "You can't kill anything with the pistol."

"Not with the pistol . . . just with rocks and sticks."

"Let's," said Vania, and he shuddered.

They ran off to gather rocks and collected a whole pile. Mytka threw the first stone. It struck Zhuchok's side with a dull, heavy thud, scaring off the flies. In the swamp, some frogs jumped. Vania threw a stone next, but he missed. It smacked into the wet ground, splattering bits of thin, gray mud in every direction.

Vania seemed to take offense at this. Picking up as many rocks as he could, he ran up to Zhuchok and from a distance of one step began savagely hitting him in the head, side, and stomach. Following Vania, Mytka also ran up, and together the two boys threw even heavier rocks, breathing hard, not remembering anything, and not feeling any desire other than wanting to hit their target and finishing off Zhuchok. Their faces grew long and pale; at times they showed a glint of madness. Something dull and wild gleamed in their wide-open eyes. When the rocks ran out, thick clubs appeared in their hands, and the clubs fell on Zhuchok with sudden, muffled whacks. Mytka's cap had fallen off, and his disheveled hair rose with every swing of his club. In those moments Mytka was frightening.

The beating continued until the clubs fell out of their trembling hands. Then bitter dissatisfaction—because they wanted to continue the beating but had no strength—and a feeling of overwhelming anger, which they hadn't felt before, overcame them. Vania was gasping from exhaustion, gulping air, and barely on his feet. Mytka was only out of breath, swallowing hard from time to time. They glanced at each other and agreeing without speaking, started for Zhuchok to tear him to pieces, pull out his eyes and tongue, grind up his flesh with their teeth. . . . But when they saw Zhuchok, they stopped. Zhuchok was no more. In his place there was only a formless, reddish-gray piece of meat.

"A-a-a-a-a-!" cried out Vania uncontrollably and took to his heels.

Mytka ran off behind him. Tearing away from the clutching branches, tripping and scrambling up again, they ran with arms outstretched to avoid running into the trunk of a tree, for all they saw were black dots and splotches.

At the edge of the forest, they stopped and rested for a few minutes, without saying a word. Then, slowly, they went home. Near his house Vania said in a barely audible whisper,

"Don't tell anyone."

Mytka nodded, took the toy pistol from his pocket, and gave it to Vania.

"Here . . . you can have it back. I don't need it. . . ."

Vania took the pistol; he wasn't surprised that Mytka had given it back.

At home Vania lay down on his bed and buried his head in a pillow. He felt that something bad had been done. It tortured him, drew him in oppressively. Finally he could bear it no longer and began to cry. But the crying made him fear that someone would walk in and see his tears and then surely guess what he'd been doing a half hour earlier. Vania stopped crying, grabbed the pillow with both hands, and rolled over against the wall, so no one could see him. But inside heavy boulders of black despair were rolling onto and crushing the tender breast of this small person. Vania wanted to go somewhere among strangers, where people would think he was a nice, good little boy. Then he felt a sorrow for something that seemed already to be shattered, trampled, never to be brought back again. This sorrow, mixing and blending with the suppressed terror of the punishment he had earned, clamped his chest in a painful grip, and Vania began wailing, his sobs punctuated by long pauses.

"O-o-o-o-!" cried Vania louder and louder.

"U-u-u-u!" he continued, almost hoarse. Then his crying diminished, until it trailed off completely. It seemed he was calm. But after a moment of this uncertain tranquility he would begin bawling again in a variety of shrill tones, until again he calmed down. But because there were no tears, the pressure on Vania's chest grew greater and greater, as if more and more weight were being piled on it. It was as if in his crying Vania wanted to pour out the sorrow, the grief in his heart, that made him feel something had been done that shouldn't have been. But rather than pouring out, the sorrow grew, shrouding Vania in an implacable, dense, and impenetrable fog.

"Oo-oo-a-a-agh," groaned Vania, and in this groaning there was no longer a child crying. It was the shriek of a mother watching her child being tortured. It was the sigh of a man facing death.

His mother and the old nanny ran in and began quieting him and asking what had happened.

"Vania, Vania, my little darling, what's the matter?"

Vania only trembled and clutched at his pillow. He was ashamed to show his face, because it seemed to him everything was written on his face and that everyone would read what Vania was already hiding from himself in the dark recesses of his soul.

"I was running...and I fell and hit myself...very hard...it hurts..." he said, between long pauses, as if he were hiccuping.

"What did you hurt?"

"My knee...over here."

His mother bent over and kissed the injured knee. Vania pressed close and hugged her.

"Mommy, do you love me?"

"Yes, I love you my son, my pet."

* * *

After the episode with Zhuchok, Vania became pensive and withdrawn. He almost never went out to play with his friends. He sat in his room all the time, building a railroad with the toy blocks. At school he did well, keeping up with his homework, but in all his actions there seemed to be a lack of concentration, as if he were always thinking about something else. He also took a liking to horror stories and listened to them with such an expression as if he were seeking an answer to a particular question. His mother, of course, noticed the change in her son's behavior and even mentioned it to the boy's father. But his father had his own explanation: Vania had finally realized that it wasn't appropriate for the son of a respectable landowner to be playing with tomorrow's drivers and lackeys. This was something that could only be applauded. As for Vania becoming thoughtful, that was good too—maybe he was going to be a scholar or a writer. After hearing this explanation, his mother was relieved. And Vania was left alone; no one bothered him any more.

Vania tried not to think about his garden in the gully, and he stopped going there. He left his room rarely and unwillingly, and avoided being left alone anywhere. Even when he was building his railroad, his nanny, granny Anna, who used to take care of him and now just lived with them, knitted gloves, and plucked feathers, would

have to sit in the room with him. When Vania got tired of his railroad, he would sit down beside Anna, take her hand, and ask:

"Tell me about the robbers. . . ."

"What a boy! He wants to hear about robbers! I know nothing about robbers—they're wicked people, and someday they'll all be burning in hell."

"Granny, who else will be in hell?"

"Those who don't listen to their parents, those who fight, those who swear. . . ."

Vania listened, pressing close to the old woman.

"And they will be put into huge caldrons of boiling tar, and the devils, Lord forgive me, will poke at them with iron pitchforks and hang them by their tongues. O Lord, forgive us our trespasses."

Grandmother yawned and made the sign of the cross over her open mouth.

"Granny, will Zhuchok be let into heaven?" asked Vania one day.

"Which Zhuchok? The one we used to have? But that was a dog, an unclean creature. How can he go to heaven? It's a sin to say such things, Vania. God will punish you!"

"Then where will he go?" Vania persisted.

"What do you mean, where? Nowhere. He's dead and that's that."

But Vania imagined it differently. He could clearly see Zhuchok, black and healthy, running around in the green garden of paradise and barking happily while the righteous and the saints threw him pieces of meat and bread. Even God Himself, old and gray, with a long beard and whiskers like those of Iukym, the watchman, was smiling and petting Zhuchok on the neck. Zhuchok was living there very happily.

Now another picture floated before Vania's eyes. In a large gray room, which smells of frying and burning, he and Mytko are being cooked on a large iron pan. It's very painful. Hairy black devils flip them over with sharpened skewers and then toss them into boiling tar while the boys scream and writhe in pain. Sometimes the Blessed Mother comes in and eases the suffering of all the other sinners, but when she reaches them she says:

"Are these the boys who tortured and killed Zhuchok? I don't want to help them. Let them suffer forever and ever. . . ."

Meanwhile, the two boys are pleading, crying, falling to their knees.

* * *

"Mommy, mommy, do you love me?" asked Vania.

"I love you very, very much. What's wrong?"

Sit by me until I fall asleep."

Mother would sit beside him, stroke his head, and give him a kiss from time to time.

"Mommy, tell me, is there a hell?"

"Yes, my darling, that's where sinners go."

"I don't want there to be a hell. . . . Mommy, say there is no hell."

"No, there is a hell, but you needn't worry about it. You're a good and obedient boy."

"Is God good?"

"Yes, He's good. Very good. You pray to Him every morning and evening. It's important to pray to Him."

Vania would become calm, but he still couldn't sleep. The past few evenings it seemed to Vania that some terrible creature had struck its paws in the space between the bed and the wall and was clawing at the wall, as if it wanted to climb up onto the bed from the floor. Terrified, Vania would move closer to the edge of the bed, almost falling off. In the morning he wanted to move the bed closer to the wall, but there was no place to move it. The bed already stood right against the wall.

"How can anything get a paw through there?" Vania wondered.

He thought about it for a long time, but he said nothing to his mother or granny. That's when he started asking his mother to sit beside him until he fell asleep. The first evening his mother sat by him, there wasn't any scratching under the bed, but on the second night, Vania could again hear something moving and clacking its teeth. He squeezed his mother's hand and, breathing hard, asked:

"Mommy, don't you hear anything?"

"No, son, what is it?"

"Nothing. . . . Are there any wolves around here?"

"No, they never come here. They live far, far away. You go to sleep now, sleep."

Earlier Vania had thought that maybe a wolf was trying to get into his room at night to steal him, just as a wolf had stolen the girl in that story granny had told him. But if there weren't any wolves around, then it must be Zhuchok wanting to bite Vania because he had beaten

him. Like sharp pinpoints, this thought kept piercing the child's brain, stopping his breathing and chilling his skin. As he was drifting off to sleep, Vania would curl up in fear and mumble:

"Zhuchok . . . forgive me . . . don't bite."

Eventually, during the day Vania didn't mention Zhuchok at all. He laughed and played with his friends. He even thought it was time to visit his garden. But as evening approached, something seemed to dispel his happiness and laughter. He became moody. As darkness covered the world, Vania would become deeply troubled by every rustle. Vania would go to bed with an unpleasant, sorrowful feeling, and even though his mother or grandmother sat beside him, he knew that the black paws would come out from beneath the bed and he would hear the clacking of teeth. With a tense, faint heart and a heavy head he would wait for it to begin. And when the stubborn scratching of claws on the wall began, Vania would feel a terrible satisfaction. It could be no other way—Zhuchok had to and would take his revenge.

* * *

Vania wanted very much to go into the forest to look at Zhuchok and perhaps make his peace with him. He had already approached the silent wall of trees a few times, but he hadn't been able to go in. He was ashamed before the trees, which had seen how he had beaten Zhuchok with rocks and sticks. It seemed to him that if he went up to the spot where Zhuchok lay, the willows that leaned over the bog would moan:

"Go away, you bad boy. Away from here. Your place is in hell."

And the birds would repeat the same words in their songs, and the reeds in their rustling, and the forest in its whispering.

Once, roaming at the edge of the forest, Vania, with trembling heart and beclouded mind, went in. As before, it was dark, clammy, and cold. Carefully hiding behind the trees, Vania approached the swamp. When he was still at some distance, the stench of rotting flesh assailed him. What was once Zhuchok now wasn't even a yellowish-gray piece of meat, but a putrefying black carcass. At first, Vania didn't notice it among all the rocks, but on coming closer, he scared off a swarm of flies and an army of scurrying, long-legged black beetles.

Vania stood for a long time watching the becalmed flies and beetles finishing what was left of Zhuchok's body. He no longer took notice of the nauseating stench of decay that filled the air. He thought about how he couldn't do anything for Zhuchok any more, about how he'd like to do something and by this "something" atone for his sin. If only a sorcerer would walk out from the thick of the reeds with a golden staff and say:

"Vania, if you wish, I will eat you and then Zhuchok will live."

Without hesitation Vania would respond:

"Eat, the faster, the better."

But the sorcerer didn't come. If only a good angel would fly down from heaven with Zhuchok alive and well in his arms. If only Zhuchok would say:

"Vania, I'm not angry at you."

But there was nothing, no one. The sky was clear as light, a bee droned monotonously over a red flower.

Then, with a long sigh the seven-year-old fell on his knees in the thick green grass, and sinking into the cold slimy mud, with lowered head and arms raised to the heavens, cried:

"Zhuchok, dear. I know you're in heaven, I know you like it there. . . . Forgive me. Say you forgive me."

There was no answer.

"He doesn't want to forgive me. That's what I deserve," thought Vania as he slowly got up. A silent sorrow sucked at his heart. Now Vania was quite sure that Zhuchok would seek revenge. Ready to go home, Vania stepped up to the black meat one more time. Once again the flies flew off with an angry buzz and the beetles ran away with a faint rustle. Vania examined the filthy carcass closely and thought about how it was his fault that only this revulsion and ugliness was left of Zhuchok.

"Zhuchok," he whispered.

A frog croaked in the swamp and the reeds began swaying with even greater solicitude. Suddenly Vania noticed the stale, morbid smell of decay rising from beneath his feet. Breathing made him feel nauseous, as if smelly dishwater were being poured into his chest. Anger, sudden and overwhelming, took possession of Vania. With eyes aflame he began trampling the putrid meat, which made a smacking sound with each kick.

"I'm not afraid of you, you accursed beast. If you won't forgive me, then take this!" yelled Vania. His savage desecration over, he laughed; his laughter echoed across the indifferent swamp and died in the reeds.

"I'm not scared of you," Vania said with conviction and went home.

Walking past the red boar, he stopped and spent a long time scratching its sides with a stick. Then he remembered the eggplant he had long since put on the pigpen to ripen. He scrambled up to get it, but the sparrows had long since pecked it to pieces. By now, many eggplants had ripened, so Vania wasn't very angry with the thievish sparrows. At home he ran straight to his mother and said with a guilty smile:

"Mommy, I was playing around a bog and fell and dirtied my pants. Don't be angry, Mommy. Give me another pair, I'll go play on the street."

Mother quietly pulled his ear, but gave him clean pants right away, and a short while later Vania was out on the street playing horseback on a fine hemp stalk and trying to outpace the best riders.

That evening Vania resolutely announced that his mother didn't need to sit beside him any more. And indeed, nothing tried clawing its way up the wall.

"Aha, so you got scared," whispered Vania happily.

That night, when everyone else was asleep, Vania awoke when he felt someone choking him. He opened his eyes and saw that it was his mother. She was leaning over him and squeezing his throat with one hand.

"Why . . . are you . . . choking me?" gasped Vania.

But, half-awake, he had been mistaken. It wasn't his mother, but a snake that had wound itself around his neck. Vania wanted to tear it off, when suddenly it wasn't a snake but Zhuchok that had caught him by the throat and was gnawing at his neck, which felt heavy and ticklish. Vania grabbed Zhuchok with both hands and, straining with all his might, tore him away from his throat.

"What is this, Zhuchok?" asks Vania. "We lived together nicely, every day I brought you bread, bones, and sometimes even meat, and now you're biting me."

"Have you forgotten how you beat me?" snarls Zhuchok, sparks flying from his eyes.

At this Vania froze. Suddenly he saw a devil with a pitchfork climbing out from under the bed and baring his teeth in a malicious smile. Behind him... another one... and another. There were many of them, all big, black, and hideous! His teeth chattering from the cold terror that gripped him with its icy fingers, Vania stretched out his hand to defend himself, when Zhuchok sprang from the bed to the door and hid behind it; he was followed by all the devils.

Vania felt that he had to get out of bed and run through the doorway past the door behind which Zhuchok and the devils were hiding. Vania also knew that when he did, they would all jump out of hiding, attack him, bite him, and pierce him with pitchforks. The icy terror that numbed his legs and made them tremble was spreading and taking hold of the rest of Vania's body, crushing his chest in its powerful, cold embrace and cramping his arms. There was a pounding in his head as if pebbles were raining on it. Vania wanted to shout for help, but his entire being was imprisoned in an iron cage and he could move neither his lips nor his tongue. His breathing was failing, his heart was stopping, and his entire body was numb; the invisible pebbles kept raining on his head even harder. Vania jumped up and ran.... By the door something dark, slimy, and cold attacked him. It engulfed Vania completely, squeezed him, and forced itself into his mouth, causing him to feel sickening nausea. He squirmed, writhed, and flailed out with his arms and legs; hoarsely he mumbled something incomprehensible and struggled with his whole body, resisting with his head while it squeezed him tighter and tighter.... He could no longer move. The awareness of his helplessness terribly distressed Vania. He felt life slipping away from him. With superhuman strength, he jerked, threw off the slimy creature, and with halting breath awoke.

At the same moment he heard furious clawing and stubborn gnashing of teeth from under the bed. Vania screamed in someone else's voice and fainted.

March 19, Pavlohrad

Translated by Maxim Tarnawsky

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Vichna iomu pamiat!

GUIDE TO RESEARCH

Marta Tarnawsky

UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH PUBLISHED SINCE 1980*

Part I

Books and Pamphlets

Antonenko-Davydovych, Borys.

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Doncaster, Australia: Bayda Books, 1980. 173 pp.

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*An attempt will be made to provide an ongoing, comprehensive coverage of books and pamphlets, as well as articles, book reviews, and translations of poetry, prose, and drama published in journals and collections. Persons wishing to bring additional material to my attention are requested to write to me at the University of Pennsylvania Law Library, 3400 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Inclusion of a title will be postponed, however, until the item is personally examined and until the bibliographical information is verified.

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Poem.

Drach, Ivan.

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Poem.

Drach, Ivan.

"Two Sisters (Two Old Sisters, Dry and Wan and Thin)." Translated by Dorian Rottenberg. In *Land of the Soviets in Verse and Prose*, 1. Compiled by Vladimir Tsybin. Edited by Galina Dzyubenko. Moscow: Progress, 1982. 392.

Poem.

Holoborodko, Vasyl.

"Katerina (Among Stools Scattered over the Yard)." Translated by Bohdan Boychuk. *Pequod* 16/17 (1984): 201-204.

Poem.

Gonchar [Honchar], Oles.

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Short story.

Honchar, Oles.

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Gonchar [Honchar], Oles.

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Novel.

Gutsalo, Evgen [Hutsalo, Ievhen].

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Short story.

Yanovsky, Yuri [Ianovsky, Iurii].

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Short story.

Yanovsky, Yuri [Ianovsky, Iurii].

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Short story.

Kaly nec [Kalynets], Ihor.

"Castle (Castle of Neatly Arranged Corridors)"; "In This Immense Aquarium"; "Our Whole Little Province." Translated by Bohdan Boychuk. *Pequod* 16/17 (1984): 198-200.

Poems.

Khmeliuk, Vasyi

"The Ladies' Pissior (The Sun Was Cringing)"; "When Will My Auntie Come for Me (I Said This to Myself)." Translated by Paul Pines. *Pequod* 16/17 (1984): 182-84.

Poems.

Korotich, Vitali [Korotych, Vitalii].

"The Beginning (I Sprang from This Place)." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 138.

Poem.

Korotich, Vitali [Korotych, Vitalii].

"End of Shift (They Leave Together)"; "**** (A Young Girl Runs across the Street)." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1980, no. 6 (387): 80, 82.

Poems.

Korotich, Vitali [Korotych, Vitalii].

"A Young Girl Runs across the Street." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Life*, May 1982: 20.

Poem.

Lesytch, Wadym [Lesych, Vadym].

"Catharsis of War (They Cicatrize Like Shadows Lost in a Trill)." Translated by Elaine Epstein. *Pequod* 16/17 (1984): 189-90.

Poem.

Lesytch, Wadym [Lesych, Vadym].

"From Illusions (II)." Translated by Eugenia Vassylkivsky; "The Parchment of Memory." Translated by Patricia Kilina. *The International Portland Review*, 1980: 415, 417.

Poems.

Lohvin, Yuri [Lohvyn, Iurii].

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Short story. Translator not indicated.

Lubkivsky, Roman.

"The Basket of Apples (Their Baskets, Bags and Buckets)." Translated by Michelle MacGrath. *Soviet Literature*, 1980, no. 6 (387): 89-90.

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Poems.

Malyshko, Andrei [Andrii].

"The Road Flanked by Sycamores (Look Back! I'm Here, and We Need One Another)." Translated by Irina Zheleznova. *Soviet Life*, May 1982: 30.

Poem.

Malyshko, Andrei [Andrii].

"Song of Kiev (Chestnuts in Flower)." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 128-29.

Poem.

Malyshko, Andrei [Andrii].

"Sonnets of Obukhov Road (from the cycle) (I'm from Those Parts Where the Skies Are Drowned in Grasses)." Translated by Walter May; "*** (I Shall Choose My Music's Colours)." Translated by David Sinclair-Loutit. In *Land of the Soviets in Verse and Prose*, 1. Compiled by Vladimir Tsybin. Edited by Galina Dzyubenko. Moscow: Progress, 1982. 324-25.

Poems.

Nagnibeda, Mikola [Nahnybida, Mykola].

"To My Brother Konstantin (Listen, Brother)." Translated by Gladys Evans. *Soviet Life*, May 1982: 47.

Poem.

Nestaiko, Vsevolod.

"Mark 'One'—for Lying." Translated by Anatoli Bilenko. *Soviet Literature*, 1983, no. 8 (425): 48-59, 62-67.

Excerpt of a novel.

Oleinik, Boris [Oliinyk, Borys].

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Poem.

Oleinik, Boris [Oliinyk Borys].

"Song about Mother (She Richly Sowed Cornfields of Life)." Translated by Michelle MacGrath; "*** (The Good Too Soon This Life Depart)." Translated by Jessie Davies. *Soviet Literature*, 1980, no. 6 (387): 112, 114.

Journal

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Oleinik, Boris [Oliynyk, Borys].

**** (Spacemen Will Make Their Home in the Universe); "Diptych (For All the Gifts Conferred on You by Life. Make Full Repayment)"; **** (The Woman You Love)." Translated by Peter Tempest; **** (All Goes a Familiar Round)." Translated by Diana Russell; "The Human Palm (Daisy Chains Are Stowed Away)." Translated by Peter Tempest; "Melody (I Shall Secretly Grieve)." Translated by Vicky Reuter; **** (Not One Is Forgotten)." Translated by Diana Russell; "Imitation of a Song (Under the Window)." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1981, no. 11 (404): 134-39.

Poems.

Olzhych, Oleh.

"Dutch Painting (I Wiped the Heavy Oak Benches Clean)"; "Aquarium (Pause for a Moment on the Gloomy Staircase)." Translated by Bohdan Boychuk and David Ignatow. *Pequod* 16/17 (1984): 187-88.

Poems.

Panasenko, Leonid.

"A Canvas for Siqueiros (A Fantastic Tale)." *Soviet Literature*, 1981, no. 9 (402): 179-84.

Science fiction.

Translator not indicated.

Panasenko, Leonid.

"The Dialogue." Translated by Diana Russell. *Soviet Literature*, 1981, no. 1 (406): 111-18.

Short story; author's afterword, 118-19.

Pavlychko, Dmitro [Dmytro].

"From 'Kiev sonnets': A Cycle of Poems: *** (When Chestnuts Flower in the Spring); **** (Come to Me in Moscow)," Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 133.

Sonnets.

Pluzhnyk, Evhen [Ievhen].

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Poems.

Rylsky, Maxim [Maksym].

"Autumn Kiev (It's Not the First Time, Kiev, I Have Praised You)." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 110-11.

Poem.

Rylsky, Maxim [Maksym].

"Friendship (I Know a Flower)." Translated by Dorian Rottenberg. *Soviet Life*, May 1982: 29.

Poem.

Rylsky, Maxim [Maksym].

"My Country's Son Am I (My Country's Son Am I. You Hear Me, Judas)." Translated by Walter May. In *Land of the Soviets in Verse and Prose*, 1. Compiled by Vladimir Tsybin. Edited by Galina Dzyubenko. Moscow: Progress, 1982. 207-208.

Poem.

Schevchenko [Shevchenko], Taras.

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Poem.

Sosyura, Vladimir [Sosiura, Volodymyr].

"*** (The City Pulse Vibrates and All Its Streets)." Translated by Natalia Alexandrova. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 111.

Poem.

Sosyura, Vladimir [Sosiura, Volodymyr].

"Young Komsomol (Ballad) (The Battle Was Over... Silk Yellow-blue Wisps)"; "To a Youth (Grey Dnieper's Beating Waves Are Heard)." Translated by Walter May. In *Land of the Soviets in Verse and Prose*, 1. Compiled by Vladimir Tsybin. Edited by Galina Dzyubenko. Moscow: Progress, 1982. 109-10.

Poems.

Tarnawsky, Yuriy [Tarnavsky, Iurii].

"Every Wound Has a Name"; "Questionnaire XVIII." Translated by the author. *Pequod* 16/17 (1984): 193-96.

A poem and a poem in prose.

Tarnawsky, Yuriy [Tarnavsky, Iurii].

"He Died in a Barbershop." Translated by the author. *The International Portland Review*, 1980: 412-13.

Poem.

Tarnawsky [Tarnavsky], Ostap.

"Exit to Doom." *PEN International* 32, no. 2 (1982): 35-42.

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Tychina [Tychyna], Pavlo.

"The Feeling of One Family (I'll Stand My Ground. They Need Not Lure Me)." Translated by Alex Miller. In *Land of the Soviets in Verse and Prose*, 1. Compiled by Vladimir Tsybin. Edited by Galina Dzyubenko. Moscow: Progress, 1982. 155-56.

Journal

Poem.

Tychina [Tychyna], Pavlo.

"Kiev (You Are Our Honour, Beauty and Our Pride)." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 109-10.

Poem.

Voronko, Platon.

"*** (I'm Heading Now for Kiev)." Translated by Vicky Reuter. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 129.

Poem.

Voronko, Platon.

"No Higher Honour Do I Know (I Witness an Undying Generation)." Translated by Peter Tempest. *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 4 (421): 3.

Poem.

Zemlyak, Vasil [Zemliak, Vasyl].

"Dialogue with the City." *Soviet Literature*, 1982, no. 5 (410): 130-32.

Excerpts of a novel; translator not indicated.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

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THE OFFICIAL SOVIET VIEW OF UKRAINIAN
HISTORIOGRAPHY

L.A. KOVALENKO, *ISTORIOHRAFIIA ISTORII UKRAINSKOI RSR VID NAIDAVNISHYKH CHASIV DO VELYKOI ZHOVTNEVOI SOTSIALISTYCHNOI REVOLIUTSII*. Kiev: Vyshcha Shkola, 1983. 118 pp.

The study of Ukrainian historical writing and, more broadly, historical writing about Ukraine is a relatively young discipline, whose evolution is marked by sharp discontinuity and political restrictions. The first general survey of pre-19th-century Ukrainian historiography was written by the Russian scholar Vladimir Ikonnikov and published in volume two of his magisterial *Opyt russkoi istoriografii* (Kiev, 1908, pp. 1560–1900). This was followed in 1910 and 1914 by two studies by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, which for the first time covered 19th-century historians.¹ Poltava-born Volodymyr (Vladimir) Picheta included a short section on Ukrainian historiography in his *Vvedenie v russkuiu istoriiu* (Moscow, 1922). The seminal and still indispensable survey of the subject, Dmytro Doroshenko's *Ohliad ukrainskoi istoriografii*, was published in Prague a year later.² A second, complementary survey, Dmytro Bahalii's two-part *Narys ukrainskoi istoriografii* (Kiev, 1923, 1925), examined Ukrainian historiography up to the end of the 18th century; Bahalii brought his study up to the 20th century in the introductory chapter of his *Narys istorii Ukrainy na sotsiialno-ekonomichnomu hrunti* (Kharkiv, 1928).³ Finally, although limited to a discussion of the role of the cossack chronicles in 18th- and

19th-century Ukrainian intellectual history, two very important articles written by Hrushevsky in the 1930s should not be overlooked by any student of Ukrainian historiography)⁴; they are significant not only because of their scholarly value, but also because they marked the end of serious writing on Ukrainian historiography for over two decades.

From 1932 to 1953, the Stalinist terror dealt Ukrainian scholarship such a blow that it did not begin to recover until the late 1950s. Its dramatic impact on intellectual life is reflected in the accounts of Ukrainian historiography found in volumes one and three of the collectively written *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR* (1955 and 1963, 10,000 copies).⁵ Containing such analytical categories as "aristocratic nationalist" and "bourgeois aristocrat" alongside comparisons of historians and such writers as Pushkin, Belinsky, and Ivan Franko, this compendium has no academic value for anyone truly interested in Ukrainian historiography. It is, however, of some interest, as it exemplifies the party line on this subject just before de-Stalinization; its bibliography is also of some, albeit limited, use.

The publication of Mykhailo Marchenko's *Ukrainska istoriografiia (z davnikh chasiv do seredyny XIX st.)* (Kiev, 1959) marked the reemergence of the scholarly study of Ukrainian historiography in the USSR. Published in an edition of 5,000 copies, this survey appeared during the shortlived post-1956 "thaw" and was quite an improvement over the first volume of the above-mentioned compendium. Marchenko did not lapse into vulgar Marxism or extreme Russophilism, and except for fleeting mentions of Shevchenko, he dealt only with historians and historical writing in the conventional sense of the term. Regrettably, a projected volume covering the last half of the 19th century was never published, even though it was mentioned in the introduction.

The next Soviet survey of Ukrainian historiography, Mykola Kotliar's *Istorychne mynule ukrainskoho narodu i zarubizhni falsyfikatory*, was published in an edition of 23,000 copies in Kiev in 1974. This 80-page booklet was limited to 19th- and early 20th-century writing. Written at the beginning of the post-Shelest purge, its contents reflect the times. The author explained to readers that his purpose was to provide an outline of the evolution of "reactionary, separatist views about the historical past of the Ukrainian nation." But, in fact, his work was limited to a tendentious examination of how Russian-Ukrainian relations were interpreted by a few selected historians and their "progressive merits."⁶ In Soviet parlance this means judging what was

written in the past according to the prevailing party line.⁷

As a rule, surveys of Ukrainian historiography begin with the 12th-century Primary Chronicle or *Povist vremmenykh lit.* They then cover the chronicles of the Galician-Volynian principality, the so-called Western Rus' chronicles (most of which were actually written in what is today Belorussia), and the early 17th-century chronicles written in the Ukrainian lands of the *Rzeczpospolita*. An important place is accorded to the late 17th- and 18th-century cossack chronicles. The surveys finish with the historical works of the 19th- and early 20th-century intelligentsia. Most also discuss Russian and Polish historiography about Ukraine. Historiographic studies written before 1956 tended to highlight the link between historical writing and the development of Ukrainian national consciousness; this, for example, was the underlying theme of Doroshenko's survey.

Official Soviet studies of Ukrainian historiography written since Stalin's death have adhered to this broad interpretative framework. But they contain four very important differences. First, the Kievan Rus' period and its historiography is presented as the common heritage of the Eastern Slavs. Second, the role of historical consciousness in the development of Ukrainian national consciousness is downplayed; what is stressed instead is the importance of an alleged historical memory of Eastern Slavic ethnic affinity, which is supposed to have played a decisive role in Ukrainian history. At times this practice is taken to extremes and the "memory" is imputed to any historical text in which there is a reference to Ukrainian-Russian relations. Third, Soviet studies draw a sharp distinction between prerevolutionary historians who concentrated on socioeconomic history and those who did not. This difference has almost become the sole criterion used to analyze post-18th-century historians, who are graded according to the degree of materialism in their *Weltanschauung*. In the case of non-Russian historians, another important criterion is used to establish whether or not they were "progressive": their interpretation of the relationship between Russia and their own country. Finally, Soviet historiographic surveys lump academic writing and history together with historical opinions and reflections of non-historians and ideas held by the *narod* about the past.

The first three of these innovations are questionable to say the least, but because they stem from party dictates they must be adhered to and espoused by all who wish to publish in the USSR. Since the appearance of Stalin's notorious *Short Course* in 1938 (which Leszek

Kolakowski has called one of the party's most important instruments of mind control and a device for the destruction of critical thought and the people's memory of their past), history, if not all existence for people in the USSR, has been defined as an unalterable cosmic drama, similar in kind to the medieval European theological image of the universe. The modern Soviet drama, like its medieval counterpart, is something man can define, understand, and modify slightly, but not alter. Man can only play out and describe the drama in the way "historical forces" demand. Within this scheme, intelligence and scholarship have an extremely limited role. Knowledge as represented and used by the party has the function of teaching the revealed truth about the drama, while lower down in the hierarchy, scholars must demonstrate the truth of revealed preconception and reconcile past and present reality with the rational pattern of society laid down in the faith as expressed in the party line. The immediate response by a critical person not obliged to share this faith to assertions derived from its premises is one of disbelief, if not rejection. For some, there is an instinctive urge to refute such assertions. But refutation by an "unbeliever" cannot have any impact on the Soviet cosmic drama as it is expressed in the party line, because the unbeliever does not approach it in its own terms. One can, of course, approach this cosmic drama and its various theoretical offshoots as a critical believer, but as long as there exists a single authority claiming infallibility of interpretation, such a critic will only be a heretic, and thus isolated and liable to suffer for his thoughts a fate worse than any unbeliever might.

Insofar as the current official Soviet interpretation of Ukrainian history is concerned, its details were elaborated and fitted into the drama in 1947 and then "codified" seven years later in the notorious *Theses on the 300th Anniversary of the Reunification of Ukraine with Russia*. Since the late 1940s, therefore, official dogma has been informing the faithful that the Eastern Slavs were one nation in the 10th century; that the memory of "ancient unity" played an important role in explaining Ukrainian-Russian relations; and that the Ukrainians and Russians were so close throughout history that different social and economic structures did nothing to lessen an alleged affinity deduced from superficial similarities in language and religion.⁸ Although it is claimed that these assertions, like all Soviet ideological pronouncements, are "scientific," meaning that they are supposedly based on empirical study, the unfaithful usually regard them as outright lies. Indeed, it is frequently the case that even those who formulate the assertions do not believe them. For purposes of analysis, however, this is irrelevant. It is

preferable and more useful to regard official Soviet ideological assertions not as statements to be judged according to criteria of empirical truth and validity, but as magical incantations that are immune to such notions. Like all incantations and illusions, they will become "true" if they change behavior and perception, and this is probably why the party devotes such time, energy, and resources to censorship and "ideological work." Of course, unbelievers and heretics criticizing party-decreed assertions concerning, say, Ukrainian history may influence and convince individuals in the USSR that party pontification is usually nonsense. Or they might confirm and reinforce an already existing cynical awareness of this fact. This is perhaps the only rationale for engaging in political or historical debates with the Soviets, which, in public at least, resemble medieval theological disputations more than modern secular scholarly discourse in which propositions are subject to empirical verification. But such criticism and comments will have little impact on the continued existence of the cosmic drama, which will continue to be propagated in the USSR and thereby continue to have its intended deadening effect on all those not exposed to unbelievers and heretics, on those totally indifferent to matters of humanist knowledge and intellect, and on the cynics—who unavoidably must be either hypocrites or schizophrenics.

The fourth innovation, however, does not stem from politics and magic,⁹ but reflects a legitimate methodological approach to the study of knowledge in and about the past. The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, for example, noted that mental activity need not be sharply divided between "scientific" and "non-scientific" forms, insofar as all cognition is an expression of the consciousness of social groups. Accordingly, one can distinguish only between more and less primitive forms of this consciousness. Phenomenologists have also argued along these lines, noting that there are two kinds of historical knowledge. One, an "official" or elite history, has permanence because it is written down, logically rationalized, and supported by social, political, and economic power. The other kind, an "unofficial" or popular history, exists for the most part only in people's consciousnesses, is not methodical, is usually unwritten, and is therefore impermanent and malleable.¹⁰ Phenomenologists have not elaborated on the nature of the relationship between these two kinds of history, but it does seem to be the case that "unofficial" history satisfies a desire for affective sensibility not provided by "official" history, and that throughout time one kind of history has displaced the other. It might be added that this relativistic approach

towards historiography necessarily ignores the question of whether the historical knowledge being studied is true or false. Accordingly, official Soviet determinist-materialist ideology must be invoked by the party to justify to academics why it cannot publish works written according to relativistic principles. Thus, phenomenology is dismissed because it is an "idealist" philosophy, while Gramsci's approach cannot be fully exploited because it postulates that science and all knowledge is not a "copy" of something that exists as independent of man, but a reflection of reality as it is known. Phenomenology is taboo for Soviet scholars because it suspends judgement on matters of truth and validity, while Gramsci's paradigm is incompatible with official Soviet ideology because it leads to the dangerous conclusion that science, Marxism included, is ultimately part of the "superstructure" and not the "base."¹¹ Gramsci postulated that there is no such thing as "correct" knowledge that can be discovered and evolved only by an elite and then "injected" into a movement or society as the only "true consciousness." This is directly opposed to the fundamental tenet of Russian-Bolshevik Marxism, as anyone who has read Lenin's *What Is to Be Done* and *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* will know.

Soviet historians of historical thought are therefore in an unenviable position. On the one hand, they are required to include in their works considerations of academic historiography, the historical ideas of the chosen saints of Bolshevik hagiography (Belinsky, Dobroliubov, et al), their "materialist" and "progressive" predecessors, and, finally, the historical ideas of the "working people" or "*narod*". On the other hand they are denied the freedom to develop the kind of theory or model their approach and material demand. The three kinds of knowledge they must deal with clearly represent different levels of historical consciousness. The historical memory of a peasant, as expressed in a folk song for example, is not the same thing as a formal and closely reasoned academic tract, and both of these, in turn, differ from political tracts or literary reviews that contain historical information. Obviously, all three images of the past can be studied and indeed are worthy of study. But they simply require strict delineation and methodological rigor in analysis and presentation. But because Soviet historians attempt such reconstructions of historical consciousness without the requisite methodology and rigor that phenomenology and Gramsci's Marxism—to mention only two theories—can provide, they are unable to write good surveys of historiography. For a Western reader, their work appears as a hodgepodge of persons and ideas

vaguely related to the history of materialism and Marxism in Russia and to "the history of the Fatherland," which is Soviet jargon for the history of Russia and its empire; the empirically correct term, the "history of the nationalities of the USSR," is no longer used. The official hodgepodge that now passes for Ukrainian historiography consists of writings, songs, sayings, and party resolutions whose subject is the Ukrainian nation.

A recent example of this kind of academic potluck is provided by the book under review here. Published in 3,000 copies and written as a textbook for teachers' colleges, it, according to its introduction, is supposed to serve as an addendum to *Istoriografiia istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do Velikoi Oktiabrskoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii*, which was published in Moscow in 1971 in 23,000 copies. The introduction very clearly lists the principles that now guide Soviet research on Ukrainian historiography. Thus, besides demonstrating the influence of the "Marxist-Leninist tradition" in Ukrainian historiography, scholars should show the "positive contribution" of "progressive" historians to the writing of the "pre-October period" (Soviet jargon for the centuries preceeding 1917) and unmask the "anti-scholarly" and "anti-national" character of Ukrainian "aristocratic and bourgeois-nationalist" historiography" (p. 6).

The title of Kovalenko's survey is patently absurd: it purports to deal with pre-1917 historiography about the Ukrainian SSR even though this political entity only came into existence after 1917. Admittedly, the title does make some sense, insofar as the book seems to divide, classify, and discuss material according to whether it was "progressive" or "reactionary," and not according to the criterion of nationality. Although nationality does not seem to be a category of analysis, however, and the term "Ukrainian" is not even used in reference to pre-1800 historiography written either in Ukraine or by Ukrainians, one quickly discovers that, in fact, Kovalenko deals methodically only with Ukrainians and Russians. "Ukrainian," meanwhile, appears for the first time on p. 53 in the phrase "reactionary... Ukrainian aristocratic nationalist historiography." Thereafter the adjectival form is usually used in similar formulations, and only five Ukrainian historians—Oleksandra Iefymenko, Ivan Novytsky, Orest Levytsky, Oleksander Lazarevsky, and Volodymyr Barvinsky—are described as both "Ukrainian" and "progressive," though not unconditionally (pp. 77, 80). It emerges, therefore, that the book's title is not only absurd, but that it does not correctly define the

survey's subject matter. Anyone reading the title would think the book was a survey of the most important, if not all, persons of all nationalities who had ever written anything about Ukrainian history. In fact, the book consists of a highly selective survey; Kovalenko does not explain why only Russians, or for that matter Ukrainians, are discussed, why only seven non-Ukrainians and non-Russians appear in it, and why only these seven and not others were chosen. Specifically, one Frenchman (Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan), two Austrians (Erich Lassota von Steblau and Johann-Christian Engel), and two Poles (Jakub Sobieski and Szymon Okolski) are included in the section dealing with early-modern memoir literature (pp. 27–8), while two German Jews (Marx and Engels) are included for obvious ideological reasons (pp. 83–5). In passing it might be noted that the omission of the Ukrainianized German Oleksander Rigelman is particularly baffling.

In keeping with post-1953 Soviet practice, Kovalenko devotes about as much space to Skovoroda, the Decembrists, Pushkin, Belinsky, Gogol, Lenin, Franko, Marx, Shevchenko, Herzen, poetry, and folk songs as he does to actual historians and academic historiography. This assorted mix is presented in rough chronological order with little discussion of interrelationships, influences, or relevance. Exceptionally unmethodical is the treatment of folk or popular history, which is mentioned up to p. 44, that is, to the middle of the 18th century, but not thereafter. Similarly, the section on memoir literature mentioned above appears out of nowhere and is the only such section in the book. Nonetheless, what to cynics and critical unbelievers appears as little more than a conglomeration of facts randomly strung together does presumably satisfactorily demonstrate to the authorities how prerevolutionary Ukrainian and Russian historians worked together on questions of Ukrainian history, how Marxism and Leninism played a vital role in the evolution of historiography about Ukraine, and how “aristocratic” and “bourgeois nationalist” Ukrainian historiography was “anti-scientific” and “anti-national.” Obviously, if the book did not succeed in doing this, it would not have been approved by the Ministry of Education as a textbook.

A rather disconcerting feature of Kovalenko's survey is the disproportionate attention it gives 19th- and early 20th-century writing. Whereas almost 900 years of pre-19th-century historiography is covered in a mere 40 pages, the historiography of the 120 years preceding 1917 is allotted 67 pages. The treatment of the earlier period, however, is somewhat better than the treatment of the latter period, because in

dealing with pre-19th-century historiography, Kovalenko focused on the major historical works and did not go off on dogmatically inspired tangents too often. Nonetheless, the first part of the text does contain its share of contentious statements. For example, on p. 16 we read: "Thus the political conception of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle does not contain any notion of a "separate 'Ukrainian Kingdom'." On p. 19 we are told that the "systematic excursions" into Ukrainian history found in 15th- and 16th-century Muscovite chronicles were a form of "moral support" for the Ukrainians! On pp. 38–39 we are told that owing to Peter's reforms the level of historical thought rose in Russia, and that this in turn influenced the work of Hryhorii Hrabianka, Samiilo Velychko, and Teofan Prokopovych! An example of the kinds of assertions found in the second part of the book is provided by the following sentence: "The initial premise of the philosophical and political views of M. Kostomarov and P. Kulish was the belief that bourgeois society and its economic foundations are eternal" (p. 59). Granted. "But so what?" the unbeliever will ask. "Was the history they wrote worse because of this?" "Yes," the believer will reply. "Cannot the devil speak the truth?" the unbeliever will ask. Here again, at least since 1956, the believer can reply affirmatively, and Kovalenko can note that valuable factual material is to be found in Hrushevsky's multivolume magnum opus. But this admission is followed by a condemnation of the Ukrainian socialist historian's interpretation of Ukrainian history that is longer than the criticism of the interpretation of Ukrainian history found in the works of the leading 19th-century Russian conservative and liberal historians (pp. 57–58, 68)—men whose views had as great an impact on the image of the Ukrainian past as did Hrushevsky's. Clearly, some devils lie more than others and are more dangerous.

The isolationist, theology-like approach of Kovalenko's survey is reflected by its failure to discuss historiography in a broader intellectual context. No mention is made of Christian eschatology, Scholasticism, humanism, or Enlightenment rationalism in the discussion of pre-19th-century historiography, while the impact of Romantic nationalism, "scientific history," positivism, neo-Romanticism, and neo-positivism in the 19th century is summarized as "Various [idealist] 19th-century philosophical trends constituted the methodological principles of historical works written during this time" (p. 48). By the 20th century these have become "reactionary idealist philosophical teachings" and "eclectic historiosophy" (p. 105). Those seeking more detail will find only the following sentence: "Bourgeois historians

became infatuated with Rickertism [the thought of Heinrich Rickert] and neo-Darwinism" (p. 73). Even Marxism is not actually described as an intellectual current. Instead, the reader is provided with a short summary of observations that Marx and Engels happened to have made about Ukraine (pp. 82–85), which notably omits Marx's description of the Zaporozhian Sich as a "Christian republic." Then, on p. 93, the period of 1895–1917 is set apart and called the "beginning of the Leninist stage in historiography," and the next five pages try to explain how Lenin's conception of Russian history is related to Ukraine. Interestingly, more space is accorded Lenin than any other person mentioned in the book, including Marx, Sergei Solovov, Volodymyr Antonovych, and Iurii Andropov (pp. 112–13). Hrushevsky, meanwhile, receives about as much space as Nikolai Chernyshevsky (pp. 74–75, 106–8).

The final point that should be made concerns the proclivity of Soviet Ukrainian scholars in the humanities to use primitive and boorish language when dealing with those prerevolutionary Ukrainians unfortunate enough not to have found their way into the august ranks of those who today are regarded as "progressive" (pp. 59, 70–71, 108–9). One might assume this is simply another aspect of the theology-like structure of humanities scholarship in the USSR. However, a leisurely perusal of studies published in Moscow or Leningrad on prerevolutionary conservative and liberal Russian historians will demonstrate that the primitiveness of some Soviet Ukrainian scholars is not a reflection of a broader "all-Union" phenomenon. Studies about Russian historians, as a case in point, contain methodologically limited but reasoned analysis and criticism, and their authors rarely use terms harsher than "bourgeois," while studies about Ukrainian historians usually contain invectives reflecting a churlish, provincial approach to scholarship which Ukrainians have the dubious honor of sharing with Lithuanians, Latvians, and other non-Russians. Presumably, such a style is demanded by the local branch of the party as a sign of loyalty, though it is tempting to speculate that its practice may be enforced with the purpose of demeaning the level of non-Russian scholarship in the USSR.

Kovalenko's survey can be given qualified praise simply because it is the only book of its kind to have been published in Ukraine in the last twenty-five years. Indeed, given the harsh political climate prevailing in Ukraine since 1972, the very fact of its appearance is something of an accomplishment. This little triumph, however, cannot hide the fact that

by Western standards this book is an example of sloppy, if not unabashedly bad, scholarship. Yet, for those without access to the surveys by Picheta, Hrushevsky, Bahalii, Doroshenko, or Marchenko—none of whom, except for Marchenko, are listed in the very short bibliography, although Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov are—Kovalenko's survey is better than nothing.

Footnotes

¹ "Ukrainska istoriografiia i M. Kostomarov," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, 1910, vol. 5: 209–25; and "Razvitie ukrainskikh izuchenii v XIX v. i raskritie v nikh osnovnykh voprosov ukrainovedeniia," in Fedor Vovk, ed., *Ukrainskyi narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem*, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1914), 1–37. A series of essays by Oleksander Lazarevsky under the title "Prezhnie izyskateli malorusskoi stariny," published between 1895 and 1897 in *Kievskaiia starina*, focus on individual historians and are not analytical historiographic studies.

² See also his "Die Entwicklung der ukrainischen Geschichtsidee vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart," *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven* 4 (1928): 363–79. An English translation of Doroshenko's book was published in 1957 in the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, 5–6, under the title *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*. A second émigré survey, Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko's *Ukrainska istoriografiia*, was published posthumously in 1971 by the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. Having read it, this reviewer believes that the author might not have wanted it to appear, as it is obviously unfinished.

³ In 1932 Bahalii had prepared the first volume of a two-volume study on modern Ukrainian historiography. It was never published.

⁴ "Samovidets ruiny i ego pozdneishie otrazheniia," *Trudy Instituta slavianovedeniia AN SSSR* 1 (1932): 157–92; "Ob ukrainskoi istoriografii XVIII veka. Neskolko soobrazhenii," *Izvestiia Akademii nauk SSSR*, series 7, no. 3 (1934): 215–33.

⁵ *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR*, 1 (Moscow 1955): 107–12, 245–51, 594–610; 3 (Moscow 1963): 693–715, 641–56. There is no separate chapter on Ukrainian historiography. Extremely short surveys of Ukrainian historiography are also found in the various other histories of Soviet historiography and overviews of Ukrainian history and literature.

⁶ Another example of conclusions reached by this kind of method may be found in P.H. Markov's *M.O. Maksymovych—vydatnyi istoryk XIX st.* (Kiev, 1973), 233: "An analysis of Maksymovych's works shows, despite his shortcomings, liberalism, errors, inconsistencies, and stunted nature of parts of his world view, that they clearly reflect the progressive traditions of the leading Russian and Ukrainian intellectuals."

⁷ A higher level of Soviet scholarship is represented by two works devoted exclusively to the 17th and 18th century: M.A. Lytvynenko, *Dzherela istorii Ukrainy XVIII st.* (Kharkiv, 1970), 177–204; and Iu. A. Mytsyk, *Ukrainskie letopisi XVII veka* (Dnipropetrovsk, 1978).

⁸ Stalinist verdicts on pre-1932 Ukrainian historians and historiography, despite the Twentieth CPSU congress in 1956, have not been officially retracted or condemned. For the verdicts, see *Zapysky Istoryko-arkheohrafichnoho instytutu* 1 (1934). For a general discussion of interpretations of national histories in the USSR, see Lowell Tillet, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities* (Chapel Hill, 1969). On Soviet Ukrainian historiography, see Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine after World War II* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1964), 203–8, and Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Dumky pro suchasnu ukrainsku sovietsku istoriohrafiiu* (New York, 1963).

⁹ One of the earliest discussions of Soviet ideology as magic is found in chap. 3 of Herbert Marcuse's *Soviet Marxism* (London, 1958).

¹⁰ Maurice Natanson, "History as a Finite Province of Meaning," in his *Literature, Philosophy, and the Social Sciences: Essays in Existentialism and Phenomenology* (The Hague, 1962), 172–78.

¹¹ Gramsci, like phenomenology, is mentioned in Soviet philosophical literature, but he is not criticized, let alone condemned, whereas phenomenology is. A three-volume Russian edition of his selected works was published in 1957–59. In 1937 a book about him was published in Ukrainian: M. Erkoli, *Hramshi i Kompartiia Italii* (Kiev, 1937). Soviet descriptions of Gramsci's thought are selective and omit whatever is incompatible with official ideology.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ANTOINE EUGENE KALUZNY, *LA PHILOSOPHIE DU COEUR DE GREGOIRE SKOVORODA*. Montreal: Fides, 1983. 128 pp.

Hryhorii Skovoroda (1722–94) is a thinker and poet of whom several generations of Ukrainians have been justifiably proud. The appeal of this unique spirit cannot be located in a single dimension of his life or work, but rather springs from the totality of his person and his diverse poetic, philosophic, and theological oeuvre. His writings constitute a penetrating and appealing rebuttal to the rational and scientific spirit of the Enlightenment. His indictment of the secular and materialistic worldview of that age has taken on a peculiar relevance for many critics of life in the 20th century. In recent years, an increasingly wider circle of scholars and others has shown an interest in Skovoroda. This following goes well beyond the limits of the Ukrainian community, or even the fraternity of Slavists, and includes philosophers, theologians, and literary scholars.

Unfortunately, this heightened interest has commonly given rise to a fair degree of frustration. The bibliography of Skovorodiana is admittedly growing annually, and interpretative and analytical materials in English and other Western languages are now readily available. The problem is, however, that without complete translations of the primary materials, the scholarship, while often of a high quality, is frequently merely tantalizing. Indeed, if one were to collect in one volume the extant translations in English, French, and German, they would not amount to a quarter of what Skovoroda wrote. Likewise, most translations consist of only parts of individual works. Given the current level of interest in Skovoroda, this situation must soon be remedied. Only after this task is accomplished can the wider academic community take the full measure of Skovoroda's art and thought.

Professor Kaluzny's book does not respond to this need. Quotations from Skovoroda are introduced for the most part in small fragments by way of illustrating the central theme and flavor of his writings. In most cases the passages selected are the very ones that have already been translated elsewhere. But no matter how much one longs for more material to be translated, to be fair one must remember that it was not one of Kaluzny's expressed intentions to meet this need. What, then, does this study purport to be, and what does it deliver?

After an all too brief biographical sketch of Skovoroda, the author provides a six-page précis of his work as a whole. This is simply not enough space to give a true picture of the breadth of Skovoroda's writings. Kaluzny then moves immediately to a discussion of the philosophy of the heart as the

most important portion of everything written by this Ukrainian Socrates. Without directly taking exception to this interpretation, it must still be said that brevity here does the philosopher a disservice. The same criticism must also be made of part 3, "La Philosophie," which constitutes less than two pages and is merely an assertion that Skovoroda was the first Slavic philosopher(!) and that his "heart-centered" philosophy was wholly unique and original (this despite extended reference to Pascal in the preface). What would promise to be an overview of the full range of topics in Skovoroda's philosophic writings is, in fact, merely a definition of the term "heart." (The remaining sections of the book are: "L'Anthropologie gnoséologique"; "La Philosophie du coeur"; "Le Coeur, Dieu et la Bible"; "La Philosophie sociale"; and "Le Coeur et l'éthique.")

The philosophy of the heart is the subject in each of these several chapters. Predictably, there is a great deal of repetition from one to the next. The author himself is aware of this problem.

Le lecteur trouvera parfois une certaine redondance. Cependant, si nous voulons atteindre le centre le plus reculé de la pensée de Skovoroda, une certaine répétition est inévitable. Le ton est souvent celui de l'exhortation en plus d'être celui de la réflexion. Cet ouvrage peut donc servir de "guide" sur le chemin qui mène l'homme à la réalisation de ses désirs et à l'expression parfaite de lui-même. La répétition a précisément pour fonction cette exhortation qui, à son tour, a pour fonction de compléter toute réflexion par une action rationnelle. (p. 17)

(One is tempted to reply that repetition in Skovoroda does not necessarily oblige a commentator to follow the same path.)

This explanation brings us back to the question of what this study purports to be. Ostensibly it promises a scholarly analysis of what the writer believes to be the central aspect of Skovoroda's philosophy, namely, his philosophy of the heart. Operating on this assumption, the reader becomes increasingly uneasy with each page, the foregoing quotation being but one of many that seem to move the author's objective from the realm of the academic to that of what can almost be called the devotional. Despite Kaluzny's attempt at explaining this orientation as being inherent in Skovoroda's writings and therefore ineluctable ("Grégoire Skovoroda expose une philosophie du coeur d'une manière peu familière à la mentalité actuelle," p. 14), one is not fully satisfied and, indeed, becomes increasingly disturbed by such comments as the following:

A une époque où la philosophie prend comme thème le morbide, le macabre, l'hallucinant et où la littérature n'explore que ce qui est triste, obscène et angoissant, la *Philosophie du coeur* de Grégoire Skovoroda va inonder votre coeur et votre âme de lumières, de couleurs et de beautés... Cette source de joie intarissable qu'il porte en lui, Skovoroda la partage avec son lecteur dans cet ouvrage. (p.13)

or

La philosophie du cœur vous montrera donc comment parvenir à résoudre vos problèmes de manière satisfaisante. Elle vous préparera également, étape par étape, à une vie cordocentrique élevée et riche, et vous révélera en même temps un trésor inépuisable de nouvelles idées que vous chérirez toute votre vie. Elle vous montrera, par exemple, comment vous pourrez bénéficier de grands avantages en changeant simplement d'attitude ou de point de vue. (p. 15)

One may assume that the author has been profoundly affected by his own reading of Skovoroda. The reader of his book can be very touched by this fact. In the final analysis, however, Kaluzny's failure to distinguish the academic and the inspirational relegates his work to the category of neither fish nor fowl. (This criticism is further reinforced by the gratuitous personal reflections that appear throughout, such as those on page 102: "Le Canada est précisément le pays dont rêvait Skovoroda où l'unité nationale est cimentée dans la diversité de deux langues officielles, et de plusieurs autres langues, cultures, religions, coutumes qui sont protégées et valorisées par une véritable politique du multiculturalisme canadien. Le Canada est un pays d'hommes cordocentriques où la foi du cœur est affirmée par l'amour commun d'un même Dieu et d'une même humanité.")

This book, then, is not a coherent, scholarly presentation and analysis of the core of Skovoroda's philosophy, nor is it an unabashed pilgrim's guide to a practical philosophy of life, however welcome the latter might be. In confusing the two, both potential audiences are disappointed. One might leap to the author's defense by pointing out that Skovoroda, like many Eastern thinkers, does not use and even consciously rejects the rigid categories of scholastic philosophy as prejudicial to a deep understanding. To be sure, this is part of Skovoroda's appeal. Nonetheless, in the final analysis, in dealing with a Western audience one must choose which route one wishes to follow and then stay on it, whatever the temptations to stray may be. One is convinced that Professor Kaluzny has personally profited from his study of Skovoroda, but, ironically, his tone and approach may yet prove to be the cause of many choosing to pass over this philosopher of the steppe.

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PERSHYI VINOK: ZHINOCHYI ALMANAKH. Second, expanded edition. Edited by Natalia Kobrynska and Olena Pchilka. Introduction and biographical notes by Larysa M.L. Zaleska Onyshkevych. New York: Ukrainian Women's League of America, 1984. xix, 486 pp.

Pershyi vinok (The First Garland), first published in Lviv in 1887, is a collection of essays, poetry, and narrative prose by various writers. As such, it belongs to the *almanakh* tradition, whose best-known examples include Markiian Shashkevych's *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (1837), Yevhen Hrebinka's *Lastivka* (1841), and Panteleimon Kulish's *Khata* (1860). Two features, however, set *Pershyi vinok* apart: everything in it was written by women, and it was edited and financed by women.

The idea for the volume came from Natalia Kobrynska, the acknowledged founder of the Ukrainian women's movement. Kobrynska had formally organized a group of Ukrainian women for the first time in 1884 and had hoped to bring out a women's publication soon after. She was able to do so only in 1887, with the help of Olena Pchilka.* *Pershyi vinok* was reissued in an expanded edition in 1984 by the Ukrainian Women's League of America to mark the centenary of the movement launched by Kobrynska.

Any discussion of *Pershyi vinok* in its more recent embodiment must begin with the original volume. The collection is important from both a historical and a literary point of view. Its historical significance stems from its presentation of the program that has informed the Ukrainian women's movement since its beginning. What is peculiar to this movement is the degree to which it has always linked the interests of women with those of the Ukrainian nation as a whole. The arrangement of the contents of *Pershyi vinok* emphasizes this connection. The volume begins, as one might expect of a women's anthology, with items that stress feminist issues. The most important goal of women is identified as equal economic opportunity, and education is promoted as the best way for them to achieve it. Gradually, though, the argument shifts, first to point out that men, too, can improve their lot through education, and finally to assert that if all Ukrainians are educated, Ukraine itself will benefit.

The literary interest of *Pershyi vinok* lies in its effective alternation of literal and figurative writing. At the extremes are annotated essays brimming with statistics on the one hand (Kobrynska's "Zamuzhna zhinka serednoi verstvy," for example), and brief lyric poems on the other (a number of sonnets by Uliana Kravchenko). Between them are prose narratives with such subtitles as "a picture from life" ("Pisok! Pisok!" by "Ieryna" [Sofiia Okunevska]), whose referents are neither obviously factual nor obviously fictional; prose pieces that appear to be fictional, although in a conventional realistic mode (Sydora

*For additional information about the circumstances of the original publication of *Pershyi vinok*, see Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak's "Feminism in Ukrainian History" in this journal, vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 16-30, esp. 21.

Navrotska's "Popav sia v sit"); and longer narrative poems ("Zvychaina istoriia" by Klimentii Popovych). The expository texts impress the reader with the unacceptable truths about the respective oppressions of women, men, and the Ukrainian people. The belles-lettres provide stylistic relief from these barrages of facts, but in no way lessen their impact. Indeed, they reinforce them, as the evocative power of their figurative language can imply degrees of oppression to exceed anything that is concretely described. Literal and figurative expression are combined to complement each other.

The comprehensiveness and cohesiveness of *Pershyi vinok*, both historical and literary, are a function of the personalities of its editors. Both were sensible women, but the artistic Olena Pchilka stood in contrast to the essentially pragmatic Natalia Kobrynska. The difference between them is apparent in their own contributions to the volume: Kobrynska provided the greatest amount of expository writing and enunciated the programs of both *Pershyi vinok* and the Ukrainian women's movement, while the poem that follows Kobrynska's introductory essay and gives the anthology its title, as well as the longest piece of fiction, are by Pchilka. Beyond the contrasts between the editors of the anthology, other contrasts existed among the various contributors to make the origins of the volume truly eclectic. The contributors ranged in age from the middle-aged Hanna Barvinok to the adolescent Lesia Ukrainka. In note they ranged from Barvinok, already a prominent writer, and Ukrainka and Dniprova Chaika, who would gain prominence later, to a number of women who would never be well known for their writing. Also, like Kobrynska and Pchilka respectively, some contributors were from Western and some from Eastern Ukraine, which made the volume geographically representative of Ukrainian women. The most important contrasts, though, remain those between the editors.

The special relationship between Kobrynska and Pchilka and the two strains of influence they injected into the finished volume are evident even on the title page, which can be seen as the most concise expression of the volume's program. The meaning of the poetic title "*Pershyi vinok*" is not immediately clear, but comes to be so when glossed by the descriptive subtitle "*zhynochyi almanakh*." An "*almanakh*" is a volume with a variety of contents, and so the term, as it figures in the subtitle, denotes what *Pershyi vinok* is, rather than what it is about.** The "garland" in the title, too, then, is not what the volume is about, but an image for it: just as a garland intertwines flowers, so the collection intertwines texts. As for the qualifiers in the title and subtitle, if this garland is the "first," then the collection is a "women's" one not because of its intended audience or subject matter—there have already been such publications—but because of its origin. The reader's conjecture as to the meaning of the "garland" is corroborated in the programmatic eponymous poem, "*Pershyi vinok*" by Olena Pchilka, on p. 4; his suppositions as to the

**Podvesko and other authorities notwithstanding, an *almanakh* is not an almanac, but a literary miscellany.

meaning of "first" are confirmed right after the title, where the editors are named.

In her introduction to the second edition, Larysa Onyshkevych cites Ivan Franko to the effect that Kobrynska wanted only a descriptive title, but Pchilka insisted on the poetic *Pershyi vinok*. Franko considered the double title to be one of a number of undesirable compromises resulting from the fact that there were two editors—he thought *Pershyi vinok* a sentimental super-title. This assessment serves only to show the pragmatism that Franko shared with Kobrynska, and that would make him see Pchilka's aestheticizing influence as superfluous. What Franko deemed a compromise was in fact a felicitous pairing of Kobrynska's pedestrian manner of expression and Pchilka's artistic one. The interaction between the two manners is sustained in the setting of the poetic *Pershyi vinok* in a prosaic, heavy black typeface, but the purely descriptive *zhynochyi almanakh* in a lighter, stylized one.

In republishing *Pershyi vinok* the Ukrainian Women's League, or more probably Larysa Onyshkevych, chose to reprint the original in facsimile instead of resetting it. While this perpetuates the lexical and orthographic difficulties of the original time of publication, it is clearly the best way of reproducing at least the appearance of the original. As we have seen, this is especially important in the case of the original title page, which figures as a paradigm for the entire volume.

The original text is now preceded by a historical introduction and followed by biographical notes on the contributors (many accompanied by portraits), an English synopsis of the introduction, and an index of authors. The index provides both real names and pseudonyms and includes Ivan Franko, who helped Kobrynska in many ways and is mentioned in this regard in the introduction.***

The introduction and biographical notes are useful and informative, but some of the other items added to this edition are plagued with technical problems. The bilingual facing title pages, for example, appear at first glance to be translations of each other, but in fact they are not—and one wonders why. In the bottom lines, the Ukrainian page states that the edition was published on the centenary of the Ukrainian women's movement, but the English page does not. The title, *Pershyi vinok*, is followed on the Ukrainian page by the original subtitle, *zhynochyi almanakh*, but the English page states "Anthology of Poetry, Prose and Essays by Ukrainian Women Writers." Why? It is likely that the editor(s) wished to provide the anglophone reader with useful information that

***Franko's involvement in the publication of *Pershyi vinok* is played down by Kobrynska and Pchilka, but not because it would discredit the anthology as being the product of the efforts of women. Franko helped directly only with copy editing, while the dominant roles of Kobrynska and Pchilka were such that the volume would certainly have appeared without him. His collaboration was kept secret for some years after it appeared because of his socialist politics, not his sex.

might otherwise be inaccessible to him; however, if it is the information in the original Ukrainian text that is being respected here, this should also be the case with regard to the credits to Kobrynska and Pchilka on the new Ukrainian title page. For here, instead of reproducing the information that this volume was "published at the expense and initiative" of the two editors, it is simply stated that they are the "editors and publishers," and thus a salient aspect of their role in the original publication is lost.

The English synopsis of the introduction is only two pages long, but it is riddled with infelicities ranging from misspelling ("intellectual," "centennary"), through tautology ("various levels of social strata"), to repeated use of Ukrainian and not English rules of punctuation. Finally, the amount of handling required by one thorough reading of the volume removes enough ink from the cover of the volume to make its title barely legible.

To what do all these deficiencies testify? To the mediocre standards of the Ukrainian Women's League? To inadequate financial resources for the project at hand? To the inadequate qualifications of those responsible? To a lack of interest in quality? The situation appears even sadder when one compares the technical limitations within which publishing was undertaken one hundred years ago with the technology and honed expertise that can be brought to such an endeavor today.

The idea of republishing *Pershyi vinok* was brilliant. Anyone interested in women's issues, particularly Ukrainian women's issues, will be heartened, on the one hand, to read of their concerns in so many different ways in Ukrainian, and spurred to action, on the other, on realizing how many of the problems that were identified clearly one hundred years ago have yet to be resolved. The memory of the editors and contributors has been duly honored by the republication of their historical volume. One should be relieved, though, that they will not see how imperfectly this has been done.

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EWALD AMMENDE, *HUMAN LIFE IN RUSSIA*. Reprint edition. Cleveland: John T. Zubal Inc. with the Foundation to Commemorate the 1933 Ukrainian Famine (Montreal), 1984. ix, 319 pp.

This study of the 1932–33 famine in the USSR, particularly in Ukraine and northern Caucasia, was the first attempt at an in-depth analysis of its causes. Whatever its faults are, and there are many, it is better than anything else on this subject published thus far. The original, 1936 English version was a translation of the German edition—*Muss Russland hungern? Menschen und Völkerschicksale in der Sowjetunion* (Vienna, 1935). The English edition and

this reprint differ from the German edition in that they include more photographs of famine victims. An introduction by James Mace places the book in historical perspective.

Ammende wrote this book as part of his campaign in Western Europe and North America to arouse a public response to the famine in the USSR and "to make the truth known despite all obstacles, in order that adequate relief may be rendered." Ammende did not succeed in his task, however. He died in late 1935, in between the publication of the German and English editions of his book, which appeared too late to provoke any concrete famine aid. The most glaring error in Ammende's book is his insistence that the famine was continuing into 1934-35; with the benefit of hindsight we can see this was not the case.

Today much more is known about the famine. Research currently being conducted in Canada, the United States and Britain, has already produced much better insight into the subject. But the quality of the information will not improve significantly until Soviet archives are opened to public scrutiny. New information on the famine has recently been found in British government archives. The British government, like others that had representations in the USSR, kept a close watch on the Soviet Union. This review will concentrate on the British government's link with the famine and why it blocked Ammende's campaign in Britain.

Ammende lobbied strenuously among Western political and charity circles for aid for the famine victims. His campaign failed primarily because the Soviet government denied there was a famine, refused to aid the victims or to allow foreign relief, and spread disinformation. It was helped by all manner of sympathizers (for a very animated analysis of the "Western Russophiles," see David Caute, *The Fellow Travellers* [London 1977]). But leading journalists and politicians played a much more important role in molding public opinion than did the fellow travellers. Walter Duranty, the Moscow correspondent of *The New York Times*, censored the famine from his dispatches in order to further his journalistic career. His major reward was a personal interview with Stalin on the occasion of American recognition of the USSR (see Marco Carynnyk's article "The Famine the 'Times' Couldn't Find," *Commentary* 76, no. 5 [November 1983]: 32-40). Edouard Herriot, the former French prime minister, hoped to convince the Soviets to buy industrial goods from France instead of Germany and consequently played a key role in the disinformation campaign. Upon returning from a short, well-guided tour of Ukraine in 1933, he declared to the waiting world press that there was no sign of famine.

As British government archives show, British officials had access to much more information on the famine than did their citizens or the press. They kept silent while the famine raged, for they saw maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet government for the sake of trade as more important than the fate of millions of human beings and even entire nations. This lack of concern for millions of Soviet citizens should be contrasted with the British diplomatic

protests and even threats of severing relations when six Britons working for Vickers were arrested in the USSR at the time. The officials, by denying that they had more information than what appeared in the press, served the Soviet cover-up. Thus, those who were trying to publicize the famine in Ukraine had to contend with not only a large number of pro-Soviet sympathizers, including thousands of intellectuals and millions of workers, but also the interference and noncooperation of Western governments.

It was in this atmosphere that Ammende began his international campaign in the summer of 1933, just after the worst of the famine occurred in Ukraine and northern Caucasia. In a letter published in the Vienna newspaper *Reichspost* on 26 June 1933, he called for the formation of an international committee to aid the famine victims. Soon after the Interconfessional and International Relief Committee for the Famine Areas in the Soviet Union was formed. (N.B.: The translator of the English edition used "Russia" instead of "the Soviet Union".) The committee's sponsors included the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders of Vienna. Ammende became its general secretary. His record in relief work was creditable, since he had been instrumental in arousing the Western public to aid the victims of the 1921 Soviet famine.

Ammende attempted to extend the campaign into Germany just after the Nazis came to power. According to the record of an interview Ammende had with the British Foreign Office (FO), the Nazi government denied his committee permission to conduct a campaign because it wanted to have friendly relations with the Soviet government. If this is true, then the supposed Nazi-Soviet antagonism in 1933 should be seen in a different light. This is a gray area in which very little research has been done and which deserves more attention. The answer might be that Germany wanted to maintain a good relationship with the Soviet government because the latter had not yet repaid the huge sums of money it had borrowed for its industrialization drive. Or it is possible, as it was alleged, that Ammende formed this committee to conduct anti-Soviet propaganda with the connivance of the Nazis. This was the view expressed by Col. C. Malone, a member of the Advisory Committee on International Affairs of the Labour Party, in a report on German-Ukrainian relations to the FO that aimed to convince the British government that it should strive to woo Ukrainian political parties away from German influence.

In the spring of 1934 Ammende extended his campaign into Britain. In the two years preceding his arrival, the FO had discreetly discouraged aid organizations, such as the Save the Children Fund, and prominent individuals from organizing large-scale famine relief. It lied to the interested parties, stating that it had little additional information about the starvation than what had appeared in the press and that the campaign for famine relief was spearheaded by Ukrainian nationalists engaged in separatist propaganda. The FO stated that it could not support such a campaign against a government with which it had normal relations. (In Britain, the relief campaign was led by the Ukrainian

Press Bureau in London, headed by the Canadian V. Kysilewsky.)

On arriving in Britain, Ammende visited the FO to seek its view on the famine relief. The FO said that it had no objections to Ammende's relief activities and would not intervene in any way. But in private interviews with charity and major relief organizations and such prominent individuals as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the head of the Baptist church, the FO advised against taking part in Ammende's campaign, arguing, as it did against joining Ukrainian-sponsored committees, that "in normal relations with the Soviet government, [Her Majesty's Government] could not give any official encouragement to [Ammende's] propaganda."

British government archives also reveal that the Conservative government of the day, as represented by its Foreign Secretary Sir John Simon, misled Parliament repeatedly in its answers to questions relating to the famine. For example, on 2 July 1934, Sir Walden Smithers, MP, asked in Parliament, "what has been the extent of the famine in the past 12 months; and what is the present position?" Simon gave the standard government reply: "I have no recent information on the subject suitable for answering this question other than what has already appeared in the press." It is interesting to see how Simon's answer was prepared by his aides. In an interdepartmental memo they wrote:

The truth of the matter is, of course, that we have a certain amount of information about the famine conditions in the south of Russia, similar to what appeared in the press, and that there is no obligation on us not to make it public. We do not want to make it public, because the Soviet Government would resent it and our relations with them would be prejudiced.

One could infer from these quotes that the British government was abetting the Soviet government's carrying out of the famine. Whether it was or not, however, it was willfully lying and deceiving the public.

The British government's attitude was influenced by the fact that it was the major importer of Soviet foodstuffs. Like the Soviet government, it knew by the summer of 1932 that millions would die of starvation in the winter of 1932-33 if grain was expropriated from the peasants. This was the conclusion of an agricultural specialist's survey of Ukraine in mid-1932. The FO praised this long, detailed report as the best study on the Soviet agricultural crisis. Nonetheless, it arranged for the purchase of large amounts of grain and other food products from the 1932 Soviet harvest because the same food would cost more if it was imported from such countries as Canada or Argentina. When the famine did occur, the British government kept silent to avoid a major scandal.

But the FO could not completely withstand the pressure to mount some form of aid to the famine victims. It gave its blessing to a scheme that did not antagonize the Soviet government. The so-called Russian Assistance Fund, including the Ukraine and northern Caucasia, comprised of British charities and religious organizations, sent food parcels from British individuals to

individuals in "South Russia" through the Soviet organization Torgsin. The Soviet government approved of the scheme: it was able to impose a duty in hard currency on each parcel, and the fund did its work in a quiet and modest way. (Inter alia, one of the two leading organizers of the fund was the same. Col. Malone who accused Ammende's relief campaign of being Nazi-inspired.)

Several members of the British government, however, suggested that the Torgsin parcel scheme should be stopped. They pointed to the fact that much more food was being exported from the USSR to Britain than was being sent as aid to the Soviet Union. The British ambassador to the USSR, Lord Chilston, wrote to the British foreign secretary:

I am in favour of discouraging any diversion of British charity into Russian channels.... In the past six months [the first half of 1934] the USSR exported 472,068 tons of grain, 123,000 tons of which went to the United Kingdom, which in addition has taken large quantities of butter, eggs, poultry, bacon and fish.

Much more food had been shipped to the West, including Britain, after the 1932 harvest. According to the German economist Otto Schiller, in 1932 the Soviet government exported 1,500,000 tons of grain. This grain, he estimated, could have fed about 15 million people for six months, or about 7.5 million for a year. The latter figure is the same as the number widely estimated to have died from hunger in 1932 and 1933. Neither Ammende's nor any other study has dealt adequately with the link between the famine and the Soviet export of foodstuffs. (V. Holub[nychy] made a preliminary analysis in his "Prychyny holodu 1932-33 roku," *Vpered*, October 1958).

Ambassador Chilston played a central role in the British cover-up. Blaming the famine on Ukrainian passivity, in another letter to the foreign secretary he wrote that

It is clear that in 1933 Ukrainian particularism was not dead, and caused the authorities some anxiety; but it was not in a flourishing condition; and every effort was being made to hasten its demise. It is practically certain that only assistance from abroad can keep it alive. In most countries the terrible famine of the spring would have caused sanguinary riots, if not revolution; in the Ukraine the people died without a murmur. It may be that they are treasuring up bitter memories in their hearts; but it is hardly possible, unless some violent blow is struck at the whole body of the Soviet Union from outside, that the present constitutional position of the Ukraine can be sensibly altered.

When Ammende's book was published in English, it was reviewed by E.H. Carr. Carr had just resigned from the FO and was beginning an academic career that would lead to his becoming a well-known historian of the Soviet Union. His review, published in *The Spectator* (7 August 1936), praised the book for being "powerfully written" and having "accounts which can be regarded as reasonably well substantiated and free from the taint of

propaganda." Carr, however, took issue with Ammende's view that one of the reasons the famine was created was to destroy the non-Russian national movements, in particular the Ukrainian. Carr wrote that Ukraine was the principal famine area by coincidence, rather than as the result of a deliberate plan by the Soviet government.

Those who are familiar with the history of Ukraine, however, suggest that the famine was not an accident. James Mace, who wrote the introduction to the reprint of Ammende's book, believes there is a link between the Soviet government's nationality policy and the famine. Ammende was also of this persuasion, as is this reviewer.

I will express this even more sharply: the famine was the final defeat of the Ukrainian national revolution that began in 1917. It demonstrated that another government could do anything it wanted in the supposedly sovereign Ukrainian Soviet republic, even create a famine. Ambassador Chilston also understood the link between the destruction of Ukrainian national aspirations and the famine. The view that Ukraine was accidentally the main famine area is usually held by those who are barely acquainted with politics in Ukraine, including E.H. Carr. This is also the standard line of academics who are apologists for the Soviet government's "mistakes."

Carr commented that the photographs in the English and German editions were probably of the 1920-21 Soviet famine. He was, however, only partially correct. Of the twenty-six photos in the English edition and its reprint, as many as fourteen might be of the earlier famine. The remaining twelve are most likely of the 1933 famine. They were taken from the German edition, in which there was a total of twenty-one photos. It is not clear why only twelve were published in the English edition.

All of the photos in the German edition appear to be genuine pictures of the 1933 famine. They are mostly shots of Kharkiv's streets, on which shops called Khatorh and Soiuzmoloko appear. These enterprises did not exist in 1921. In his preface, Ammende states that the photos were taken by an Austrian in the summer of 1933. Until evidence to the contrary is presented, there is no reason to doubt their authenticity.

This cannot be said of the other fourteen photos that appear in the English edition but not in the German. Two of them, *Another Child Victim of the Famine* (facing p. 65) and *The Last Journey* (facing p.193), are from 1921. They were published in Iwan Herasymowytsh's *Hunger in der Ukraine* (Berlin, 1923). Two other photos have been identified as pictures of the 1921 famine in the Volga region: *Brothers in Distress* (facing p. 65) was on a Save the Children's Fund poster calling for funds to help the 1921 Volga famine victims; *A Great Multitude Which No Man Could Number* appeared on a Russian poster also calling for aid for the same victims.

Ammende wrote in his preface that the additional photographs "were taken by Dr. Dittloff...in the summer of 1933.... Dittloff accepts full responsibility for the guarantee of their authenticity." Dittloff was a well-known

agricultural specialist who directed the German-government-sponsored Drusag experimental farm in northern Caucasia until it was closed down in 1933. Further research is needed, however, before the authenticity of these photos can be confirmed. Obviously some of them could not have been taken by Dittloff.

Until the authenticity of all the photos is confirmed, the veracity of Ammende's book will remain questionable. The same can be said of other recent works on the famine that have republished or otherwise used the same photos. Included here is the award-winning Canadian film *Harvest of Despair*. Otherwise, the entire subject of the famine could be brought into disrepute by the very same people who are trying to reveal to the world one of the greatest state crimes and subsequent cover-ups known in history.

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GRAHAM ROSS, ED. *THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE KREMLIN: BRITISH DOCUMENTS ON ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1941-45*. Cambridge, London, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984. xi, 303 pp.

The availability of new documents on Anglo-Soviet relations over the past decade has facilitated the compilation of this collection of 46 documents including correspondence, extracts, discussions, etc., between the British and Soviet sides from January 1941 to the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of 16-25 December 1945. The collection is prefaced by an eloquent 70-page introduction by Graham Ross, which does much to explain the tensions that underlay the Soviet-British-American alliance and ultimately caused its collapse after the demise of their common enemy, Nazi Germany. Aside from Ross's irritating usage of "USSR" and "Russia" to describe the same entity, his remarks are careful and objective and concentrate on the diplomatic rather than the political issues involved.

The appearance of the book is especially timely. Not only does it fill in some of the gaps made inevitable by historians' previous concentration on the US-Soviet alliance, it enables an open-minded reader to place into perspective some of the recent Soviet comments denigrating the British (and US) roles in the alliance, comments largely engendered by the euphoria over the 40th anniversary of Germany's defeat in the USSR.

The first document is particularly instructive for those who doubt whether initial Soviet suspicions about British motives were justified. Whatever transpired in the later years of the war, British policy was lacking in clear direction, and this is reflected in the correspondence of British representatives in Whitehall and Moscow, Anthony Eden and Stafford Cripps, whose comments

are sometimes alarming. Writing to Eden on 26 January 1941, Cripps notes Britain's determination to "avoid any armed conflict with Germany at almost any cost" while calling for increased Anglo-American pressure on the USSR to change its political system. Neither course of action was likely to reassure Stalin, although Ross notes that the American government was putting pressure on the British from the first not to make a formal alliance with the Soviet Union.

Following Hitler's attack on the USSR, the British were unable to come to an agreement with Stalin for almost six months, despite Churchill's broadcast promising aid to the USSR immediately after the invasion. By the time the two powers were ready to sign papers, therefore, the USSR could negotiate from a position of relative strength, having halted the Nazi advance at the gates of Moscow. The following documents highlight the Soviets' growing confidence and the wide differences of opinion in London about how they should be handled. In document 20, for example, Geoffrey Wilson of the Foreign Office expresses his disapproval of the way Churchill wished to "consult" with the Americans, but "inform" the Soviets.

Once the concept of the Big Three powers had been initiated at Tehran, the British influence over Eastern Europe declined markedly. Document 30 cites Churchill's notorious percentages of influence for the East European countries. Why, one wonders, did a politician with Churchill's experience and insight begin by bringing up Greece (9 October 1944) as the country with which Britain was most concerned. Naturally Stalin "agreed with the Prime Minister that Britain should have first say in Greece." This superficial concession only gave the Soviet dictator more room to maneuver in the countries that really mattered to him, such as Poland. And how much influence did the British really expect to have if the USSR had "only" a 60-percent stake in Yugoslavia? British politicians were sometimes acting with almost fatal naiveté in their dealings with an increasingly ruthless totalitarian power.

This misguided diplomacy is illustrated by Ambassador Kerr's lament of 27 March 1945 (document 34), a month after the signing of the Yalta agreement, when he notes that despite the inevitability of victory over Germany, there was reason for British concern. The Soviets were carrying out "power politics" in Poland and Romania in the knowledge that the Allies were in no position to interfere. As Ross notes, the British were willing to give way on Romania, but Poland was the key question and the one that clearly had a major impact on the subsequent troubled relations between the wartime Allies. Soviet duplicity was finally becoming evident even to the most benevolent among Britain's foreign-policy makers.

The surprising fact is that many British politicians, even in December 1945, did not foresee the problems with the USSR that lay ahead. Nor were they certain of American cooperation. There were, moreover, clear differences of opinion between the pro-American Chiefs of Staff and the more hesitant Foreign Office personnel (see, especially, document 27). Sir John Ward of the

Economic and Reconstruction Department writes on 15 August 1944, for example, that "The proposal to build up an Anglo-Soviet alliance will, of course, have to be handled very carefully from the point of view of the Americans. But I hope that we should not allow ourselves to be deterred by excessive deference to America." This, though taken out of context, provides a fitting rebuttal to Soviet claims of duplicity within the Western Alliance. It was, in fact, less a question of duplicity than uncertainty of direction. British vacillation thus played a part in the beginning and aftermath of the Second World War. Having said that, however, it must be added that British diplomats appear to have been well-intentioned to a fault.

The documents should provide a useful guide to scholars of this period and will certainly save them considerable time burrowing through the Public Record Office in London. More significantly, however, they serve as a useful chronicle of the growing confidence of Stalin, the ever-rigid Molotov, and the emerging Gromyko, described by Clark Kerr as "a man of meagre calibre"(!). If one were to be harsh, one might state that here was a classic case of diplomats of 19th-century caste dealing with Machiavellian Soviet politicians of the 20th century.

The book contains a list of documents with Public Record Office references, notes on selected British and Soviet documents, and a brief but useful bibliography. It is, in short, a well-edited book that will supplement our knowledge of a very controversial historical period.

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LUBOMYR R. WYNAR, *MYCHAJLO HRUŠEVS'KYJ: BIOBIBLIOGRAPHISCHE QUELLE, 1866–1934*. Ukrainische Freie Universität, Monographien, vol. 35 (Munich, 1984). 68 pp.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934) is undoubtedly one of the major figures of modern Ukrainian history: the greatest of his country's historians and the author of the ten-volume *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, which remains a fundamental work; an organizer of cultural and scholarly institutions; and a political leader in the broad, ideological rather than narrow, party sense. Before 1917 he was a consistent critic of the conservative Habsburg monarchy, which held the most westerly Ukrainian territories, and a relentless advocate of decentralization of the Russian Empire, which held the remaining Ukrainian lands. During the Revolution, he became the first president of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and during the 1920s he was an influential cultural leader in the Communist party's short-lived campaign to "Ukrainianize" the Ukrainian SSR. A biography of this very important figure is long overdue.

Professor Wynar's booklet will be an important tool for any future Hrushevsky biographer. Its core consists of a long bibliography of articles and books devoted to Hrushevsky's life and work. The list is extensive, but still selective; it omits titles of no biographical or interpretative interest. For some unknown reason, however, Wynar chose not to include a few unique contributions to the interpretative literature. For example, this reviewer's "Mykhailo Hrushevsky: Populist or Statist?" (*Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 1 [Spring, 1981], 65-78) is missing, as is the polemic between Panas Fedenko ("Na stulecie Mychaily Hruszewskiego," *Kultura* [Paris], 1967, no. 12, 111-122) and Marian Kaluski ("O wielkości Hruszewskiego," *Kultura*, 1968, no. 6, 182-86). Other examples could also be mentioned. In all probability, these titles will be added in the fuller Ukrainian edition of this biobibliography, which the Ukrainian Historical Association hopes to publish in the near future. The plan is to include works by Hrushevsky himself, and this will amount to a very substantial volume indeed.

Wynar's booklet contains his study of Hrushevsky's two brief autobiographies, which were composed in 1905 and 1926. Wynar's notes are especially useful and have been updated since his essay originally appeared in *Ukrainskyi istoryk* (1974, nos. 1-3, 103-35). The booklet also contains a brief, appreciative essay originally published in 1935 by the German scholar Anton Palme, and the German translation of Hrushevsky's "The Traditional Scheme of 'Russian' History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs," which also appeared in 1935.

This booklet is a handy addition to the literature on Hrushevsky. A separately paginated and indexed offprint from the *Jahrbuch der Ukrainekunde* (Munich, 1983), it not only underlines Hrushevsky's importance to any historian of modern Ukraine, but also demonstrates Wynar's significant role in the promotion of "Hrushevsky studies" and the survival of the Hrushevsky "cult" in the Western world.

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LUBOMYR R. WYNAR, *DMYTRO DOROSHENKO, 1882-1951*
Munich-New York, and Toronto: Ukrainian Historical Association, 1983. 41 pp.

Dmytro Doroshenko is perhaps the best-known and best-loved Ukrainian émigré historian. Born into a grand old Ukrainian family, he became active in the Ukrainian national movement during the early years of the 20th century. Simultaneously, he began writing historical works, analyzing source materials, and publishing historiographic and bibliographic studies. Despite the trials and tribulations of war, revolution, civil disorder, emigration, and the rise of

Nazism, by the time of his death in 1951, he had produced a brilliantly written survey of Ukrainian history, a major book on Ukrainian historiography, important biographical studies of most of the major figures of the 19th-century Ukrainian movement, a history of German-Ukrainian relations, detailed memoirs of the years 1905–14 and of the revolutionary period, and numerous journal articles in English, French, Swedish, and German, as well as Czech, Polish, Russian, and, of course, Ukrainian. He also left in manuscript a major study of Ukrainian history during the hetmancy of his ancestor, Petro Doroshenko.

Wynar's brief study concentrates on Doroshenko's contributions to Ukrainian historiography and bibliography. He documents Doroshenko's efforts in these fields within the context of his life experiences. Wynar rightly points out that Doroshenko accepted Mykhailo Hrushevsky's general "scheme" of history, which claimed Kievan Rus' for Ukraine rather than Russia, but he also acknowledges that Doroshenko later rejected Hrushevsky's emphasis on popular revolt and the central role of the common man, and instead crossed over to the "state" school of Ukrainian historiography, as well as the conservative school led by Viacheslav Lypynsky (1882–1931), which stressed the positive role of the gentry and the landowning classes and argued that it was primarily this social stratum that strove to create an autonomous, or even independent, Ukrainian Cossack state. Wynar argues that Doroshenko underestimated Hrushevsky's appreciation of the contributions of these classes, and that Hrushevsky, in his own way, included the striving toward statehood in his historical analysis. Wynar may be going too far in minimizing the differences between Doroshenko and Hrushevsky, but this thesis cannot be rejected out of hand. The whole question deserves further investigation.

This brief summary of Doroshenko's contributions is a useful addition to the literature. The appended bibliography will be especially valuable to scholars interested in further investigating Doroshenko's life. Readers of the journal *Ukrainskyi istoryk* will note that this material is reprinted from its 1982, (nos. 3–4), and 1983, (no. 1) issues.

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R.E.F. SMITH AND DAVID CHRISTIAN, *BREAD AND SALT: A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF FOOD AND DRINK IN RUSSIA*. Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1984. xvi, 391 pp.

This is a welcome pioneering study of food and drink in Russia from its origins to the end of the 19th century. Influenced by the *Annales* school, Smith and

Christian have approached their subject from an economic and social perspective, placing emphasis on the production, processing, marketing, and consumption of food and the differences in eating habits of various social groups. The traditional phrase "wherever the sokha, scythe and axe have gone" aptly describes Russian agriculture in the preindustrial period. "Bread and salt" encompasses the main features—farming and gathering—of the premodern Russian economic and social systems. In true *Annales* spirit, the authors chart the changes in patterns of food consumption and the increasing role of the state in controlling consumption patterns from the late 16th century onward. They use a wealth of source materials, including chronicles, lives of saints, travel accounts, government charters and legislation, ecclesiastical documents, monastic archives, folklore materials, zemstvo statistics, and memoirs.

We are told that over the centuries the Russian peasant diet was monotonous, with its heavy emphasis on bread and other grain products, and relatively uniform geographically. Nonetheless, by modern UN standards it was nutritious. But it was subject to seasonal variations, differences in harvest size, and inelastic market and distribution systems, which, even with the advent of the railway, resulted in periodic crises, and peasants, both rich and poor, turned to surrogate foodstuffs in the hope of averting famine. The psychological effects of such crises on the peasant, with which Smith and Christian do not deal, were immense. Continually subject to the vagaries of nature, he had a fatalistic view of life and inflated importance of the present. Since providing food for the family from day to day was of prime concern, he was reluctant to depart from traditional agricultural practices in favor of new technologies and a more varied diet.

Despite their dependency upon grain, Russian peasants nevertheless did consume a few new foodstuffs, in particular vodka from the 17th century onward, and potatoes, sugar, and tea beginning in the 19th century. Of these, according to the authors, vodka was by far the most important, since it demonstrated the state's role in influencing Russian village life. From the 17th century onward, the burgeoning Russian state viewed the liquor trade as an important source of state revenue, the need for which overrode concerns about the moral implications and social consequences of heavy drinking. Smith and Christian thus place much of the blame for peasant alcoholism during the imperial period directly on the state. They do not, however, entirely exonerate the Russian peasant; they point out that 18th-century Ukrainian peasants had far better drinking habits, "drink[ing] slowly and in small amounts" (p. 223).

The Russian state also played an important role in other areas of food production, especially those of salt and grain. In Muscovite times the tsar's court provided a huge market as consumer, distributor, and even producer. As the state grew in the imperial period and the consumption needs of a modern army had to be met, state controls increased. Unfortunately, the authors make no linkage between the birth of the modern Russian state and the mobilization of the entire population for more efficient food production and distribution.

The book also contains interesting data on the techniques of salt extraction, the history of Russian stoves, the origins of the samovar, and even a typical Muscovite tsar's dinner, which necessitated no less than 757 eggs in its preparation! Illustrations are appetizingly integrated with the text.

This study is flawed in one major respect, however. The authors chose to divide the material between themselves chronologically and methodologically. The first six chapters, written by Smith, suffer from disjointedness and, at times, a lack of focus. One wonders why chapter 3 is titled "Drink: Ale and Alchemy" if alchemy is dealt with in one paragraph and dismissed as being unimportant in the history of Russian drink. Christians's three chapters are more lucidly written and reflect social history at its best.

The study was intended to adjust some ideas about European patterns of food and drink; yet there is little discussion of European patterns. Nonetheless, it does touch on questions deserving further research. The connection between urbanization and agriculture in the Russian Empire, the economic and cultural importance of the salt peddler or *chumak*, as he was known in Ukraine, the differences in nutritional levels of the diets of serfs and emancipated peasants, the ritual significance of bread, the temperance movement, and Russian prohibition all await their historians.

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ALFRED J. RIEBER, *MERCHANTS AND ENTREPRENEURS IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982. xxvi, 464 pp.

Researchers of Imperial Russia have usually focused their attention on the ruling classes and state bureaucracy, the emerging revolutionaries challenging the existing order, or the popular masses. They have generally ignored any discussion of the ill-defined middle strata of Russian imperial society. Rieber's study fills this gap. It is an important contribution to the social and economic history of Imperial Russia.

In the first part of his book, the author shows that the empire's merchants and industrialists never fully succeeded in liberating themselves from the deeply rooted hierarchical order or in uniting their forces for decisive political and social battle. Antagonistic and disunited, they failed to join forces with other propertied and politically moderate circles to give rise to a middle class of the west and central European type. Their economic advances were not matched by political maturation. The explanation for this, according to Rieber, rests with their unique institutional structure.

In the 18th century the Russian merchants became a legally defined merchant estate. They did not, however, gain corporate autonomy, let alone internal unity. Docile and apprehensive, unremittingly threatened by noble industrialists, trading peasants, overbearing government officials, and non-Russian businessmen in the recently conquered borderlands, such as Ukraine, the Russian merchants adopted "the mentality of a besieged camp" (p. 39). Until the Revolution of 1917, the great majority of Russian merchants remained obedient and faithful to traditional values and the social hierarchy. This, at least in part, could be explained by the process of continuous replenishment of their ranks by similarly minded newcomers from the peasantry.

The dynamic, numerically small entrepreneurial groups that came from merchant circles are discussed in the second, quite original and attractive part of Rieber's book. These include the Moscow entrepreneurial association, with its well-demonstrated economic nationalism and feeling of mission, the St. Petersburg entrepreneurs, those of the southern industrial area (mainly Ukraine), and the trade associations.

The southern entrepreneurs, with their close ties to foreign capital and heavy industry, appear as highly successful and progressive leaders of a unique type of managerial capitalism. The regionally based entrepreneurial groups of the south were quite different from those in other parts of the empire and, at times, quite hostile to them. As such, they failed to find common ground with the tradition-bound bulk of Russia's merchants, the technical intelligentsia, the gentry, and the zemstvo liberals. In the third and fourth parts of his book, Rieber discusses the antagonism, the disunity, and fragmentation of the southern entrepreneurs, which caused them to fail to challenge the autocracy or the working class in the political sphere during the last twelve years of the empire.

Rieber argues that Russia's entrepreneurs were neither numerous, nor united, nor able and knowledgeable enough to become leaders in converting Russia into a Western industrial society. Instead, by quarreling among themselves, they contributed to the social diversification and even social disintegration that occurred during the immediate prerevolutionary period. They lacked a class identity and a "consciousness of one's class enemy" (p. 425). Their understanding of politics did not go beyond demanding favorable tariffs, the right of railroad construction, and the exclusion of foreigners from business activities in the empire. They did not demand parliamentary power as a class, freedom of speech, and other political rights. Thus they did not contribute to the growth of democracy in Russia.

Russia's social structure has always been artificially and quite forcefully imposed and determined by the political authorities. The Russian *soslovie*, which preceded the creation of official Soviet classes, was fixed firmly in Russian history and had its political, economic, and social causes and effects. This is why Russian entrepreneurs are described by Rieber as being "between

caste and class." He believes that because of inadequate historical preparation, "Russia had not properly laid foundations upon which to construct a genuine class society" (p. 416).

The limited impact of the entrepreneurs on the broader society can be explained by the state's monopoly in industry, which left very little room for non-state involvement in manufacturing and commerce. The Russian state had tried to win over the elites of the newly conquered territories by granting them a wide variety of economic concessions. Peter I, for example, granted regional commercial privileges to the Ukrainians in the Hetmanate, and Hetman Rozumovsky defended and expanded the activities of the Ukrainian merchants. By the end of the 18th century, Ukrainian and other non-Russian merchants, frequently in alliance with foreigners, were a threat to their Russian counterparts (p. 52).

In the 19th century, however, Russian capital began penetrating into Ukraine's economy. Changes in the Kievan merchant class reflect this development. In the mid-18th century, the principal trade in Kiev was controlled by local merchants. Within a few decades rivalry between them and Russian merchants had begun. It ended with the defeat of the original owners. By the mid-19th century, Russian merchants dominated in Kiev and in most of the Ukrainian gubernias.

Russian landowners, merchants, and manufacturers became the instruments of tsarism's economic and national oppression in Ukraine. Russian and foreign capitalists acquired a prominent position in Ukraine's economy. Exploiting natural and labor resources, they realized enormous profits on their investments. Lacking significant capital and technical means, the Russian government did not object to the building of vast industrial enterprises with foreign capital; its particularly high influx was evident in the years of industrial growth.

On the whole, Rieber's book is accurate and its bibliography quite impressive. His occasional reliance on one-sided information from Soviet archives, misspellings, and omission of a detailed discussion of 17th-century merchants and entrepreneurs do not seriously diminish its scholarly value. Even though he does not accord much attention to the Ukrainian question, Ukrainian entrepreneurs and merchants, or Ukraine's social structure in his discussion of the southern gubernias, his study is, nonetheless, a valuable contribution and should be read by anyone interested in Ukraine's social and economic history.

Nicholas G. Bohatiuk
Le Moyne College

WALKER CONNOR, *THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND STRATEGY*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, xvii, 614 pp.

This book is the most thorough and complete treatment of the subject its title bears yet published. It begins with a brief but accurate summary of the writings of Marx and Engels on the national question, identifying both their main ideas and their often glaring inconsistencies. Essentially, the former can be summed up in two dicta: "big is better (and inevitable)" and "historical over nonhistorical." The first refers to Marx and Engels's preference for large economic units over small ones, and thus large states or empires over fragmented provinces or nation-states, while the second refers to their preference for nations with traditions of independent statehood over the emerging national movements of formerly subjugated or peasant nations.

Prof. Connor summarizes the debate on this question in early 20th-century Marxism and turns to a detailed discussion of the development of Lenin's positions. He shows how, over time, Lenin came to revise many of his basic assumptions, particularly after 1912, and how he made a fundamental concession to the lasting power of nationalism. According to Connor, Lenin's first crucial revision involved his appreciation of self-determination (or, more accurately, the slogan of self-determination) as a strategic weapon. Sensing the revolutionary potential of disenchanted minorities within both the traditional multinational empires and the more modern colonialist powers, Lenin argued that Communists had to stand firmly for the political self-determination of all nations, even if this meant the dismemberment of the more desirable large states. Nations that freely agreed to remain part of a given state, meanwhile, had to be guaranteed complete equality in all realms. While at first Lenin's position explicitly involved cultural issues, the Bolsheviks were compelled, soon after their assumption of power, to make much broader concessions to nationalist sentiments. These culminated in the early 1920s in the establishment of a federal union of socialist republics, where territorially compact nations were seemingly also given considerable economic and political, as well as cultural, autonomy. This autonomy, in Lenin's view, would destroy the basis for all nationalist sentiment and create the conditions for the final solution of the national question and the ultimate merging of all nations.

Connor examines the behavior of several Marxist-Leninist parties toward self-determination in chapters on the Soviet "prototype," China, Vietnam, and Yugoslavia, and compares their performance using the yardstick of official theory. Surprisingly, the first to deviate was the Bolshevik party itself, which summarily thwarted the attempts of a number of nations of the former Russian Empire to gain independence. On the theoretical level this was accompanied by Lenin and Stalin's revision of theory, which subsequently limited the decision on national self-determination solely to the proletariat. Obviously, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks the proletariat would never favor a step as

regressive as the destruction of a new workers' state. Thus, while self-determination was in fact denied, as a fiction it remained a feature of Soviet politics, perhaps, Connor suggests, for reasons of internal and external propaganda.

The author describes the many twists and turns that other Marxist-Leninist parties have made in regard to the slogan of self-determination. These have been influenced by several factors, including the size and relative power of a given country's minorities, their geographic and strategic location and level of development, and the country's colonial status. By the end of the 1920s the Soviet Union, operating through the Comintern, had succeeded in Bolshevizing most of the world's Communist parties and forcing them to toe the Soviet line, which was changed whenever it was expedient for the Soviet Union to do so, and not when it was in the interest of the international Communist movement or any specific Communist party. Thus policies changed in rapid succession from the demand for self-determination—which implied the dismemberment of most of the USSR's immediate neighbors—to a call for the creation of a united front of all parties and nations in these states in the 1930s, back to the demand for self-determination during the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact period, and then back once more to the call for a United Front against Fascism after the Nazi invasion of the socialist motherland.

Connor proceeds to detail the policies of Marxist-Leninist parties after they have taken power and compares their performance to the ideal of complete equality for all nations. He concludes that most regimes have failed to live up to their lofty promises. While the Soviet example dictated the establishment of a federal system of "autonomous" national entities, few regimes have followed it. This is not particularly surprising, given the Leninist prescription for a strongly centralized party and state. Despite the fact that the Soviet republics actually have no real power and the cost of granting them autonomy has been minimal, most Communist states have balked at even going that far or have abandoned such policies soon after the consolidation of power.

The skepticism of most Marxist-Leninist regimes toward the official theory is the subject of a separate chapter. Connor describes how the regimes have altered their policies and attempted to minimize the impact of concessions made to minorities. Tactics used include gerrymandering political administrative units and redistributing national groups, thereby diluting their concentration (particularly in sensitive border areas), promoting adoption of a single language (and therefore assimilation), and purging local elites and strengthening control from the center. With regard to the tempo of the "inevitable" merging of nations, there has been considerable tampering with what Lenin assumed to be a natural process. In the USSR, in particular, the trend since the 1930s has been to foster the process of assimilation. Only during periods of political flux have competing factions attempted to take power by harnessing the persistent dissatisfaction of minorities.

Having examined the ways in which the various regimes have followed or strayed from the original Leninist prescriptions on the national question, Connor turns to a critical examination of the theory itself. He points out that Lenin realized the importance of harnessing the revolutionary potential of nationalism, but underestimated its real power and lasting influence. Owing to his understanding of nationalism as solely a response to oppression, Lenin's prescription for solving the problem of nationalism—the creation of equality—was simplistic. This is an infinitely more difficult task than Lenin believed. Economic equality is a particularly elusive goal, and, as Connor states, “[t]here is something of a rule of uneven economic development.” Cultural equality is just as problematic: clearly in multinational states one language would tend to predominate and serve as the medium of official discourse, business, and intellectual life, thereby relegating to other languages a secondary status. Even if equality could be achieved in objective terms, the problem of subjective perceptions of inequality would remain. As Connor points out, Leninist theory cannot even begin to explain the vitality of Solzhenitsyn- or Zinoviev-style Russian nationalism in the USSR, where members of the dominant nation feel themselves to be exploited and subjugated.

Connor argues that some aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory, when fully implemented, even help to strengthen, or at least perpetuate, national differences rather than to diminish them. Quite simply, national forms—republics, official languages, and so on—almost invariably become imbued with a national content. They give a concrete identity to a minority and help to crystallize its vision of itself. Moreover, given the structure of political relations, they create interest groups that are synonymous with the national republics they represent.

The shortcomings of this otherwise excellent study stem from the author's focussing on a single issue. Thus almost everything is seen through the prism of nationalities policy, and a monocausal explanation is implied for too many phenomena. But given the importance of this issue to Marxist-Leninists and its neglect by most Western scholars, this is an important perspective. A more serious shortcoming is inherent in Connor's approach, which concentrates on the rarified heights of political theory. Connor does not really explore the relationship of the regimes in question to their broader constituencies and societies, and we can often forget that in many cases he is discussing a small group of individuals (at least before the party achieves power) that is isolated from the major political currents in their countries. Thus his comments in the final chapter, where he correctly points out that it is simplistic to refer to such individuals as Tito or Ho Chi Minh (and Marxism-Leninism in general) as nationalist, need to be reexamined in a different light. While members of the small vanguard may have been true internationalists, this does not negate the fact that the subliminal “nationalist” message in Marxism-Leninism accounted for the eventual acceptance of Communism by the elites and the bulk of society. Recently many scholars have convincingly argued that Marxism-Leninism's

success in the second and third worlds is precisely a result of its appeal to emerging elites, offering them a vision of a bright new future for their nation—one of industrial wealth and all the amenities of the modern world. This type of approach would also undoubtedly shed more light on why many Marxist regimes have resorted to blatantly nationalist, crude behavior in their attempts to bolster their questionable legitimacy. It is hoped that Prof. Connor will continue his valuable work by turning to some of these problems in the future.

Boris Balan
University of Toronto

PAUL ROBERT MAGOSCI, *OUR PEOPLE: CARPATHO-RUSYNS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS IN NORTH AMERICA*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985. xii, 160 pp.

This study of the Rusyns in North America from their migration to the contemporary period is treated in a descriptive and thematic fashion. It is supplemented by additional background information regarding their exodus from Europe. The author concentrates primarily on the 20th-century experience, a key feature of which has been the growth and development of Rusyn religious, fraternal, cultural, and political organizations. He systematically examines the effect of North American and, especially, European influences that have shaped the character of each institution or organizational network. To fulfill his stated aim of defining the nature of the group and assisting those who are interested "to understand where they belong in the American mosaic," he undertakes to explain organizational differences and extant divisions within the community. At the root of these differences lie the influences.

The European dimension is of special concern to Prof. Magosci. This is demonstrated by the attention he lavishes on the question of lingering ties with the "homeland." It is not inappropriate, since the problematic issue of identity is fundamentally linked to the character of these ties. The author discusses these as religious, regional, or national differences within the group. He manages to successfully unravel their mysteries and to relate them in a concise and cogent manner for the general reader. He gives ample play to the role of prominent community personalities who directed or pushed organizations along chosen lines. Unfortunately, he fails to explore the relationship of certain community leaders with foreign governments and their roles as conduits of either nontraditional or alien views. He also ignores, or at best minimizes, the interventionist role of foreign powers in the life of the community. But he does, however, recognize that the problem of identity ultimately rests in the fact that the Rusyn homeland has lain at the historical and geographical crossroads of Europe and, therefore, has traditionally been at the mercy of foreign influences.

The question of identity is a fixed reference point for the author when he discusses the American experience. He notes and laments the fact that its social processes have had a debilitating effect on the group's cultural identity. Assimilatory pressures have led to a decline in the retention of language and of the concept of a Rusyn nation within the community. Among other things, the author faults the American educational system for maintaining and promoting a state-centric view of European history. This precludes the idea of a Rusyn nation; the latter, he argues, does not necessarily have to coincide with the existence of a state structure.

Although the American experience has proven disastrous in terms of cultural retention, Magosci notes that it has not been without its advantages. Social and material success has paralleled the group's further integration into the mainstream society. The author embellishes his text with a number of examples, including the actress Sandra Dee (née Alexandra Zuk), Stephen Roman (chief corporate officer of Denison Mines Ltd. and "a self-professed Slovak-Rusnak"), and Andy Warhol. More importantly, however, integration has effectively resolved for the author the question of ethnic duality. He observes that 3rd- and 4th-generation descendants are secure in their identity as Americans and that this offers them an opportunity to look into their past "not as a substitute for what they are—Americans—but as another way to enrich their lives." He concludes on this note but encourages readers to embark on journeys into their own pasts. An appendix entitled "A Root Seeker's Guide to the Homeland" contains an extensive list of placenames. For further reading, an excellent bibliography is also provided.

The optimistic note on which Magosci concludes his text is, however, somewhat misplaced. He fails to recognize that ethnicity is a historically determined phenomenon. It is one of a number of ways in which individuals organize their social existence to deal with their environment and increase their life chances. It is not a simple matter of personal expression, with which, like clothing, one can adorn oneself to complement one's character. In this sense, it is essential to recognize the role ethnic bonding plays in the development and growth of the community. To analyze that role, a critical assessment of the effects of and, especially, the interplay among the whole complex of social and political forces is required. This cannot be done adequately through mere description. Indeed, the narrative approach used by the author necessarily leads him to accept events and developments as often random and contradictory and to view the larger problem of Rusyn identity as simply a function of old-world regional, national, or ideological differences. Their importance should not be underestimated, but it must be understood that they become meaningful only under very precise conditions. The question then is "What are those conditions, and how have they combined to produce the particular context in which ethnicity operates?" Equally important, "What would be the effect of different circumstances on shaping a group's identity?" The latter would be of interest, because it would show the permeability of ethnicity and how its role in the

development of the community changes under different circumstances. This would provide some valuable insights on the problem of Rusyn identity in North America. However, these questions can be answered only through critical analysis and a creative methodology.

The effect of different conditions on ethnicity is especially intriguing and requires closer scrutiny. The volume's subtitle promises that its treatment of the group would be continental in scope. Yet, the reader is struck by the disproportionate amount of text devoted to the group's activity in the United States. In fact, except for a two-page insert, only a smattering of references relating to Rusyn life in Canada can be found in the book. This is not an oversight on the part of the author. On the contrary, it suggests what the historical evidence already shows: the Rusyn question does not enjoy the same prominence in Canada that it does in the United States. This is partially due to the fact that the Rusyn-Canadian community has not achieved the same level of development or self-sufficiency that its American counterpart has. This discrepancy begs comparison. In this regard, it would be insufficient to suggest that the difference between the two communities can be reduced to a simple question of demographics. Indeed, a significant number of the early Ukrainian immigration to Canada were "Ruthenians" from Transcarpathia. Rather, one must look to profound social and historical differences between the two. These would include, for example, different periods of immigration, distinct patterns of settlement, varying roles played by these migrants in the respective economies, the specific structures and institutions that emerged during the early development of both communities, and their relationship to the political situation in Eastern Europe at the time of development.

The failure to undertake such a comparison (an approach that would have conformed to the book's title) has resulted in a missed opportunity on the part of the author to critically examine the roots of the Rusyn community and identity in the United States. This would have enabled the author to confront the objections raised by those Ukrainian scholars who see the Rusyn question as nothing more than an aberration by showing that in the American context the issue is legitimate. On the other hand, it would also have shown that the gap between the Ukrainian and Rusyn communities is not as wide as is often presumed, given their shared socio-historical experience in Europe and the mutual experience of immigration.

The author must be applauded for bringing out a volume that deals with such a sensitive and largely ignored subject in Ukrainian studies. It is apparent, however, that the subject has to be further explored to clarify the exact nature of the Rusyn identity in North America.

Bohdan S. Kordan
Arizona State University

THE CONFESSIONS OF VICTOR X. Edited and translated by Donald Rayfield. New York: Grove Press, 1985. 160 pp.

This book is a very explicit autobiographical account of a boy's sexual coming of age in Ukraine in the 1880s. It was written in 1907 or 1908, when the author was in his thirties and when love, marriage, prostitution, and sexuality were frequent subjects of discussion among the intelligentsia in the Russian Empire. The book was originally published in 1912, in French, by Havelock Ellis in volume 6 of his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*.

The Confessions were written anonymously, and in keeping with the author's wishes, Donald Rayfield has not revealed his name. In his informative postface, however, Rayfield does note that Victor belonged to one of the better families of the Little Russian nobility, and that although he was a polyglot, he did not forget his native Ukrainian. Interestingly, Rayfield has also discovered that the author's uncle was an astronomer who spent his life wandering around Ukraine trying to establish a line for a new meridian from St. Petersburg to Constantinople that would replace the Greenwich meridian. As a human document, the memoirs provide us with a psychological case study of involuntary self-destruction, and insofar as Victor belonged to the tsarist *dvorianstvo*, his memoirs can be regarded as a unique contribution to Russian literature. However, Victor was Ukrainian, grew up in Ukraine, and, as Rayfield notes, his views on sex exhibited a fear of perversion that was not typically Russian. *The Confessions*, therefore, will also be of interest to students of Ukrainian literature, ethnography, and social history. The first five chapters, in particular, provide a rare insight into the mores and morals of both highborn and commoner in late 19th-century Ukraine.

Thus we learn that Ukrainians were very easy going about the weaknesses of the flesh, that country girls and servants made the most of their youth: "you saw them rolling about with boys in every ditch, barn, under every mill, in any corner where there was enough room for a couple to embrace." This observation is indirectly corroborated by Paul of Aleppo, who travelled through Ukraine in the 1650s and in his diary expressed amazement at the high birth rate. In Rayfield's words, *The Confessions* show that the life of the gentry at the time was permeated by Tahitian sexuality and that the gentry in the Russian Empire, unlike their English counterparts, did not have sexual double standards. The restraints that created the sexual morality of western Europe were much weaker in the Russian Empire: "Victor's sexual activity as a child required a certain knowledge, will, freedom of movement, access to contraception, disregard of bastardy, which would not have applied in any other European country of the time."

We learn that more went on at village *vechernytsi* than published ethnographic accounts would have us believe, that contraception was readily available and used, and that child prostitution was widespread in Kiev—a phenomenon also mentioned by Konstantin Paustovsky in his autobiography.

Victor notes that women “wanted to be the initiators,” an observation that brings to mind Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan’s comments on the prominent role of women in 17th-century Ukraine. Finally, the author writes that the Bible was not a standard book in gentry homes, and that as he grew up his schoolfellows became less interested in sex, began leading a more intellectual life, joined secret socialist societies, and read Marx, Buckle, Spencer, and Darwin.

Thus *The Confessions* provide invaluable information about the almost unknown subject of the history of sexuality in Ukraine. Simultaneously they raise a host of questions. To what degree and when was the libido repressed, and to what degree and when was it unrestricted? Was sexual libertinism among the elite the norm? What were the moral and aesthetic injunctions, codes of conduct, and theological laws directing and controlling the libido, and what was the reality of human behavior? What differences, if any, were there between eastern and western Ukrainian sexual mores and behavior, and how did Russian and Ukrainian morals and customs differ? Clearly these questions need study. Given the taboos that surrounded discussion of sexuality in the Russian Empire, and which still exist in the USSR, however, research of this subject would be difficult. To begin with, a student of sexuality in Ukraine must determine whether his single most important source, the published work of 19th-century ethnographers, was censored by the ethnographers themselves. According to Zbigniew Kuchowicz, for example, Poles omitted what they thought was obscene from their accounts, and therefore it is likely that Ukrainians did so as well. I personally know of only one unexpurgated published collection of Ukrainian erotic materials: *Das Geschlechtsleben des ukrainischen Bauernvolkes*, compiled by Pavlo Tarasevsky and Volodymyr Hnatiuk and published in two volumes in Leipzig in 1909–12. To be sure, accounts similar to *The Confessions*, erotic folk materials, and general information about sexuality might be found in Soviet archival collections, but it is unlikely that any Soviet scholar would be allowed to research and publish work on this subject. Prudish officials would probably regard him as a pervert and his work as pornography. Whether officials would allow Western scholars into Ukrainian archives to research sexuality is an open question.

In his well-written postface, Rayfield discusses Victor and his observations in the context of 19th-century Russian literature. But as this autobiography does provide a glimpse into a little known aspect of Ukrainian life at the turn of the century, it is regrettable that he did not also discuss *The Confessions* within the context of Ukrainian literature and society.

Stephen Velychenko
York University

RAY SERWYLO, *ACCORDION LESSONS*. Vancouver: Pulp Press, 1982. 79 pp.

Do not be fooled by the promotional blurb on the cover advertising this book as the winner of the "4th International 3-Day Novel-Writing Contest." And do not be misled by the fact that this slim volume of prose has been issued under the imprint of a publisher called Pulp Press. Ray Serwylo's *Accordion Lessons* is not the bit of fluff one might expect it to be for having been produced at breakneck speed. Nor is it written in a frenzied scrawl that owes more to artificial stimulants than genuine inspiration. It is a fully conceived, evenly paced, and polished literary work that surprises with its technical sophistication and charms with its lack of pretention. Evocative, interesting, and remarkably restrained, it is an excellent read with scarcely a sour note in it.

Serwylo tells the story of a young man relearning how to play the accordion and in the process rediscovering the Old World values it represents, which were largely abandoned in adolescence. A secondary theme is the development of a relationship with a woman named Lissa, who is also discovering the joys of playing a "squeeze-box." The narrative unfolds in a laconic monologue occasionally interrupted by the narrator's one-sided dialogue with his former self—a child of DPs growing up in the north end of Winnipeg during the fifties and early sixties. The tone is intimate and affectionate without being maudlin.

Serwylo's wry, often ironic humor is an effective antidote to the sentimentality that could have easily undermined the sincerity of this book. The following passage provides a good illustration of his underwritten style and understated wit:

Lissa's band doesn't play in these hotels where she used to dance. She caters to a younger crowd, the trendies, and now even has a sound man and a lights man. They have become more theatrical, and in demand for university socials. I wouldn't play at the university, under any circumstances. Lissa told me I shouldn't have to worry about it.

A muted lyricism and undercurrent of eroticism round out the mix of emotional elements that maintain the tonal equilibrium of *Accordion Lessons*.

Mention should be made of Serwylo's sometimes faulty and generally problematic rendering of Ukrainian in English transliteration. Three examples are "Pavlo, za-hrai nam shtosh!"; "Prystanj"; and "Ya Sho-hod-ny Vid Vas Videezdzyoo." Clearly, the author has an ear tuned to dialect rather than grammar, and while most readers may not notice his orthographic faux pas, those who know Ukrainian will.

The exclamatory remarks could be excused had they been made by a Canadian-born Ukrainian. However, they are uttered by immigrants who are native speakers and unlikely to make such slips of the tongue. As for the title of the well-known partisan song, it is simply inaccurately transcribed.

The Ukrainian words and phrases sprinkled throughout *Accordion Lessons* help to give it an ethnic flavor. But Serwylo's handling of the language reveals the pitfalls that a writer can encounter without careful thought or editorial assistance in literary Ukrainian. The problem of transliteration is more difficult to resolve because of the inherent inadequacies of existing systems for rendering Ukrainian in Latin script. The Library of Congress and IPA systems may be suitable for academic specialists, but pose difficulties for general readers and writers of creative literature. Yet something must be done to avoid the chaos and mistakes that are the inevitable result of authors inventing their own idiosyncratic and inconsistent forms.

One wonders what a non-Ukrainian makes of something that looks like "EE Shumyt, EE Hoodeh." Besides sounding funny, it has little hope of being understood the way German and French are by many readers of Western literatures. Translations in footnotes would undoubtedly be a welcome addition, especially for the more awkward configurations.

Although these editorial snags may trip some readers, they do not spoil the overall impact of the book. Serwylo is a wise and perceptive observer of human nature and has a particularly keen eye for remembered detail. Describing an old photograph of himself and his brother taken in the corner of the kitchen where "mother scattered dried peas for you to kneel on in penance," the narrator adds "You both are wearing the same kind of slippers, the kind that do not let your feet breathe." There are many such subtleties throughout the text, and many are sure to be missed in a casual first reading. Fortunately, *Accordion Lessons* stands up to an encore, which its novella length readily accommodates. For all the reasons touched on in this review, the book seems destined to become something of a classic in the burgeoning library of Ukrainian-Canadian literature.

Jars Balan
Edmonton

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A TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

(Modified Library of Congress)

а — a	ĩ — i	ф — f
б — b	й — i	х — kh
в — v	к — k	ц — ts
г — h	л — l	ч — ch
г — g	м — m	ш — sh
д — d	н — n	щ — shch
е — e	о — o	ю — iu
є — ie	п — p	я — ia
ж — zh	р — r	ь — -
з — z	с — s	-ий — y in endings
и — y	т — t	of personal
і — i	у — u	names only

