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Bohdan Strumins'kyj: The Populists' Influence on Ukrainian Grammar

Андрій Горняткевич: Український правопис: 1928 vs. 1960

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Ігор Померанцев: Замість рецензії

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CONTRIBUTORS

RAMSAY COOK is a professor of Canadian history at York University in Toronto. He is the author of *The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada* and *Canada and the French-Canadian Question*.

VALENTYNA FEDORENKO emigrated from the USSR to Israel in 1975. She now lives in California and is writing a Ph.D. dissertation on Mykola Khvylovy for the University of Jerusalem.

ANDRIJ HORNJATKEVYČ is an assistant professor of Ukrainian language and Slavic linguistics at the University of Alberta and special assistant to the director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

H. HRYHORIAK is a poet, journalist and student of literature.

IGOR POMERANTSEV is a Russian writer born in 1948 in Saratov. In 1970 he completed his studies in English at Chernivtsi University and worked as a teacher in the Carpathian village of Seliatyn. From 1972 until his emigration in August 1978 he lived in Kiev and became active in the defense of political prisoners. He now lives in West Germany.

FROM THE EDITORS

This is the first issue of the Journal appearing under its new name, the Journal of Ukrainian Studies. After some deliberation, it was decided that the new name would correspond better to the Journal's character. We publish contributions written not only by graduate students, but also by junior and senior academics, independent scholars, undergraduate students, writers and journalists. To many of our readers, the old name seems to have implied that we restrict the pages of our Journal only to graduate-student contributions. Although providing graduate students of Ukrainian studies with a forum in which they can publish their work continues to be one of the central aims of the Journal, to restrict ourselves only to such contributions would be unrealistic. The number of people pursuing Ukrainian studies on the graduate level is small and gradually decreasing. The new name will, it is hoped, give the Journal more flexibility: while continuing to provide graduate students with a forum, it may encourage all these interested in Ukrainian studies to submit their contributions.

THE INFLUENCE OF POPULISTS ON UKRAINIAN GRAMMAR: THE PLIGHT OF ACTIVE-PRESENT ADJECTIVAL PARTICIPLES IN UKRAINIAN

W piśmie polonistów czytałem kiedyś artykuł zakończony następująco: "Nie! Imiesłów . . . nie dość jeszcze znany jest narodowi. I nad tym trzeba się poważnie zastanowić, póki nie jest za późno.

Julian Tuwim, "Przebłyński genialności," 1932-47.

Ukrainian is the only language among its Slavic neighbours lacking active-present adjectival participles. The form in -čyj that look like participles are syntactically adjectives; that is, they cannot be used with syntactical objects in the broad sense of the word. It is possible to say, for example, *isnujuča systema*, "the existing system," but not *systema, isnujuča v SSSR*, "the system existing in the USSR." Also, no participle-like adjectives can be formed from reflexive verbs, because the reflexive -sja in them is a syntactical object in historical terms, and objects should not follow adjectives. Therefore, the expression "developing countries," which is translated as *rozvivajuščiesja strany* or *kraje rozwijające się* into Russian and Polish respectively, must be transformed into a periphrastic *krajiny na šljaxu rozvytku* in Ukrainian.

This makes Ukrainian similar to French, where reflexive adjectival participles are also impossible and the expression in question is worded, as in Ukrainian, *les pays en voie de developpement*. The reasons for this similarity have a lot in common in both languages, but there is also an important difference. Both Ukrainian and French initially simplified the old declinable active-present participles—Old Ukrainian or Latin respectively—into indeclinable ones. In French they changed into uniform -ant participles in the tenth century;¹ in Ukrainian they changed into uniform -čyj participles by the fourteenth century.² Then declension reappeared in both languages under the influence of prestigious languages. In French this happened in the thirteenth century under the in-

¹ A. Mercier, *Histoire des participes français* (Paris, 1879), pp. 6-7.

² A. A. Potebnia, *Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike*, vols. 1-2 (Moscow, 1958), p. 187; I. M. Kernytsky, *Systema slovozmyny v ukrainskii movi (Na materialakh pamiatok XVI st.)* (Kiev, 1967), p. 267.

fluence of Latin, and the *-ant* participles assumed gender and number desinences (*-e*, *-z/-s*);³ in Ukrainian the *-čy* participles changed into declinable adjectival *-čyj* participles in the fifteenth century, probably under the influence of Polish.⁴ Polish dialects show the same inclination towards the lack of adjectival active participles as the old French dialects did and as the Ukrainian dialects do;⁵ but literary Polish has never lost active-present adjectival participles,⁶ which surely has to be explained by the influence of Latin.

Meanwhile, the Church Slavonic adjectival participles of the present tense continued to be used in religious texts in Ukraine, either in a short or in a long form (for example, *žyvuš* or *žyvušcij*, "living"). From those texts they often penetrated into the secular language.⁷ The first grammarian of the Ukrainian language, Ivan Uzhevych, who was educated in France, distinguished those Slavonic forms from Ukrainian ones in 1643 better than some Ukrainian authors (non-linguists, however) did in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when *-čyj* and *-ščyj* participles or quasi-participles were used promiscuously.⁸ While he gave the present active participles the *-čyj* ending in his Ruthenian (that is, Ukrainian) grammar,⁹ he accorded a different ending, *-ščij*, to those participles in a special chapter about the "Coniugatio Language

³ L. Kukenheim, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Leyden, 1967), p. 83.

⁴ For example, "každoe do sebe šyrokost' majučye" (logical plural); "po obox" storonax" toe reky zemlja ležačaja"; "rečkamymalymy, v Rusavu vpadajučymy"; from a 1459 charter of Kievan Prince Semen Olekovich in A. A. Moskalenko, *Khrestomatiia z istorii ukrainskoi literaturnoi movy* (Kiev, 1954), pp. 17-8.

⁵ K. Nitsch, *Dialekty języka polskiego* (Wrocław—Cracow, 1957), p. 58.

⁶ They are recorded already in the oldest preserved Polish text, the *Holy Cross Sermons* of the mid-fourteenth century. W. Kuraszkiewicz, *Podstawowe wiadomości z gramatyki historycznej języka polskiego* (Warsaw, 1970), p. 159.

⁷ Examples from the Hustyn Chronicle (early seventeenth century) and I. Gizel's *Synopsys* (1674) were quoted by P. Zhytetsky, "O perevodakh evangeliia na malorusskii iazyk," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk*, vol. 10, bk. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 16.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

⁹ I. Uzhevych, *Hrammatyka slovenskaia* (Kiev, 1970), facsimile pages of the Paris manuscript 24b, 27a, 29a, and of the Arras manuscript 46a, 49b, 56b, 57b, 61b, 70b. Unfortunately, Uzhevych did not provide any context for his participles, so we do not know whether he used them as

Sacrae" (Church Slavonic).¹⁰ Uzhevych was not interested in the dialects of Ukrainian peasants, who certainly knew declinable active-present participles as little then as they did later, in modern times. To him, Ruthenian-Ukrainian (as French was to his Sorbonne teachers) was a language of the educated, who should have some tools of intellectual work unknown to the illiterate. Any literary language is artificial for this very reason.¹¹

Finally, in both French and Ukrainian the declinable adjectival present participles were removed by a fiat of linguists. In French this was done by the French Academy in the seventeenth century in order to put an end to frequent confusions and to make the written language more like the spoken one.¹² In Ukrainian this was also done by some grammarians to make the written language more like the spoken one. The difference is in the question: the language spoken by whom?

The sociolinguistic situation of Ukrainian was worse than that of French already in Uzhevych's time. (Suffice it to say that his grammar could not be published in Ukraine, where the Church Slavonic grammar of Smotrytsky was the only one adhered to.) Later that situation became even worse. By the end of the eighteenth century, the upper strata in eastern Ukraine became Muscovized linguistically, whereas those in western Ukraine adopted the Polish or Hungarian language. Ukrainian thus became a language used solely by the peasants. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Enlightenment, Sentimentalism and Romanticism brought about a scholarly and literary interest on the part of the

real participles or as adjectives. According to W. Witkowski (*Język utworów Joannicjusza Galatowskiego na tle języka piśmiennictwa ukraińskiego XVII wieku* [Cracow, 1969], p. 559), Ukrainian -čyj participles in the seventeenth century "were a vanishing category, partly subject to adjectivization and partly crowded out by hypotactical constructions." This statement would have to be checked more thoroughly. One has the impression that the -ščyj/čyj participles were used quite freely by Ukrainian writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, many titles of K. Zynoviiiv's poems from the early eighteenth century are participial: "Ō xuljačyx" čyn" dšovnyj," "Ō upysujuščŷxsja v kozaky durnŷx" mužykyx y zнову vŷpysuvatysja xotjaščŷx," and so on. *Virshi. Prypovisti pospolyti* (Kiev, 1971), pp. 54, 55.

¹⁰ Uzhevych, p. 54a of the Arras manuscript.

¹¹ Cf. O. Pritsak's view: "Every standard language is artificial. Every standard language is formed on the basis of some arbitrary rules." (*The Ukrainian Experience in the United States: A Symposium*, ed. P. Magocsi [Cambridge, Mass., 1979], p. 145).

¹² Kukenheim, p. 84.

educated public in the folk culture of the peasantry. In this atmosphere, the second Ukrainian grammar was published by Oleksander Pavlovsky in 1818, in St. Petersburg. For him, the Ukrainian language was not something to be taken seriously, as it was for Uzhevyh. It was only a "vanishing dialect," "neither a dead nor living language."¹³ Pavlovsky's aim was not to help in its development, but to draw on it in order to enrich the Russian language.¹⁴ In his opinion, "Little Russians have no participles of either the present or past tense but replace them by pronouns *toj*, *ščo* ("the one who") with appropriate verbs.¹⁵ Here, Pavlovsky quite rightly noticed a characteristic of the peasant language: it is generally more verbal than nominal or adjectival.¹⁶ His view was corrected in 1819 by his reviewer, Tsertelev, who pointed out that participles of the *ležačyj* ("lying, resting") type existed in Ukrainian.¹⁷ But whether it was correct or not, it was Pavlovsky's view that presaged the future development of the Ukrainian language.

In 1829, the first Ukrainian grammar in Galicia appeared. Its author was a priest, Ivan Mohyl'nytsky. His approach to Ukrainian was diametrically different from Pavlovsky's. "The Ruthenian grammar is the science of correct speech and writing in the Ru-

¹³ P. D. Tymoshenko, *Khrestomatiia materialiv z istorii ukrainskoi literaturnoi movy*, 2 vols. (Kiev, vol. 1:1959, vol. 2:1961), 1:157, 158.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁶ There is an anecdote in Polish about a peasant's definition of a locomotive: "Lokomotywa — to kiedy jedzie i gwiżdże" (Locomotive is when it moves and whistles). The populist-minded scholars of the 1920s in Ukraine (for example, A. Krymsky) liked to use the verbal phrase "Ščo de je" ("what is where") rather than the nominal "zmist" or "ohlav" (contents) in their scholarly books. Today, such formulae sound like parodies. One feels like quoting here the Red Guard from V. Vynnychenko's *Mizh dvokh syl* (Kiev—Vienna, 1919), p. 69: "Poddjelujut'sja pod mužyc'kyj razhovor i dumajut', ščo eto komus' interesno" (They ape the peasant speech and think someone will find it interesting). One of the populist readers of the Ukrainian press in eastern Ukraine demanded in the early twentieth century that Ukrainian "sentences be rephrased into verbal ones because the verb depicts action vividly and . . . represents one of the first levels in the evolution of language" (V. Hekhter, "Ukrainskyi chytach pro ukrainski chasopysi," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, bk. 5-6, 1912, p. 531). Thus the first, rather than last, levels of evolution were supposed to be models for the Ukrainian literary language.

¹⁷ *Z istorii ukrainskoi movy. Do 150-richchia "Hramatyky" O. Pavlovskoho* (Kiev, 1972), p. 23.

thenian language," he wrote.¹⁸ Thus, Mohylnytsky's grammar was not an ethnographic curio for another nation but a normative aid for Ruthenians to develop their own literary language. As well, the grammar was written in Ruthenian (whereas Pavlovsky used Russian). As for the adjectival active-present participles, Mohylnytsky stated: "The ending of the active-present participle in *čij*, *ča*, *čoe* is more common in the Ruthenian language than the Slavonic ending in *ščij*, *šča*, *ščoe*, which is used only in some Ruthenian works."¹⁹ The context provided by him shows that he really treated the *-čij* forms as participles (for example, *Koxajučij rodyčov* "sŷn", "a son loving his parents").²⁰ The same view on participles was adopted by Iakiv Holovatsky in his grammar of 1849,²¹ and Galician grammars continued to treat adjectival active-present participles as a normal grammatical category till the early twentieth century.²²

Contrary to Pavlovsky's view, nineteenth-century eastern-Ukrainian writers did use adjectival active-present participles, although not as frequently as Galicians did.²³ The reason was not

¹⁸ I. Mohylnytsky, *Hrammatyka iazyka slavenoruskoho*, published by M. Vozniak in *Ukrainsko-ruskyi arkhiv* (Lviv, 1910), 5:72.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

²¹ Ia. Holovatsky, *Hramatyka ruskoho iazyka* (Lviv, 1849), pp. 207, 208. Forms in *-sja*, such as *mŷjučijsja*, confirm that he meant real participles.

²² For example, V. Kotsovsky, I. Ohonovsky, *Metodychna hramatyka ruskoj movy*, 2nd rev. ed. (Lviv, 1909), p. 50. (Example: "Boh znajučyj naši dila, znajučyj sami dumky naši, ne poterpyt' nijakoi nepravdy," "God knowing our deeds and knowing our very thoughts will not tolerate any lie," p. 51); O. Soltys, *Illustriertes Praktisches Lehrbuch der Ukrainischen Schrift und Sprache* (Lemberg [Lviv], 1918), p. 46. (This has only adjectival examples.)

²³ M. Zhovtobriukh (*Mova ukrainskoi presy* [Do seredyny dev'ia-nostykh rokiv XIX st.] [Kiev, 1963], p. 93) stated, for example, that nineteenth-century eastern-Ukrainian literary almanacs used *-cyj* participles much less frequently than the Galician *Rusalka Dnistrovaia*. In his *Mova ukrainskoi periodychnoi presy* (Kinets XIX — poch. XX st.) (Kiev, 1970), p. 116, Zhovtobriukh states: "Active-present and past adjectival participles were used with a relatively great frequency in the prerevolutionary press, with a much greater intensity than in present-day literary Ukrainian," after which he cites, however, only Galician and Bukovinian examples. But the eastern-Ukrainian P. Biletsky-Nosenko, in his manuscript *Slovar malorossiiskogo ili iugovostochnorusskogo iazyka* of 1843 (published in Kiev as late as 1966), put the *-čyj* participle in a special entry as a normal category (without syntactical context, however).

only the stronger orientation of the eastern writers towards the rural language, but also the more diversified use of the Galician written language (in journalism, scholarship, administration, and so on), which was free from the limits imposed on the Ukrainian language under Russia. It is safe to say that the more sophisticated an author was, the more likely he was to use adjectival active participles. If we limit ourselves to the most outstanding Ukrainian political and cultural thinkers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—Drahomanov, Franko and Lypynsky—it is very easy to find adjectival active-present participles in large quantities in their writings.²⁴

However, in the 1890s an attack against the use of such participles was started in the Ukrainian populist circles. In contrast to the Russian *narodniki*, the Ukrainian populists were not revolutionaries organized in conspiratorial parties, but cultural figures who believed that the Ukrainian peasants had preserved the purest Ukrainian language and culture and that Ukrainian literature and the literary language should help primarily in educating the illiterate and semiliterate peasantry.²⁵ To do so easily, the Ukrainian literary language should be based on the simple language of the "people," that is, the peasants. "The language of a rural woman (*jazyk sil's'koji baby*) with its syntax should be a model of the written language for literature," wrote the leading populist prosaist, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, in 1878.²⁶ In 1892, the populist writer Borys Hrinchenko initiated a puristic polemic against the language of the Galician poets. One of his charges was that

²⁴ Examples from Drahomanov and Franko can be found easily in Tymoshenko's reprint of some of their works (1:284 ff.; 2: 8 ff.). Lypynsky's penchant for *-čyj* participles can already be seen from the long subtitle of his *Lysty do brativ khliborobiv* (Vienna, 1926): "*dyscyplinu-jučoji providnu verstvu*," "*rozbyvajučyx zemlju*," and so on.

²⁵ Cf. *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva: Slovnykova chastyna* (Paris—New York, 1966), 5:1701.

²⁶ "Sohochasne literaturne priamuvannia," *Pravda* (Lviv), 2 (1878): 31; reprinted in Tymoshenko, 1:336. Similar views were expressed by A. Krymsky: "One should write exactly the way simple folk speak in Ukraine" (*Narysy z istorii ukrainskoi movy* [Kiev, 1924], p. 115). How difficult it was, however, for an educated person to follow that rule can be seen in Nechui-Levytsky's own language, where *-čyj* participles can be found ("*pohljad, vyjvuljajučyj rozum*," and so on, quoted disapprovingly by Iu. Sherekh [Shevelov], *Narys suchasnoi ukrainskoi literaturnoi movy* (Munich, 1951), p. 323.

The forms in *-čyj*—*letjučyj*, *balakučyj* [flying, talking]—are not participles in the Ukrainian-Ruthenian language, but adjectives. It would be completely illogical to conclude that such participial forms can exist from the fact that such adjectives exist. But because of either the Muscovite or Polish influence, or the influence of Galician linguistic variants, these forms have been used quite enthusiastically, particularly in recent times. People probably think that this is an enrichment of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian language. But they are wrong: to load the language down with forms that are not an organic part of it is not to enrich it but to mess and corrupt it.²⁷

In 1905, the most authoritative Ukrainian linguist at that time, the populist Pavlo Zhytetsky, analyzed the language of Ukrainian translations of the Gospel. Paying particular attention to the problem of participles in these translations, he wrote: "As for the active adjectival participles, they are completely absent in the folk language. They are used still in the Little Russian literary language only because of the literary traditions of the Little Russian written language; in such cases the ending of the present tense is *-čyj*, and not *-ščyj*."²⁸ Zhytetsky criticized Panteleimon Kulish and Ivan Puliui, and Mykhailo Lobodovsky, for using adjectival participles of the present tense in their translations of the Gospel, while praising an earlier translation by Pylyp Morachevsky for its lack of such forms. To better understand Zhytetsky's position, one must recollect what he wrote in 1862: "The Little Russian language is a language of the villages, and not of the civilized cities."²⁹

In 1907, a Ukrainian grammar was published by Ievhen Tymchenko,³⁰ who has been called "perhaps the most typical representative of the 'populist' current in Ukrainian linguistics."³¹ Tymchenko's grammar appeared in eastern Ukraine in the effervescent atmosphere that followed the revolution of 1905, when, after the lifting of the ban on the Ukrainian language in the Russian empire, Galicia ceased to have a monopoly on producing Ukrainian grammars and other Ukrainian-language books. Tym-

²⁷ "Kilka sliv pro nashu literaturnu movu," *Zoria* (Lviv), 1892, nos. 15, 16; reprinted in Tymoshenko, 2:143.

²⁸ Zhytetsky, p. 24.

²⁹ "Russkii patriotizm," *Osnova* (St. Petersburg), March 1862; reprinted in a Ukrainian translation by Tymoshenko, 1:309.

³⁰ Ie. Tymchenko, *Ukrainska hramatyka* (Kiev, 1907). I was able to see only the second, 1917, edition, which had very few changes in relation to the 1907 edition.

³¹ Iu. Sherekh[Shevelov], *Vsevolod Hantsov, Olena Kurylo* (Winipeg, 1954), p. 39.

chenko wrote the following about Ukrainian participles: "Once there were forms of the active-present participle in *-čyj* (*-ščyj*) in the Ukrainian language . . . but now they have lost the character of participles and have the meaning of adjectives."³² This statement proved to be decisive for the further formulation of this problem in Ukrainian grammars. It was adopted not only in eastern Ukraine³³ but also in Galicia, in agreement with a general trend among Galicians to make linguistic concessions to eastern Ukrainians.³⁴ Whereas the authoritative Galician Ruthenian grammar of Smal-Stotsky and Gartner of 1893 still recognized the participles in *-čyj*, the third revised edition of 1914 accepted the Tymchenko formula.³⁵

In practice, it took some time before the Tymchenko prescription was generally applied. In particular, if one reads the legal acts of the Ukrainian Hetman state of 1918, which was an ideological antagonist of the populist-oriented Ukrainian People's Republic,³⁶ one finds that adjectival active-present participles are used very often ("*zakon, ustanovljajučyj porjadok vyboriv*"—

³² Tymchenko, p. 13.

³³ For example, M. Levytsky, *Ukrainska hramatyka dlia samonavchannia* (Kiev, 1918), p. 69; P. and P. Terpylo, *Ukrainska hramatyka: Etymolohiia* (Kiev, 1918), p. 48 (all examples from Tymchenko); M. K. Grunsky, *Ukrainskaia grammatika* (Kiev, 1918), pp. 34-5 ("one can say, for example, *nadijučyjsja čolovik*, but *čolovik, ščo nadijet'sja* is better"); S. M. Kulbakin, *Ukrainskii iazyk: Kratkii ocherk istoricheskoi fonetiki i morfologii* (Kharkiv, 1919), p. 82; A. Berlo, *Ukrainska hramatyka* (Cherkasy—Kiev, 1919), pp. 53-4.

³⁴ "Galicians make concessions of their own volition to the Ukrainian dialect . . . They renounce the rights of their dialect in favour of the Ukrainian one." A. Krymsky, "Nasha iazykova skruta ta sposib zaradyty lykhovi," *Zoria* (Lviv), 1891, no. 24; reprinted in Tymoshenko, 2:227. The fact of Galician grammatical concessions does not contradict the well-known fact of the great lexical influence of Galician on eastern Ukrainian.

³⁵ S. Smal-Stotsky and F. Gartner, *Ruska hramatyka* (Lviv, 1893; 3rd rev. ed., Vienna, 1914), pp. 92, 143. Here I have to rely on V. Chaplenko, *Istoriia novoi ukrainskoi literaturnoi movy* (New York, 1970), p. 247, because the original was not available to me. In a polemic with Kochovsky and Ohonovsky, the authors wrote: "The Ukrainian language generally does not like subjective, attributive, adjectival participles; therefore we shall replace them instead with adverbial participles. For example: '*Vin znajuščyj naši dila, bačaščyj sami dumky naši, vin ne poterpyt' nijakoji nepravdy.*' (Instead, we use *znajučy, bačačy*) . . ."

³⁶ On the populist orientation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, see I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky, *Mizh istoriieiu i politykoiu* (Munich, 1973), pp. 174-5.

"a law establishing the electoral rules," and so on).³⁷ And the Tymchenko rule was totally ignored by the leading Hetmanite ideologist, Viacheslav Lypynsky, whose works certainly set the record for using such participles in modern times.

Favorable conditions for the popularization of Tymchenko's idea were created in Soviet Ukraine during the NEP period. In 1920, Olena Kurylo, a Tymchenko disciple,³⁸ published a book, *Comments on Contemporary Literary Ukrainian*, which was re-published in 1923 and 1924 in an enlarged and revised version. The book had a tremendous impact on language practice in Soviet Ukraine. Iurii Sherekh (G. Y. Shevelov) writes that "as a reference book of literary editors, it determined the entire direction of their work for many years Many authors of a deluge of various language textbooks and guides of that time actually did almost nothing else but popularize Kurylo's guidelines from her *Comments*."³⁹ "The Ukrainian society from 1917 to 1925 was mostly romantic, and largely also romantic-populist, and this created the preconditions for the great success and influence" of Kurylo's *Comments*, he concludes.⁴⁰

Olena Kurylo considered the problem of participles to be particularly important. The very first sentence of the third edition of her book begins with the statement that "the Ukrainian language does not know active adjectival participles in -čyj," after which she quotes the opinion of Zhytetsky mentioned above.⁴¹ Kurylo's populist (or "romantic-populist," as Shevelov defines it) ideological position can be illustrated by the following excerpt from the preface to her book: "When the contemporary literary Ukrainian, especially scholarly, language . . . drifts away from its natural source—the folk basis . . . it cannot allow the Ukrainian semi-intelligentsia to understand the contents of publications The Ukrainian intelligentsia . . . should use the Ukrainian folk language, should learn from the [simple] people [*narod*] to express scientific truths through the ideas and linguistic psychology of that people."⁴² Kurylo's orientation towards the language of the

³⁷ D. Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukrainy 1917-1923 r.r.*, vol. 2: *Ukrainska Hetmanska Derzhava 1918 roku* (Uzhhorod, 1930), pp. 50 ff.

³⁸ Sherekh, *Vsevolod Hantsov*, pp. 39, 48.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴¹ O. Kurylo, *Uvahy do suchasnoi ukrainskoi literaturnoi movy*, 5th ed. (Toronto, 1960), p. 13; Reprinted from the 4th ed. (Cracow—Lviv, 1942), which was a reprint of the 3rd ed.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

semi-intelligentsia, that is, the semiliterate, was the direct continuation of Nechui-Levytsky's orientation towards the language of the rural woman. Of course, some progress had been made: whereas Levytsky's rural women were by and large totally illiterate, Kurylo's ideal was semiliterate.

Those semiliterate people to whom the sophisticated language of a Drahomanov or Franko was totally alien were the social base of the so-called Ukrainization of the 1920s in Soviet Ukraine. As Lypynsky put it: "This semiliterate stratum of contemporary 'loyal Little Russians,' which presses its way into the Communist government agencies as much as it can, thinks that the 'Ukrainian language' will mask its primitive lack of culture."⁴³ A language without adjectival participles, difficult to accept for a cultured person, was no problem for these people.

One representative of the enlightened minority, Petro Buzuk, tried to fight back. He was himself an outstanding linguist. In his *Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Language*, published in 1927 in Kiev, Buzuk wrote: "Some linguists consider these forms [in -čyj] to be simple adjectives; on the basis of the fact that Ukrainian folk dialects (like Russian and Belorussian dialects) have lost the capability of forming adjectival participles, they forbid this in the literary language as well But no literary language can do without adjectival participles (for example, Russian, which uses the form in -ščij, unknown to folk dialects, or Belorussian, also using the forms in -čyj); therefore, literary Ukrainian also has developed various ways of forming adjectival participles."⁴⁴ To support his argument, Buzuk cited many Ukrainian classical writers who used such forms, to whom he also added, probably not without irony, some populist-oriented linguists (Tymchenko, Krymsky, Nimchynov). But Buzuk's was a voice in the wilderness of triumphant populism. In Western Ukraine, Kurylo's linguistic views were supported by Ivan Ohienko, a very influential popularizer of the eastern-Ukrainian linguistic norms among the Galicians.⁴⁵

The ban on -čyj participles has been maintained in Soviet grammars until today, with one modification: formations in -čyj

⁴³ Lypynsky, p. 446.

⁴⁴ P. Buzuk, *Narys istorii ukrainskoi movy* (Kiev, 1927), p. 84. Some Ukrainian linguistic works on -čyj quoted by him (including his own "Uvahy do diiepryketnykiv v ukrainskii movi") are unavailable in the U.S.A.

⁴⁵ I. Ohienko, *Ridne slovo: Pochatkova hramatyka ukrainskoi movy*, pt. 2 (Zhovkva, 1937), p. 152.

are allowed to be formed freely from any verb "that expresses action in no relation to its object," stated in *The Contemporary Ukrainian Literary Language* (1969).⁴⁶ One wonders, however, why such formations are called participles (*dijeprykmetnyky*). If they cannot have syntactical objects, they should more properly be called adjectives, as Tymchenko called them. But one example cited in the above handbook shows a -čyj form in an obviously participial (that is, objective) function—*považajuča sebe ljudyna*, "a person respecting himself" (from Iurii Ianovsky). Therefore, the authors of the book had to concede that "active-present adjectival participles formed from transitive verbs and keeping the government of a direct object are rarely encountered."⁴⁷

In the Ukrainian emigration, the opposition to adjectival active-present participles is more radical, in the spirit of Kurylo. For example, Iurii Shevelov, in his *Outline of Contemporary Literary Ukrainian* (1951), cited disapprovingly even such -čyj forms that are no more than adjectives (as "ščoś intrygujuče", "something intriguing," from Arkadii Liubchenko). He commented on them as follows: "There are bookish creations, completely impossible in everyday speech, and they appear either under the influence of the old tradition or, most frequently, under the influence of languages with a developed system of adjectival temporal participles."⁴⁸ One would like to add: and with a developed system of thought.

A similarly radical disapproval of -čyj forms can be found in Borys Antonenko-Davydovych's book, *How We Speak*, published in 1970 in Kiev. Davydovych rejects even those -čyj participles that function like adjectives or nouns. (He even suggested that in the common proverb "utopajučyj xapajet'sja za solomynku," "a drowning man grabs at a straw," the first word be replaced with an ad hoc created noun, *utopal'nyk*.)⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Suchasna ukrainska literaturna mova: Morfolohiia* (Kiev, 1969), p. 410.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

⁴⁸ Sherekh, *Narys*, p. 323. Cf. n. 25. A very negative attitude to any čyj forms, even as adjectives, is displayed by the émigré linguist Chaplenko, p. 46. (He disapproves of their use by I. Kotliarevsky, p. 232; by L. Ukrainka, p. 235; by O. Kobylanska, p. 240; by V. Vynnychenko, pp. 247, 251, 255, 328-9; and in various grammars between 1893 and 1918.) One gets the impression that Ukrainian writers and grammarians before Chaplenko's time did not know the correct Ukrainian.

⁴⁹ B. Antonenko-Davydovych, *Iak my hovorymo* (Kiev, 1970), pp. 184-97, in particular pp. 195-6.

Into how difficult a position the Ukrainian language has been manoeuvred by the elimination of *-čyj* participles can be seen from the attempts to use adjectives with syntactical objects instead of the *-čyj* forms. Such attempts were already noticed and refuted by Olena Kurylo (for example, “*namahal’noho do mety*,” “striving towards a goal,” instead of the forbidden “*namahajučohosja do mety*”).⁵⁰ A recent example from the émigré writer, Iurii Lavrinenko, confirms the existence of that unsolved problem: “*proxidni povz neji promeni*,” “the rays moving past it.”⁵¹ The usual advice of grammarians is to replace *-čyj* constructions with phrases starting with reflexive pronouns (*ščo, jakyj*).⁵² An excessive analyticity, however, breaks sentence structure into pieces and impedes the economy of language.⁵³

The French language has not suffered much because of the Academy decision made in the seventeenth century. The Ukrainian language, however, has been changed into a less functional one as a result of the Tymchenko—Kurylo decision in the twentieth century. After all, the sentence that we gave as an example at the outset can be easily translated into French with the use of an indeclinable, but still adjectival, participle: *le système existant à l'URSS*. Such a solution—the identification of adjectival and adverbial participles in one form—is impossible in the highly inflectional Ukrainian language. Therefore, the issue of adjectival active-present participles remains an open problem in Ukrainian to be solved by future codifiers free from the populist fetish of the language of the *narod*.

⁵⁰ Kurylo, p. 19.

⁵¹ *Suchasnist*, no. 7-8 (1977), p. 61.

⁵² See O. Pavlovsky, cf. above. Also cf., for example, M. Hrunsky (as quoted in n. 28); O. Syniavsky, *Poradnyk ukrainskoi movy* (Kharkiv, 1922), p. 73; O. Kurylo, p. 19; P. Horetsky, I. Shalia, *Ukrainska mova: Praktychno-teoretychnyi kurs* (Kiev, 1926), pp. 134-5 (*ščo, jakyj, xto . . .*); M. Hrunsky, H. Sabaldyr, *Ukrainska mova* (Kiev, 1926), p. 80; O. Iziunov, *Hramatyka i pravopys ukrainskoi movy*, 7th ed. (Kiev, 1928), p. 41; M. P. Ivchenko, *Suchasna ukrainska literaturna mova* (Kiev, 1965), p. 332; *Suchasna ukrainska literaturna mova* (Kiev, 1975), p. 263.

⁵³ Inconveniences of the *ščo* periphrases, for example, in translations from Russian, were admitted by S. Kovhaniuk, *Praktyka perekladu (Z dosvidu perekladacha)* (Kiev, 1968), p. 162.

Андрій Горняткевич

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ПРАВОПИС:

1928 vs. 1960

I

Вже від довшого часу на сторінках української еміграційної преси відбувається дискусія про правописні справи. В ній беруть участь і фахівці, і не фахівці, хоч останні, очевидно, пристрасні любителі чистоти української мови.

Серед пропонованих думок можна б виділити два полюси: одні вважають, що правопис 1928 р.* — єдиний правильний, хоч його можна б (а то й треба) в деяких подробицях досконалити чи усучаснити; другі тримаються такої думки, що коли ціла Україна вживає правопис 1960 р., то яким правом українці, що живуть за межами батьківщини (і в більшій чи меншій мірі відірвані від рідної мовної стихії), можуть встановлювати свої власні норми. Розуміється, бувають ще інші „полярні” погляди, а ще більше різного роду компромісів між ними. Мало таких, які вважають, що правописи 1928 чи 1960 рр. бездоганні і не потребують ніяких доповнень. Згадаймо, що на сторінках журналу *Українська мова й література в школі* велася жвава дискусія в 1960 рр. на тему вдосконалення правопису, що є нині обов'язковим в УРСР.

У цій статті я хочу розглянути тільки одне питання: „До якої міри правопис 1928 р. (далі 1928) різниться від правопису 1960 р. (далі 1960)?” Я порівнюватиму лише згадані правописи й оминатиму зіставлявання правописних словників, а тим більше не вводитиму в подробиці мовної практики (лексики, стилістики тощо), бо вважаю, що це вже інше питання.

Розбіжності між цими правописами можна поділити на кілька категорій: (1) неоднакове написання форм українських слів; (2) різниця у вживанні розділових знаків; і (3) неоднакове написання чужомовних слів — слов'янських і неслов'янських.

Першій категорії розбіжностей можна дати більше значення, бо тут віддзеркалено відмінні погляди на саму мову.

* Всеукраїнська Правописна Конференція відбувалася в Харкові від 26 травня до 6 червня 1927 р., а *Український правопис* появився 1929 р. Тому що РНК УРСР визнала його загальнообов'язуючим 4 вересня 1928 р., а НКО (Народний Комісар Освіти) М. Скрипник затвердив його 6 вересня 1928 р., вживаю цю дату (1928 р.) як дату правопису.

Письмо має відтворювати точну картину звуків мови (розмови), отже інакше написання якогось слова виявляє інакше й сприйняття самого вимовленого слова.

Друга категорія — досить теоретична. Їй, звичайно, можна присвятити чимало уваги, але вона має відносно менший стосунок до самої мови. Чи пишемо *хтонебудь* (1928) чи *хто-небудь* (1960) — від цього вимова ніяк не зміниться і не буде ніякої плутанини в значенні слова.

Про третю категорію прийдеться багато говорити. Немає мов з письмом, яке могло б задовільно передати звуки всіх або навіть більшості мов. Завжди доводиться робити якийсь компроміс. Згадаймо хоч нашу особисту проблему: як передати м'які приголосні в наших прізвищах, коли пишемо їх по-англійському, по-французькому чи іншими західноєвропейськими мовами? Як нам передавати англійське *th*, французьке *oe*, чи португальське *ã* в українській транскрипції? Одне слово — це ахілесова п'ята кожного правопису, і одиний вихід — компроміс.

Загальна характеристика

Текстова частина 1928 обіймає 87 сторінок друку, далі йде „Елементарна граматична термінологія”, що складається з двох частин: російсько-української і українсько-російської (стор. 88-97). Будова 1960 досить подібна, з тим, що текст його обіймає 166 сторінок, граматична термінологія (українсько-російська і російсько-українська) — стор. 173-188, а при кінці поданий „Покажчик”. Він лише в малій мірі може виконувати роллю правописного словника, але вказує на те, де щось сказано про дане слово в тексті. Більший текст 1960 пояснюється тим, що цей правопис звичайно дає більше прикладів на кожне правило, а також багато детальніше обговорює поодинокі питання. Це зокрема помітно в частині про розділові знаки.

Бувають випадки, коли один правопис подає правило, відсутнє в другому, але в таких випадках вони себе радше доповнюють, а не перечать один одному.

1. *Графеміка*

1.1 У 1960 вилучено букву *г* і в ньому фонемі (г) і (г) передають однією графемою — *з* (§ 91).*

* Усі примітки до обох правописів стосуються числа §; числа в інших примітках — сторінках.

1.2 Правопис поодиноких українських слів:

1928 (9)	1960 (1.3)
ганчар	гончар
монастир	монастир
багатир	багатир (багата людина)
	богатир (велетень, герой)

Тут можна добачати свого роду реетимологізацію і відхід від частинного акання.

Бувають також деякі дрібні розбіжності типу

мариво (20.15)	марево (18.8)
братік (20.16)	братик (18.9)

Можна б говорити про деякий російський вплив на першу форму (пор. рос. марево), але в другій формі маємо радше відхід від цієї мови, бо в рос. мові *-ык* не є здрібнілим суфіксом.

Тут можна ще згадати такі різновиди:

кожом'яка (21.2.а)	кожум'яка (19.2.а)
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Перша форма — сполучення обох коренів суфіксом *-о-*, а в 1960 вихідною формою є знахідний відмінок однини (м'яти кожу). Тут знову можна б добачати відхід від російської мови, бо там кожемяка і *кожом'яка читалися б однаково (кəʒʌm'ákə), а кожум'яка вимовлялося б (кəʒum'ákə) (РЛПуУ, 670-3).

1.3 І 1928 (19.2), і 1960 (17.1) вимагають, щоб префікс з-змінювався на *с-* перед глухими приголосними *к, н, т і х*. Таким чином згідно з обома правописами пишеться сказати, спішити, стопити, схопити.

1960 подає цю зміну також перед *ф*, таким чином:

1928	1960
зфотографувати	сфотографувати

2. Морфологія

1928 поділяє всі українські іменники на три відміни (22), а 1960 розділяє першу з них на дві (33). Ю. Шерех (1950, 182-7) вдасться теж до цього поділу, але П. Ковалів (1966, 99) і Д. Кислиця (1968, I, 36), хоч дотримуються 1928, застосовують той самий принцип, що в 1960. Це несуттєва різниця.

Суттєві розбіжності між обома правописами такі.

2.1 Іменники чоловічого роду:

2.1.1 Клична форма однини

1928 подає закінчення *-е* для іменників мішаної групи на *-р-* — *тесляре, повістяре* — але „лише зрідка” допускає закінчення *-у*: *повістяру* (24.5).

1960 вимагає в таких випадках тільки закінчення *-е* (53.3.в).

2.1.2 Родовий відмінок однини

Обидва правописи інакше формулюють правила вживання закінчень *-а, -я/-у, -ю*, але засадничо ці правила однакові. Суттєва різниця стосується назв міст та інших населених пунктів. 1928 каже, що цей відмінок „вживається то з *-у, -ю* (далеко частіше), то з *-а, -я*”; напр.: *Лондону, Парижу, але Харкова, Києва* (25.3).

1960 вимагає в усіх таких випадках вживання *-а, -я* — *Лондона, Парижа, Харкова, Києва* — і обмежує закінчення *-у, -ю* до „складених назв населених пунктів, другою частиною яких є іменник, що звичайно має у родовому відмінку закінчення *-у*: *Красного Лиману, Зеленого Гаю, Червоного Ставу*”. (48.1.6.2)

2.2 Іменники середнього роду:

2.2.1 Родовий відмінок однини слова „ім'я” у 1928 подано як імени (25.4.в), а в 1960 як імені (63.2).

2.2.2 Давальний відмінок однини

Обидва правописи допускають форми *лихові, серцеві*, але 1928 долучує сюди також *військові, святові, сонцеві*. (26.1.6)

2.2.3 Місцевий відмінок однини

1928 дозволяє закінчення або *-і (-ї)*, або *-ю (-у)* іменників м'якої і мішаної групи з наголосом не на закінченні: на *сónці ~ на сónцю, на пóлі ~ на пóлю, у стóвпиці ~ у стóвпицу, на ві́чі ~ на ві́чу і ін.* (29.3)

1960 тут приписує тільки закінчення *-і, -ї*. (52.3.6)

2.3 Іменники жіночого роду:

2.3.1 Родовий відмінок однини

У цьому відмінку іменників жіночого роду третьої відміни 1928 подає два закінчення: *-і* та *-и*. За цим правилом закінчення *-и* вживається з іменниками, „на *-ть* за другим приго-

лосним: від радості, з вісти, до смерті, без чверти... [і] також винятково: до осені, без соли, крові, любові, Руси", а всі інші іменники цієї відміни мають закінчення -і в родовому відмінку однини. (25.4.6)

1960 закінчення -и не допускає і всі такі іменники подає з закінченням -і: вісті, любові і ін. (60.1)

Це питання — одне з дискусійних. Треба признати, що в південносхідньому діалекті української мови є підстави для обох закінчень, тобто тільки -і, або -і/-и, але досить очевидно, що в 1960 вибрано ту форму, що найменше відрізнялася б від російської мови.

Тут також варто згадати, що за 1960 до третьої відміни включено іменники, які за 1928 відмінювалися як іменники чоловічого роду, напр. фальш, або мали інакшу відмінкову форму, напр. віолончеля (54.2.6) — віолончель (ОСУМ).

Поділ іменників чоловічого роду на -ар/-яр на тверду — м'яку — мішану групу у 1928 збігається з даними 1960 та ОСУМ, з тим, що останній довідник подає слово *маляр* із закінченнями і твердої і мішаної групи, а *муляр* тільки із закінченнями твердої (у 1928 їх вичислено в мішаній групі). Вживання *маляр* із твердими закінченнями може бути наслідком впливу російської мови, де це слово належить до твердої групи.

Бувають розбіжності між обома правописами щодо написання відмінкових закінчень поодиноких слів. Наприклад:

	1928	1960
род. мн.	болгарів (31.2.б.а) татарів (31.2.б.а)	болгар (55.1.а.пр.)
і	татар (31.2.б.а) подорожів (31.3.а)	татар (55.1.а.пр.) подорожей (61.2)
дав. мн.	штаням (32)	штанам (67.1)
зн. мн.	коні (33) воли (33)	коней (57.1.пр.) волів (57.1.пр.)

1928 (30.2.г. увага і 30.3.г. увага) крім загальнопринятих форм іменників з числівниками *два-дві*, *обидва-обидві*, *три* і *чотири* допускає також старі форми двоїни: дві книзі, три вербі, хаті, руці, три квітці, пісні, чотири норі; дві відрі, дві слові, три яблуці, чотири вікні.

У 1960 проблема відмінково-наголосових форм іменників після цих числівників взагалі не згадана, а в мовній практиці старі двоїнні форми зустрічаються щораз рідше.

2.4 1928 вважає, що певні назви місцевостей відмінюються як прикметники, зокрема ті, що мають суфікс *-ське*, *-цьке*, „а не *-ськ*, *-цьк*” (81.2). У 1960 таки прийнято закінчення *-ськ*, *-цьк* і ці місцевості відмінюються як іменники м'якої групи.

1928 (81.2)	1960 (ОСУМ)
Луцьке	Луцьк
Пинське	Верхньодніпровськ (107)
але Менськ	Пінськ
	Мінськ

Тут можна згадати, що іменникова відміна цих назв має певну традицію в українській класичній літературі. У „Панських жартах” Франка є рядок „У Луцьку чи в Холмі свячених” (VI,3), очевидно, з іменниковою відміною. Але в 1960 годі виключити вплив таких паралельних російських назв, як Омск, Тобольск, Мценск, чи білоруських Полацк, Віцебск та Мінск.

2.5 На перший погляд здавалося б, що є засадничі різниці між обома правописами щодо відмінювання прізвищ із суфіксом *-ин*, *-ін*, *-їн*.

	1928 (78)	1960 (106.1)
однина		
наз.	Бутвин	Гаршин
кл.	Бутвине	_____
дав.	Бутвинові	Гаршину
ор.	Бутвином	Гаршиним
місц.	Бутвині	Гаршині
	Бутвинові	Гаршину
множина		
род. зн.	Бутвинів	Гаршиних
дав.	Бутвинам	Гаршиним
ор.	Бутвинами	Гаршиними
місц.	Бутвинах	Гаршиних

За винятком можливого закінчення місц. однини на *-у*, закінчення 1960 вповні збігаються з російськими. Але справа тут складніша, бо з одної сторони маємо до діла з українськими або дуже зукраїнізованими прізвищами, а з другої — з російськими (пор. Редько 1966, 131-2; 1969, часто).

Цікава розбіжність, хоч можна б сперечатися, чи це справа правопису, існує у творенні імен по-батькові. Щоправда в

1960 на цю тему нічого ясно не сказано, але *Словник власних імен людей* (1961) подає інакші форми.

	1928 (20.26)
Ілліч	Ілльович (але Ленін — Ільч)
Лукич	Луківич
Савич	Савович
Хоміч	Хомович
Хомович — „розм.”	

2.6 Займенники

2.6.1 У відмінюванні особових займенників 1928 допускає форми без протетичного *н-* після прийменників, що керують ними:

до його, на йому (40).

1960 (77) таких форм не допускає.

2.6.2. Крім того, 1928 (40) подає такі форми, що виключені з 1960.

однина		множина	
чол./середн.	жін.		
зн.	ню		
ор.	сю	їм	їми

2.6.3 1960 (81) допускає в дав. і місц. однини форми *чийому*, яких у 1929 (43) немає.

2.7 Прикметники

2.7.1. 1928 (37.2) згадує серед м'яких прикметників також такі, що ані в 1960, ані в *ОСУМ* не згадуються: *козій*, *песій*.

2.7.2 1960 не згадує нестягнених прикметників (хоч вони вживаються в сучасній літературі, зокрема поезії), а 1928 подає приклади відмінкових форм.

наз. одн.:	чорная хмара, давняя давнина чистеє поле, синєє море (37.3)
зн. одн.:	білую хмару (38.3)
наз. мн.:	добрії люди, синії хмари (39.1.пр.)

2.8 Числівники

2.8.1 1960 (74.2) подає в орудному однини числівників „5”, „6” і „7” крім форм, що вповні збігаються з 1928, також паральельні форми: *п'ятьома*, *шістьома*, *сьома* (46).

2.8.2 На число „90” 1928 подає і *дев’ятдесять* і *дев’яносто* (46). У 1960 подано тільки форму *дев’яносто* (74.7).

2.8.3 1960 приписує, що „у складених кількісних числівниках відмінюються всі складові частини” (74.6). 1928 подає подібне правило, але допускає, щоб відмінювати лиш останній числівник (46).

2.8.4 В орудному відмінку числівників „40”, „90” і „100” 1960 подає тільки закінчення *-а*: *сорока́, дев’яноста́, ста́* (74.7). 1928 визнає форми: *сорокма́, або сорокомá, стомá* (46).

2.8.5 Є малі розбіжності у трактуванні збірних числівників в обох правописах. Для числівника *обидва* (*обидві*) 1928 допускає паралельні форми в непрямих відмінках; 1960 подає лиш першу з них:

1928 (46)	1960 (74.8)
обох, обидвох	обох
обом, обидвом	обом

1928 вважає, що збірні числівники *четверо* і ін. зрідка можуть відмінюватися на лад *два*. 1960 подає в непрямих відмінках форми відповідних кількісних числівників.

1928 (46)	1960 (74.8)
четверо	четверо
четверох	чотирьох
четвером	чотирьом
четверома	чотирма

2.9 Дієслова

2.9.1 1928 реєструє рідкісні форми теперішнього часу дієслова *бути*, які дещо різняться від форм у 1960.

1928 (49.1.б.ув.6)	1960 (84.7)
(е́сьм)	(е́сть)
(е́сі)	(е́сі)
е́сть	(е́сть)
(е́сьмо́)	
(е́сте́)	
су́ть	(су́ть)

Розуміється, обидва правописи дають перевагу *є*.

2.9.2 Наказовий спосіб атематичних дієслів поданий дещо інакше в обох правописах.

1928 (50.2.в.пр.)

їж ~ їдж

їжте ~ їджте

розповіж ~

розповідж

1960 (85.2.в.прим.1)

їж

їжте

розповідай

3. Іншомовні слова

Найбільші розбіжності між обома правописами є в написанні іншомовних слів. Розбіжність частинно випливає з того, що 1928 узгледив давніші правописні традиції Галичини, Буковини й Закарпаття, а 1960 ці традиції здебільшого відкидає.

Як уже сказано, правопис іншомовних слів справлятиме труднощі в будь-якій мові. Справа ускладнюється, коли іншомовні слова запозичуються за посередництвом третьої, посередньої мови. Так і в українську мову багато запозичень прийшли шляхом з польської чи російської мови. Нераз одна з них „чула” іншомовний звук на один лад, а друга на інакший, і так в різних околицях України слова писалися по-різному.

3.1 Найбільша розбіжність між 1928 і 1960 є в передачі звуку [g] в іншомовних словах.

1928 (55)

агітація

лінгвіст(ика)

Гаронна

1960 (91)

агітація

лінгвіст(ика)

Гаронна

Деякі слова з [g] обидва правописи передають з буквою г.

графік(а)

графік

3.2 Є поважні розбіжності у написанні пом'якшеного і непом'якшеного л у запозиченнях із чужих мов. Можна сказати, що там де в 1928 (54) чуже л виступає перед голосними, воно пом'якшене, а в 1960 (90) в тих самих обставинах воно майже з правила буває непом'якшеним.

У кінці складу можна спостерегти нахил до ствердіння в 1960 (коли порівняти з 1928), але він не такий сильний, як перед голосними. Все ж таки, в англійських запозиченнях 1960 подає в кількох випадках м'яке ль перед приголосними, а 1928 подає їх та інші подібні з твердим л.

1928	1960
Білсон	Більсон
	Лінкольн
	Ульстер
Далтон	Дальтон (УРЕС)
Джон Мілл	Міллер (УРЕС)
Мілтон	Мільтон (УРЕС)

Але в обох традиціях: Фултон, Чарлз, Шеффілд.

Через неоднакове трактування чужомовного *л* бувають непослідовності в 1960. За 1928 (54.2) усі *-land*-и писалися *-ляндія*, але 1960 вимагає форми *-ландія*, хоч даліше пишеться Фінляндія і Курляндія.

3.3 Грецькі слова

Обидва правописи підкреслюють, що є різниця у написанні грецьких слів залежно від того, чи вони давно, чи недавно запозичені. І хоч нераз написання може бути однаковим, можна знайти цікаві розбіжності.

3.3.1 β

Чимало слів, які в 1928 (58) пишуться через *β*, у сучасних правописних словниках подаються з *в* (1960 на цю тему нічого виразно не каже).

1928	ОСУМ
Арабія	Аравія
бакханка	вакханка
барбаризм	варваризм
барбар	варвар
варвар	

3.3.2 ϑ

Хоч 1928 (57) передає цю букву через *т*, на ділі в поодиноких випадках вживається *ϑ* (зрідка *х* і *хв*). 1960 (92) зобов'язує писати згідно з традицією то *ϑ*, то *т*. Багато слів, що в 1928 писано з *т* в 1960 написані з *ϑ*.

1928	1960	
патос	пафос	
етер	ефір	
катедра	кафедра	
міт	міф	
аритметика	арифметика	
логаритм	логарифм	
ортографія	орфографія	} той самий префікс ορθο-
	ортопедія	
але	ортодокс	

3.3.3 η

1960 частіше як 1928 передає цю букву через *i*.

1928 (64)	1960 (часто, ОСУМ)
Атени	Афіни
Теби	Фіви
етер	ефір
хемя	хімія
амнестія	амністія

3.3.4 ευ

1928 (65, 70) послідовно передає цей двозвук *ев*, хоч на початку слів може також виступати (у старих запозиченнях) *ев-*. 1960 (95) значно частіше вживає початкове *ев-*, але впроваджує також у деяких словах *-ей-*.

1928	1960 (95)	
Европа	Європа	
Ефрат	Євфрат	
неврологія	неврологія	} спільний корінь νευρο-
але	нейрон	
	нейрохірург	
неутральний	нейтральний	

Написання *-ей-* на місці грецького *ευ* є зразком впливу правописів різних посередніх мов. У німецькій мові *ευ* транслітерується, як і в інших мовах з латинською абеткою, буквосполученням *eu*, а це останнє читається за правилами німецької вимови /oj/. Отже *νευρο-* пишеться *neuro-* і вимовляється /nojro/. Німецьке /oj/ російська мова традиційно передавала буквами *-ёй-*, тобто *-ей-*. У такій останній формі ці слова приходили в українську мову.

3.3.5 spiritus asper (`)

З нечисленними виїмками 1928 (74) передає придих перед голосними в грецьких словах буквою *г*. Хоч на цю тему також нічого не сказано в 1960, на практиці майже всі такі слова пишуться без початкового *г*.

1928	1960 (ОСУМ)	
Геллада	Еллада	
гістерія	істерія	
гагіографія	агіографія	
гієрогліф	ієрогліф	
гомонім	омонім	
але	гомогенний	} той самий префікс ὁμο-
	гомолог	
	гомоморфізм	

3.4 Дифтонги

1928 послідовно передає чуже *ia* буквами *ія*. 1960 подає *ія* на кінці слів, але в середині („зрідка”) через *ia*.

	1928 (62.6)	1960 (94.7.а.2)
	матерія	матерія
але	матеріал	матеріал

Хоч 1960 нічого не згадує про чуже *iu* в середині слова, на практиці його звичайно передають буквами *іу*.

1928 (62.6)	1960 (ОСУМ)
тріюмф	тріумф
радіюс	радіус
тріюмвірат	тріумвірат
медіюм	медіум

3.4.1 Окремої уваги вимагають німецькі дифтонги *ei* і *eu* (*äu*). 1960 про останній нічого не каже, але звичайно передає тими самими буквами, що й *ei*, тобто *ей*. Це суперечить сучасній німецькій вимові, бо ці дифтонги вимовляються /aj/ і /oj/.

1928 (70 і 71)	1960 (99)
Айнштайн	Ейнштейн
Гайне	Гейне
Феєрбах	Фейєрбах (94.6)
але	Нойбауер (УРЕС)
	Нойєс Дойчланд (УРЕС)

Написання типу Феєрбах, Мейєр виправдується в 1960 (95) правилом, що після *й* пишеться *е*, а не *є*, хоч на це немає фонетичної причини. Ще менше підстав у подібних випадках при початку слова, напр. Йеллоустон, Йемен. Це правило дещо розширене в 1960 (5.2). Цікаво, що УЛВіН не подає, як вимовляти такі буквособолучення. Може факт, що в російській мові слово *фойє* вимовляється /fojé/, а *йеменський* з початковим /jem'-/ (пор. РЛПуУ), дає підставу думати, що в сучасній українській літературній вимові буква *й* в таких випадках також не вимовляється.

3.5 Іншомовне [w]

Цей звук виступає в українській мові тільки при кінці складу і його передається буквою *в*. На цій підставі 1928 (70) послідовно передає його цією ж буквою, хоч між голосними допускає написання *у*. 1960 (98) подає *у* як правило, а *в* — як виняток.

	1928	1960
	авдієнція	аудієнція
	авдиторія	аудиторія
	льокавт	локавт
	Бічер-Стов	Бічер-Стоу (<i>УРЕС</i>)
	Шов	Шоу (101.2)
але	автор	автор
	Ауербах	Ауербах (<i>УРЕС</i>)
	Тоуер	Тауер, Тоуер (<i>УРЕС</i>)
	Вілсон (54.1.в)	Вільсон (90.1.6)
але	Вітмен (60)	Уїтмен (<i>УРЕС</i>)

3.6 Іменники на -t(e)r, -d(e)r

У 1928 (73) це закінчення звичайно передається буквами *-тр, -др*, але допускається й закінчення *-тер, -дер*. 1960 (100) подає тільки *-тр, -др*, хоч *ОСУМ* подає також такі форми, як *магістер, міністер, бурмистер* (1928 *бурмістер*).

Деякі слова, що 1928 подає з *-тер, -дер*, у 1960 подаються з *-тр, -др*.

1928	1960
Олександр	Олександр
циліндер	циліндр

3.7 Бувають розбіжності у написанні поодиноких слів іншомовного походження в обох правописах.

1928 (69)	1960 (96 і 97)
ад'ютант	ад'ютант
ад'юнкт	ад'юнкт
кон'юнктура	кон'юнктура
Вальян	Вайян (94.6)
аккомпаньювати	аккомпанувати (<i>ОСУМ</i>)

Написання через апостроф (замість *ь*) можна вважати спробою наближення до української вимови. У російській мові приголосні вимовляються м'яко і перед *ь*, і перед *з*, якщо безпосередньо після цього слідує йотована голосна. В українській мові приголосні вимовляються м'яко перед *ь*, але твердо перед апострофом (*'*). Таким чином, хоч написання *ад'ютант* є аналогічним до російського *адзютант*, то вимови дуже різняться, бо по-українському це слово вимовляється /adjutánt/, а по-російському /ld'jutánt/.

Також:

претенсія (59)	претензія (<i>ОСУМ</i>)
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3.8 Правопис слов'янських прізвищ

3.8.1 Що сказано раніше (1.1) про букви *z* і *g* стосується й до прізвищ.

3.8.2 У 1960 українізовано правопис російських прізвищ на *-скої*, *-цкої*. У 1928 цей суфікс передавався без змін, а в новому правописі *с* чи *ц* зм'якшуються.

1928 (79.3)	1960
Донской	Донської (УРЕС)
Трубецкой	Трубецької (104.5)

3.8.3 Подібну українізацію можна побачити із суфіксом *-іч*, *-ич*, *-іcz*, *-іč*, *-іć*. 1928 передає їх як *-іч*, а 1960 більш українським *-ич*.

1928 (79.4)	1960 (104.3.с)
Міцкєвіч	Міцкевич
Засуліч	Засулич
Ягіч	Ягич
Караджіч	Караджич (УРЕС)

Обидва правописи подають цей суфікс як *-йч* після голосних: Раїч, Стоїч.

3.8.4 Західньослов'янські прізвища на *-у*, *у* мають закінчення *-и* у 1928, а більш українське закінчення *-ий* у 1960.

1928 (79.7)	1960 (104.6)
Бяли	Бялий
Гартни	Гартний

3.8.5 1928 (79.8) передає російське *е* і польське *ie* буквою *є*, що творить комбінації незвичні для української мови; у 1960 (104.1) ці прізвища написані через *е*.

1928	1960
Міцкєвіч	Міцкевич
Тургєнєв	Тургенєв

3.9 Відмінювання іншомовних іменників

Обидва правописи дають приписи, як відмінювати іншомовні іменники, а також вичисляють, котрі запозичення не відмінюються. Різниця в тому, що в 1928 „зокрема, відмінюються як іменники ніякого [середнього] роду слова: *авто*, *бюро*, *депо*, *кіно*, *мotto*, *пальто*, *піаніно*, *трюмо*, *саго*, *ціцero*.” (76) Крім „пальто” усі вище згадані іменники за 1960 не відмінюються (101.2).

3.10 Географічні назви

3.10.1 Українські географічні назви

Правопис деяких назв місцевостей підкреслено в 1928 (і деякі форми виразно проскрибовано), а в 1960 подаються якраз у формі, яку раніш відкидалося.

1928 (81)	1960 (110.2)
Берестя	Брест (<i>УРЕС</i>)
Вовча	Вовчанськ (<i>УРЕС</i>)
Ковеги	Ков'яги
Лубні	Лубни
Прилука	Прилуки
Рівне	Ровно (<i>УРЕС</i>)
Ромен	Ромни
Санджар	Санжари (<i>УРЕС</i>)

3.10.2 Обидва правописи присвячують увагу назвам місцевостей на *-ніль*, *-поль*. 1928 (81.4) подає тільки закінчення *-ніль*, що в непрямих відмінках має форму *-пол-*. 1960 (107 прим.) відрізняє українські назви на *-ніль* (< поле) від грецьких на *-поль* (< πόλις).

1928	1960
Тернопіль	Тернопіль
Ямпіль	Ямпіль (<i>УРЕС</i>)
але	Нікополь
	Севастополь
	Сімферополь
	Тирасполь

3.10.3 Російські географічні назви

Правила щодо написання російських географічних назв з м'якими губними, *ч* чи *р*, які були подані у 1928, змінено в практиці 1960.

1928 (82.9)	1960 (<i>УРЕС</i>)
Кємь	Кем
Кєрчь	Керч
Обь	Об
Пермь	Перм
Тверь	Твер

Таким чином нове написання краще відповідає духові української вимови.

3.10.4 Російські й інші слов'янські назви на *-ск*, *-ук* зм'якшені в обох правописах і відмінюються як іменники (пор. 2.4 цієї статті).

4. Розділові знаки

Правила щодо вживання розділових знаків подано інакше в обох правописах, але між ними майже немає суттєвих розбіжностей. У 1928 правила висловлені у великій мірі на підставі інтонації й вимови, а в 1960 правила подані на більш формальних засадах.

4.1 Засадничі розбіжності бувають тільки щодо вживання розділки/дефіса, тобто написання слів разом чи розділено.

4.1.1 Поодинокі слова (поза системою)

1928 (94 прим.)

1960 (20.6)

сільсько-господарський

сільськогосподарський

4.1.2 1928 (94.4) допускає мішання абеток, тобто написання назви латиницею з українським морфологічним закінченням після дефіса: у Times-і. 1960 таких написань не передбачує.

4.1.3 1928 вимагає писати суфікси *-будь*, *-небудь* разом з коренем, а в 1960 вони подані (як і префікс *будь-*) з дефісом.

1928 (45)

1960 (83)

хтобудь

хто-будь

щобудь

що-будь

хтонебудь

хто-небудь

але

будь-як

будь-як

4.1.4 У 1928 частки *бо*, *таки*, *то* пишуться окремо, а в 1960 написані з дефісом.

1928 (94.3.пр)

1960 (21.12)

ідить бо

ідить-бо

все таки

все-таки

якось то

якось-то

4.2.1 У 1928 після скорочень метричних мір ставиться крапка, а в 1960 цього не робиться.

1928 (84.2)

1960 (113.5.прим.1.6)

5 м. (метрів)

г (грам)

4.2.2 1928 пише рядові числівники з крапкою після цифри. У 1960 на цю тему нічого не сказано, але в практиці пишуть закінчення буквами.

1928 (84.3)

1960

1. раз

1-й ступінь*

Деякі справи, навіть такі, що в щоденній мовній практиці можуть викликати труднощі, зовсім не згадано в 1928, а в 1960 їх унормовано. До таких питань належать:

Правопис частки/префікса <i>ні</i>	(24 і 25)
Написання з великої букви	(26 - 28)
Графічні скорочення	(29)
Правопис префікса/прийменника <i>з, із, зі</i>	(17.3)

Висновки

Коли говорити про правопис українських слів, то треба признати, що розбіжності між обома правописами досить незначні. Реформи сербського правопису В. С. Караджича, російського в 1918 році чи болгарського в 1945 були значно радикальнішими. Можна сказати, що вони поважно змінювали обличчя мови, згідно її письма. З того погляду різниця між 1928 і 1960 відносно мала, а то й непомітна. Кажу непомітна, бо, приміром, деякі поеми Шевченка виглядали б однаковісенько в обох правописах. Найбільш яскрава різниця буде у написанні родового відмінку однини деяких іменників чоловічого роду (місцевості) і жіночого роду (на *-ість* та *ін.*).

Фонема /г/ в українських словах так рідко виступає, що відсутність графеми *г* можна не раз легко переочити.

Дехто залюбки згадує, що за 1960 (26 - 29) „святі слова” не пишуться з великої букви. Це правда, але *Православний вісник*, що появляється в Києві і друкований згідно з нормами 1960, пише ці слова з великої букви. Тут треба згадати, що в 1928 про написання з великої чи малої букви *не сказано ні слова*.

Найповажніші розбіжності є в написанні слів іншомовного походження. Тут саме найбільше відчувається відсутність графеми *г* в 1960, а також виступають і інші відмінності.

БІБЛІОГРАФІЯ

А. Правописи

1928 *Український правопис*. Видання перше. Харків: Державне видавництво України, 1929.

* Приклад взято з СУЛМ II, 156.

Journal

1960 Український правопис. Видання друге, виправлене і доповнене. Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1961.

Б. Словники

Голоскевич, Григорій. **Правописний словник.** Видання дев'яте. Нью-Йорк: Книгоспілка, 1962.

Ніншовський, Василь. **Український зворотний словник.** Мюнхен: УТГІ, 1969.

Обратный словарь русского языка. Москва: "Советская энциклопедия", 1974.

Орфографический словарь русского языка. Издание тринадцатое, исправленное и дополненное. Москва: "Русский язык", 1974.

ОСУМ Орфографічний словник української мови. Київ: "Наукова думка", 1975.

Погрібний, Микола. **Словник наголосів української літературної мови.** Видання друге, виправлене і доповнене. Київ: "Радянська школа", 1964.

РЛПиУ Русское литературное произношение и ударение. Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей, 1960.

Словник власних імен людей (українсько-російський і російсько-український). Друге видання, виправлене і доповнене. Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1961.

УЛВіН Українська літературна вимова і наголос. Київ: "Наукова думка", 1973.

УРЕС Український радянський енциклопедичний словник. Київ: Головна редакція Української радянської енциклопедії АН УРСР, 1966-8.

Українсько-російський словник. Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1966-8.

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В. Інші праці

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Ковалів, Пантелеймон. **Українська мова.** Нью-Йорк: НТЩ, 1966.

Редько, Юліан. **Сучасні українські прізвища.** Київ: "Наукова думка", 1966.

Редько, Юліан. **Довідник українських прізвищ.** Київ: "Радянська школа", 1969.

СУЛМ Сучасна українська літературна мова. Київ: "Наукова думка", 1969-73.

Шерех, Юрій. **Нарис сучасної української літературної мови.** Мюнхен: "Молоде життя", 1950.

Ramsay Cook

WILLIAM KURELEK: A PRAIRIE BOY'S VISIONS*

*He approached everything with a
mind unclouded by current opinions.*

T. S. Eliot, "William Blake"

William Kurelek was surely the most autobiographical of Canadian painters. He painted pictures of childhood memories, the history of his people, and the moral dilemmas of contemporary life. He set out in often startling ways his own psychological torments and the religious answers he found for them. He was a storyteller who felt compelled to tell his stories in paint. Nor did self-revelation end with the brilliantly executed canvasses. Kurelek feared that he might be misunderstood. His paintings often were accompanied by detailed explanations written in a very personal fashion, direct and concrete. Nor did the explanation stop on the gallery walls. There were films, particularly *The Maze*, and above all the sometimes excruciatingly frank autobiography, *Someone with Me*. Finally, there were introductions to shows, manifestoes, diaries, letters and jottings. What is left to be said about this exceptionally talented, wonderfully prolific artist? His paintings, books and reproductions have probably been viewed by more people than any other Canadian artist's, for he was, as has often been noted, "a people's painter."¹ What is there to be said that Kurelek, either in paint or print, has not already said for himself?

Perhaps the answer lies in the deceptively literal quality of his paintings. That literal quality, and perhaps even the careful explanations, disguised the complexity of the visions that lay behind them. The artist recognized his own problem when he wrote in 1973 that "My image has perhaps become set as a portrayer of farm life or else I represent a missionary in paint."² Since so much of the art of the modern age is abstract and non-representational,

* This is the text of the William Kurelek Memorial Lecture delivered at the University of Toronto on 4 April 1978. Eleanor Cook, Avrom Isaacs, Martha Black and Lu Taskey helped me in indispensable ways in preparing this lecture. I owe each a special expression of thanks for the generous manner in which they shared their knowledge with me. This lecture was illustrated by a large number of slides of Kurelek's works.

¹ Ron Stansitis, "The People's Painter: William Kurelek 1927-1977," *The Golden West* 13, no. 1:22-30.

² Isaacs Gallery, Toronto, "Foreword to Toronto Show" (1973), ms.

Kurelek was admired by those who wanted to be able to understand, even to identify with, what they saw. And then when Kurelek painted pictures that could not be mistaken for photographs, since they contained Christ-figures, demons and other extraordinary creatures, he was often rejected. Even a generally sensitive and sympathetic critic remarked in 1963 that "where Kurelek fails miserably is when he attempts to paint subjects which he knows about only from dogma and not from experience, where in fact he is a theological tourist in never, never land."³ Such responses displayed a fundamental misunderstanding: Kurelek was an artist, not a photographer. His farm paintings and his religious paintings were the product of the same imagination. He saw them both for, as an eminent art historian has insisted, "painting is an activity and the artist will therefore tend to see what he paints rather than to paint what he sees."⁴ The scenes from "The Passion of Christ According to St. Matthew" were as "real," if that is the correct word, as those that make up *A Prairie Boy's Winter*. Each expressed one of Kurelek's visions. There were several visions, or themes, in Kurelek's work, though they are all part of a single way of looking at the world.

II

William Kurelek's life experience shaped his artistic vision in a very direct fashion. "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," painted in 1950 when Kurelek was much under the influence of James Joyce, portrays the artist as a romantic hero. "I was going to be Stephen Daedalus," he later remembered. "I would wear my own phoney costume, not the establishment's phoney costume."⁵ Yet the background contains those scenes from early life that were to recur, in varying ways, in his later painting. It is hardly necessary, since the release of the film *The Maze* in 1971 and the publi-

³ Elizabeth Kilbourn, "Dogma and Experience," *Toronto Star*, 18 May 1963.

⁴ E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (Princeton, 1969), p. 86.

⁵ William Kurelek, *Someone with Me* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), p. 206. Toward the end of *Portrait of the Artist*, Stephen Daedalus proclaims that "I will not serve that which I no longer believe, whether it call itself my home, my fatherland, or my church; and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use—silence, exile, and cunning." James Joyce, *Portrait of the Artist As a Young Man* (London: Travellers' Library Edition, 1951), p. 281.

cation of *Someone with Me* in 1973, to repeat in detail the story of Kurelek's life or to insist upon the complexity of the man.

Born in Alberta of Ukrainian-Canadian parents in 1927, he grew up on a farm in Alberta and, more important for him, near Stonewall, Manitoba, during the Depression. He attended high school in Winnipeg and later graduated from the University of Manitoba. Then he tried art school in Toronto and, later, Mexico. Neither school satisfied him; as an artist he was essentially self-taught and always believed that old-fashioned apprenticeship was the only real way to learn painting skills. His growing up was painful: conflict with his family, with his surroundings, whether on the farm or at school, and above all with himself. Academically he did well, but he was extremely thin-skinned and found personal relations almost impossible. Above all there was conflict with his father who, perhaps not so surprisingly, found it difficult to understand a young man who wanted to be an artist. One thing Kurelek learned from his father was a prodigious capacity for work, and he used it in a wide range of employment: farming, logging, carpentry, brick making, car washing, picture framing, painting. (On a painting trip in 1967 he wrote: "My rigid schedule had me working at fever pitch sometimes. All of the visitors who heard of my work or came to see it couldn't believe I'd done so much detailed work. I gave the credit to my father for teaching me to work hard and whenever I could to God for giving me the talent."⁶) His struggle to find himself, to become a painter, led through the depths of a personal hell, depicted in such paintings as "I Spit on Life," "The Maze" and "Behold Man without God" (1955), the latter painted before, and named only after, his conversion to Roman Catholicism. The period spent in psychiatric care in Great Britain led to the resolution of his personal crisis, and he emerged a totally committed Christian and a man resolute in his vocation as an artist. Convinced that his recovery was a miracle of God, not science, he rejected suggestions that his account of these years would have been improved by blue-pencilling the lengthy theological discussions. That, he insisted, would have meant "cutting the heart out of the body."⁷ Kurelek had now found his mission: it was to use his talents, as he believed God intended that he should, in supporting the cause of Christian belief and action. "What I am sure of," he wrote at the end of his autobiography, "is that I am not really alone anymore in the rest of my journey through this

⁶ Isaacs Gallery, Diary of Ohio Painting Trip, 1967, ms.

⁷ *Promin* (English Section), March 1974, p. 14.

tragic, yet wonderful world. There is Someone with me. And He has asked me to get up because there is work to be done.”⁸ “Self-Portrait,” painted in 1957, is no longer the rebellious Stephen Daedalus looking inside himself. The artist is now looking outward against the background of a past to which many religious symbols have been added.

In 1959 he returned to Canada and to Toronto, a city where, in a style and a mood now radically altered, he had once painted “Depression in Toronto” (1949). He found work as a picture framer, a skill he had learned in England, at the Isaacs Gallery. That was the beginning of a somewhat tempestuous relationship, this time with the man who, the artist later wrote, “first recognized the merit of my work and took the risk of exhibiting it.”⁹ Shortly afterwards, through his work with Catholic Action, he met and then married Jean Andrews. The painting, “Mendelssohn in the Canadian Winter” (1967), was so named because of a violin concerto written by Mendelssohn “to describe a happy time in his life at the beginning of his marriage and the starting of his family.”¹⁰

The great themes that were to dominate his artistic life had already begun to emerge, but now the work poured forth and the themes became firmly fixed. Four of these themes seem most important and recurrent, though the choice is obviously somewhat subjective.

III

The first theme is childhood. Canadians born on the prairies are especially fortunate in at least one respect. Their childhood has been immortalized by two great artists: W. O. Mitchell, the author of *Who Has Seen the Wind*, and William Kurelek, whose work, including *The Prairie Boy's Winter* and *The Prairie Boy's Summer*, is filled with scenes of childhood. One painting, “Farm Children's Games in Western Canada” (1952), depicts many memories of boyhood, memories that were for the most part happy ones, even though Kurelek's own childhood experiences were much more mixed. It was these memories that fuelled his imagination and won him his first public successes. Another painting, “Memories of Manitoba Boyhood” (1960), suggests the way in which the

⁸ Kurelek, *Someone*, p. 523.

⁹ William Kurelek, *The Passion of Christ According to St. Matthew* (Niagara Falls, Ont.: Niagara Falls Art Gallery and Museum, 1975), p. 12.

¹⁰ Isaacs Gallery, *Diary of Ohio Painting Trip*, 1967, ms.

artist constantly reworked this theme that was so much a part of the story he had to tell.

Kurelek's vision of childhood is powerful and alive, whether in the joy of games, the hard work of the farm, or the struggle against the elements. Perhaps its success comes from the nostalgia it creates. But there is more to it than that. A prairie poet and critic, Eli Mandel, has drawn attention to the frequent reappearance of the child-figure in the prairie landscape in western Canadian writing. He explains it by observing that from the adult perspective "the child's vision is the vision of innocence, of a lost Eden . . . [It is] the vision of home . . . the overpowering feeling of nostalgia associated with the place we know as the *first* place, the *first* vision of things, the *first* clarity of things . . . The images of prairie man are images of a search for home and a search for the self."¹¹ "Manitoba Mountain" (1968) and other representations of childhood, then, are not merely nostalgic memories. They are part of Kurelek's creation of a new past, part of his search for himself, a coming to terms with his own past by recreating it. Though he lived in downtown Toronto longer than he lived anywhere else, Kurelek's imaginative home always remained "the same palatial timber house at the end of the lane near Stonewall, Manitoba."¹² "Spring Work on the Farm" (1963) is one of many recreations of it. As a boy he had felt a special, even mystical, attachment to the bogland just east of his father's farm,¹³ and when he returned there in 1963 he wrote his friend, Av Isaacs, while painting on that bog, that "the vastness of the prairies with occasional clumps of poplar bushes really gives me a feeling of communion. No one seems to understand why I am fascinated by this place not even the local people. Only I it seems can express it though others may feel it inarticulately."¹⁴ "Testing the Spring Run Off" (1971)—here was home, what the Spanish call *querencia*, the contentment of familiar surroundings. A sense of identity.

Childhood and the prairies are inseparable in Kurelek's paintings. Yet the prairies are a theme in themselves. There are people, mainly easterners, who think of the prairies as flat land. But the prairies are much more than that. The opening lines of *Who Has Seen the Wind* are exact: "Here was the least common denominator of nature, the skeleton requirements simply, of land and

¹¹ Eli Mandel, *Another Time* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 50-2.

¹² *William Kurelek: A Retrospective* (The Edmonton Art Gallery, 1970).

¹³ William Kurelek, *Kurelek's Canada* (Toronto, 1975), p. 12.

¹⁴ Isaacs Gallery, William Kurelek to Av Isaacs, 2 September 1963.

sky—Saskatchewan prairie.”¹⁵ Kurelek’s “Prairie Snow Plow” (1973-4) catches that least common denominator in a modern perspective. In “The Field Where I Was Born” (1966), the artist himself is almost insignificant in a winter prairie landscape reminiscent of John Newlove’s lines.

On a single wind, followed
by lonely silence, the snow
Goes by. Outside
everything is gone; the white
sheer land answers no questions
but only exists.¹⁶

Land and sky—“over the segmented circle of earth,” Wallace Stegner wrote, “is domed the biggest sky anywhere,”¹⁷ as seen in “Repairing the Binder Gear” (1968). Another writer who grew up on the prairies, Fredelle Maynard, remembered the earth and sky and its impact: “the image of man as a lonely traveller, moving through a universe,” as in Kurelek’s “Wintertime North of Winnipeg” (1962), “neither hostile nor friendly but only infinitely remote.”¹⁸ Kurelek’s view of the universe was not quite so benign; he had lived too long on the farm to take that view. Land and sky at night are the backdrop to his version of the Owl and the Pussycat, which he entitled “Then One Fall Tom Did Not Return.”

Kurelek knew that the prairie landscape had left its mark on him. He set out his experience during a painting trip in 1966:

I wanted to put in plenty of sky which with the blustery took all kinds of interesting aspects. At first I thought I’ll leave it till tomorrow for fear I’d not have enough daylight time to do the driftwood. But I love doing skies (this I’d discovered on the bog in Manitoba) and I couldn’t resist starting it anyway. Almost miraculously the sky took over. I worked fast, loosely, intensely with big brush, a color soaked rag and a dry rag. I could hardly believe my eyes how it turned out. This is real creativity which God’s blessed me with.¹⁹

¹⁵ W. O. Mitchell, *Who Has Seen the Wind*, illus. by William Kurelek (Toronto, 1976), p. 3.

¹⁶ John Newlove, “East from the Mountains,” *Moving in Alone* (Toronto, 1965), p. 50.

¹⁷ Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow* (New York, 1962), p. 7.

¹⁸ Fredelle Bruser Maynard, *Raisins and Almonds* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 187-8.

¹⁹ Isaacs Gallery, Diary of Sudbury Trip, 15 June 1966, ms.

There was no end to the ways in which Kurelek could present the ever changing prairie sky and the almost equally numerous activities of the people who lived under it. His "Stooking" (1962) catches the ideal autumn harvest sky for which the farmer prays. "Spreading Manure—Winter" (1963) exudes the freezing temperature of that icy sky, while "Ukrainian Orthodox Easter Vigil" (1963), with its twinkling stars, evokes early spring on the prairies. It was not only the prairie sky that Kurelek could recreate with his brush. Neither the Moscow sky above St. Basil's Cathedral and the Kremlin in "Mission to Moscow" (1973) nor the rain-laden atmosphere engulfing a northern Ontario lumberman in an autobiographical picture entitled "The Fanatic" (1973) were beyond his exceptional talent. And yet it was the prairie—earth and sky—that he interpreted best. In 1967 he completed one of his finest prairie works: the clear line dividing sky and earth, the shadings of green and black rectangular fields with the twister, or whirlwind, or windspout—what the Ukrainian settlers imaginatively called "The Devil's Wedding."

Kurelek was fascinated with the history and lore of the Ukrainian people, for he always felt part of that community. And it is the history of settlement, especially of the Ukrainian settlement, that constitutes the third of Kurelek's visions. Indeed, one of the greatest achievements of his art was that it gave recognition to the part Ukrainian Canadians played, their sacrifices, and their achievements. He was pleased that he had done so. After a large gathering of Alberta Ukrainians to honour him in 1966, he wrote: "I was overwhelmed at the esteem they hold me in for the honour my work brings to Ukrainian Canadians."²⁰ Early in his life he had been touched by Ukrainian nationalism, and he had conceived the idea of painting a great epic illustrating his people's past.²¹ Eventually he completed two unified series: "An Immigrant Farm in Western Canada" (1964), which told the story of his father's life, and in 1967, "The Ukrainian Woman Pioneer in Canada," based on his mother's history. In these series he depicted the concrete elements of a settler's existence in a manner that gave history a reality and a humanity that is impossible to convey on the printed page. In "Leaving the Old Country" (1964), the immigrant set out across an unknown ocean to a strange land. On his newly acquired homestead he built "A Boorday—the First House" (1966), and when fortune smiled "The Second House" (1966) followed.

²⁰ Isaacs Gallery, Diary of an Alberta Trip, 6 February 1966, ms.

²¹ Kurelek, *Someone*, p. 151.

There was much hard work, and life had few frills. "The Honeymoon" (1963), for example, was a splendidly ironic painting. The happy bride was carried off, not to the bliss of a newlywed's vacation, but to the rude farm house, no doubt in time to do the evening chores, as depicted in "Farm Wife Pumping Water for Cattle in Saskatchewan" (1968).

But there were celebrations, too. Kurelek's "Ukrainian Canadian Farm Picnic" (1966), with its striking resemblance to Bruegel's "Peasant Wedding Dance" painted four hundred years earlier,²² exemplifies the joy of escape from rural routine. And then there were the beliefs and customs brought from the homeland. "Green Sunday" (1962), depicts the first Sunday in May, when the poplar branches are placed in the corners of the living room. "Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper" (1958) shows the hay beneath the table and the twelve dishes, one for each Apostle, set before the wide-eyed child. "Blessing the Easter Paska" (1966) once again displays Kurelek's rootedness in the prairie soil, for it catches skillfully those two temples of western Canada: the onion-domed church and the angular grain elevator. Finally, there are two paintings that demonstrate Kurelek's awareness of the part that women played in pioneer life. "Mama" (1966-7) is a series of detailed cameos, each displaying an aspect of woman's work and responsibility. "The First Meeting of the Ukrainian Women's Association in Saskatchewan" (1966) is specifically Ukrainian in reference. Yet it reveals a great deal about prairie history: the country school with its inadequate stove, and the women gathered to form an organization to break down the isolation around them and to protect the community from powers outside.

Kurelek, characteristically, was not satisfied to chronicle in paint the trials and triumphs of his people as they settled the west. He had to ask himself what it all meant, whether the achievements were real and ultimately worth the struggle. Baba, grandmother, remembered it all: the sacrifices of the first generation, the affluence of the present one. "Now the fields are lush and productive," Kurelek wrote, explaining a picture entitled "Material Success,"

symbolic of this land of plenty. All the latest gadgets and furniture fill the house. The older children are educated in university and useful trades. The babies and youngsters are healthy, fattened by vitamin-conscious parents. And they still retain some of their cultural heritage.

²² Walter S. Gibson, *Brueghel* (New York and Toronto, 1977), p. 151.



Self-Portrait

watercolour 1957 18" x 14"

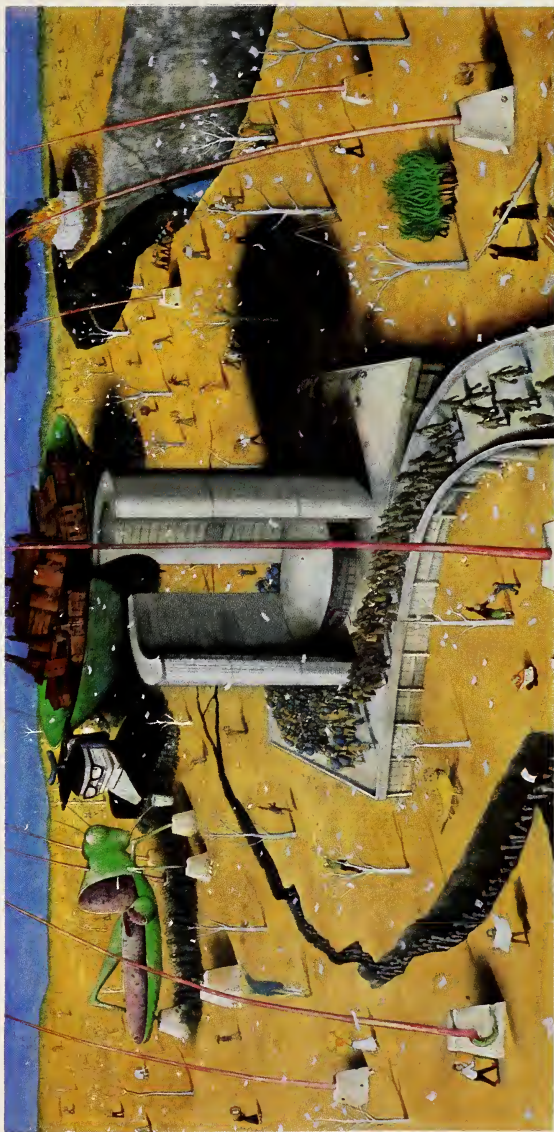
photo: Centre de Documentation Yvan Boulerice, Montreal



The Devil's Wedding
oil 1967 53" x 48"



We Find All Kinds of Excuses
oil 1964 47" x 71½"
photo: Tom Moore, Toronto



Harvest of Our Mere Humanism Years
mixed media 1972 48" x 96"
photo: Robert Keziere, Vancouver

So where to now? The same eternal question pursues man no matter how many thousands of miles he wanders to put in new roots. What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world yet suffers the loss of his soul?²³

That was the same question that formed the heart of the conflict between Joseph and Sandor Hunyadi, father and son, in John Marlyn's rich novel of immigrant life, *Under the Ribs of Death*.²⁴ In his own life Kurelek had answered that question.

Kurelek's desire to paint the history of his people did not limit his interest in other Canadians any more than his preoccupation with the prairies caused him to exclude other aspects of Canadian life. In fact, from the beginning of his career he was fascinated by urban subjects, seeking out city life in all of its facets. His "O Toronto" series of 1973 was only one example.²⁵ A later series on Montreal was further evidence of his artistic breadth. "Toronto Slums" (1968) leaves no doubt that Kurelek was fully aware of the immediate world around him; social decay and poverty were as real to him as pioneer farm life. "It's Hard for Us to Realize" (1972) again displays his strong emotions about the inequalities and injustices of modern urban life. Nor were these concerns confined to Canada. His 1969 trip to India resulted in a series of powerful drawings on the social problems of developing countries. "Deformed and Destitute in India" (1969) is a graphic example. So, too, he urgently wanted to paint a complete picture of the Canadian ethnic mosaic, celebrating the contributions of the Inuit, Irish, Jews, French Canadians and others. "Father O'Connell and the Poles of Sydney," painted in 1977, attests to the impressive range of Kurelek's artistic talents and human sympathies.

Yet it is surely true that Kurelek's perspective remained the one formed on the prairies. This is not a criticism. Reading the text of *Kurelek's Canada*, a series intended to illustrate life in every region of the country, one again senses the prairie lens through which the artist saw his country. That is what gave the series its authenticity. Commenting on two Nova Scotia lobstermen greeting each other from distant boats, he wrote: "The feeling is somewhat akin to the warm glow a prairie farmer gets from seeing a far-off neighbour's farm house lights come on in the evenings."²⁶

²³ Isaacs Gallery, "Ukrainian Women Pioneers in Canada," ms.

²⁴ John Marlyn, *Under the Ribs of Death* (Toronto, 1964), p. 216.

²⁵ William Kurelek, *O Toronto* (Toronto, 1973).

²⁶ Kurelek, *Kurelek's Canada*, p. 29.

Kurelek's imagination was rooted in his region, and that is what makes him so identifiably Canadian in a country where culture has always had regional roots.²⁷

In his later years Kurelek also came to realize more and more that his artistic vision was nourished by his Ukrainian heritage. For a time he turned his back on the Ukrainian nationalist ideology of his youth, first as part of his Joycean revolt against his past, and later because of his attraction to Great Britain. But the experience of painting his two great Ukrainian pioneer series re-awakened his ethnic identity. Then in the early 1970s he made his first trip to Ukraine, where he was permitted a brief, but profoundly moving, visit to his father's native village. "In those four hours I saw, however fleetingly, the houses in which the peasants lived, ate the food they ate, photographed the village pond and talked the language of my forebears. It was like living a lifetime in one day. Here were my ultimate roots This was the real Ukraine, not the attenuated version I had worshipped in my nationalistic days in Winnipeg." It was then that he conceived of a great mural depicting Ukrainian-Canadian history that would one day, he hoped, hang in Ottawa for all Canadians to see. This was the project he was still working on during his last visit to his father's homeland just before his death.

Yet, if Kurelek's perspective was regional and ethnic, the central focus of his vision was religious. "Put God first and your national or ethnic origin second," he insisted.²⁸ That very determination to put God first was what most disturbed his critics and even his admirers. But those tenaciously held beliefs were what made him paint. Pictures without explicit religious content, the ones his public most enjoyed, he dismissed as "pot-boilers," and he was often frustrated in doing them. "Maybe I'm more like in my lumberjack days," he wrote in his diary in 1966,

when I worked 7 days a week 12 hours a day except that it was backbreaking work These kind of paintings are somewhat like cords of wood in that I produce 2¼ a day like I produced 2¼ cords a day in good timber stands. I am aware that they are pot-boilers and cannot make them openly religious as I would like because they wouldn't be saleable I am much more fortunate than a great many people to-day because God has given me faith and I can see

²⁷ Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden* (Toronto, 1971), pp. ii-iii.

²⁸ William Kurelek, "Development of Ethnic Consciousness in a Canadian Painter," in W. Isajiw, ed., *Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 53, 55.

fairly clearly that even when I cannot openly testify to Christ I can at least give God glory obliquely by representing nature which He created and continues to hold in existence minute by minute by His omnipotence. Even when man in his partnership of creativity with Him fumbles in his share of the work, He goes on regardless, turning evil to good.²⁹

Kurelek's conversion to Catholicism in England in 1957 was the single most important event in his life: the recurring, fierce pain in his eyes disappeared, he discovered that he could make friends more easily, and he came to a convincing understanding of the meaning of life. His cry, "Lord That I May See," painted in 1950 shortly after an attempted suicide, had been answered. A dozen years after his conversion, he documented the critical moment in his life in a frighteningly beautiful painting. He described its origin in his autobiography.

On the third night or so after my transfer to Netherene my newly found interest in religion . . . was suddenly catapulted to the forefront by an awful experience. I awoke for no accountable reason some time after midnight and sat up in bed. The moon was shining brightly on the cabbage field outside our villa and the pine forest beyond. Yet I was overwhelmed by a sense of complete and utter abandonment the like of which I could remember only in childhood or perhaps last of all during that awful first night in Winnipeg in the hotel It was not so much like "little boy lost" but like "LOST IN THE UNIVERSE."³⁰

He titled the painting "All Things Betray Thee, Who Betrayest Me." The title was drawn from a poem that provided a motif for many Kurelek works—Francis Thompson's "Hound of Heaven." Kurelek identified very closely with that poem's first stanza.

I fled Him down the nights and down the days;
 I fled Him down the arches of the years;
 I fled Him down the labyrinthine ways
 Of my own mind; and in the midst of tears
 I hid from Him, and under running laughter.
 Up vistaed hopes I sped;
 And shot, precipitated,

²⁹ Isaacs Gallery, *Diary of a Painting Trip to Sudbury*, 15 June 1966, ms.

³⁰ Kurelek, *Someone*, p. 333.

Adown Titanic glooms of chasmed fears,
From those strong Feet that followed, followed after.
But with unhurrying chase,
And unperturbed pace,
Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
They beat—and a Voice beat
More instant than the Feet—
'All things betray thee, who betrayest Me.'³¹

In 1965 Kurelek translated "The Hound of Heaven" into a cloudless prairie scene. No one who has walked on a dark prairie road on a moonlit, almost summer night can fail to shudder.

Kurelek, even before his conversion, had painted religious paintings,³² and shortly before returning to Canada he set out for the Holy Land, drawn as so many other Christian artists had been drawn,³³ to the theme of Christ's passion. Eventually that work became the magnificent series now hanging in the Niagara Falls Art Gallery.³⁴ In this series and in other explicitly religious paintings, he wanted to restate the Christian gospel in contemporary terms. His intention was not, as was sometimes said, to use his paintings to convert others. He was too sound a theologian for that: "Faith," he wrote, correcting a journalist who had written an article about him, "is a gift of God, usually given to those who are humble enough to ask for it." Paintings could only be "teaching aids."³⁵ But to teach meant to make the message immediate.

Yet he knew also the dangers of didacticism. One of his finest paintings, "Dinner Time on the Prairies" (1963), was included in a series entitled "Experiments in Didactic Art." A note he scribbled made plain his determination to give immediacy to Christian precepts:

This is an intuitive painting. I was wondering how to paint a western religious painting and suddenly this idea came to me, so it is open to interpretation. A meaning I put on it is that which crucifies Christ over and over can just as easily happen on a summer day on a Manitoba farm as anywhere else. The farmer and his son doing the

³¹ Francis Thompson, "The Hound of Heaven," *Complete Poetical Works of Francis Thompson* (New York, 1913), p. 88.

³² For example, "Lord that I May See" (1950) and "Behold Man without God" (1955).

³³ Gertrude Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971), 2:ix.

³⁴ Kurelek, *The Passion of Christ*.

³⁵ Isaacs Gallery, William Kurelek, "Errors in Star Weekly Article," ms.

fencing may have had an argument just before dinner or one of them may have enjoyed a lustful thought. Or got an idea how to avenge himself on a neighbor etc.³⁶

He knew that some critics would be unhappy about this kind of painting, even those who had praised his farm scenes, so he issued an explanatory manifesto, in which he pointed out that many artists—Bosch, Bruegel, Goya, Hogarth, Daumier and Diego Rivera—had painted pictures of a didactic kind, and they were accepted as great artists. “I don’t pretend to put my work on a level with theirs,” he explained with his usual modesty, “but I nevertheless do have something to say just as they did.”³⁷

The critics were not mollified by this explanation, and Kurelek was obviously hurt. He considered offering only his “pot-boilers” for sale through commercial galleries and setting up a Christian gallery where he would show his didactic works and turn the proceeds over to Christian activities of a missionary and charitable kind.³⁸ But he certainly continued to produce didactic art. “The Atheist” (1963) might be mistaken for a simple prairie scene but for the title and the obvious suggestion of the parable of the sower. “Our High Standard of Living” (1965) commented upon the corruption of a Christian festival and revealed Kurelek’s social conscience.

In 1966, several leading Canadian critics expressed strong negative reactions to Kurelek’s religious and moralistic paintings. One, in an extraordinary sentence, declared that “the problem with these pictures is that they flow from Kurelek’s imaginings and not from what he knows.”³⁹ He urged the artist to confine himself to rustic scenes of peasant life. Kurelek replied in a lengthy, intense letter. His religious paintings, he said, had to be accepted as just as much a part of his vision as the farm paintings. He simply had to paint them. “If the world were a reasonably settled and happy place to-day I would probably be happily content to record the experiences of people on the land,” he explained. “But it is not. Our civilization is in crisis and I would be dishonest not to express my concern about my fellow man.” Even if the paintings

³⁶ Isaacs Gallery, undated scrap of paper.

³⁷ Isaacs Gallery, “Experiments in Didactic Art, May 1963.” See a discussion of this question in Ralph E. Shikes, *The Indignant Eye: The Artist as Social Critic* (Boston, 1976).

³⁸ Isaacs Gallery, William Kurelek to Av Isaacs, 1963.

³⁹ Harry Malcolmson, “Art and Morals,” *Toronto Telegram*, 12 March 1966.

were rejected by the critics and the public, he would continue to paint them, for he felt compelled to expose the great problems of poverty, racism, sexual licence and general moral decay. Most important of all, he completely rejected the distinction between direct experience and "imaginings." "Did Hieronymous Bosch, a recognized master in representation of Hell himself go to Hell, and come back before he tackled it? No one has come back from the dead to record his experiences there and yet great classical writers like Milton and Dante waded right into it. Obviously they must draw their experience of those things partly from similar earthly experience partly from personal or mystical intuition."⁴⁰ "We Find All Kinds of Excuses" (1964) displayed what he meant by that combination of remembered experience and "mystical intuition."

Kurelek was almost obsessed with a sense of the precariousness of man's existence in the world. He had a recurring vision of the coming apocalypse, which he depicted in 1971 in a magnificent series entitled "The Last Days." He described what underlay his foreboding: "We all know that the nuclear weapons stockpiles are very real and those bombs have already been used on human beings. But what of the increasing violence, the rapid erosion of legitimate authority, the increasing poverty of the have-not nations coupled with the last-days-of-the-Roman-Empire kind of moral decay in the affluent West?"⁴¹ That sense of doom could be presented sensationally or more quietly, as in the farm scene that evokes the familiar sights and smells of the quack grass burning in the prairie autumn. Its title, however, reveals what lay behind it: "One Man Taken, One Left as They Work Together in the Fields," drawn from the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew.

The same ideas, and a greater sense of urgency, were expressed in 1973 in several paintings in the "O Toronto" series. There, included with scenes of neighbourhood streets, Massey Hall, and the Humber River, were strongly stated attacks on abortion, commercial sex, and materialism. Perhaps the central picture was "Harvest of Our Mere Humanism," depicting a "Bosch-like dream" of the fate of a secularized city: "the image of a grasshopper being eaten out by ants. I felt it represented our educational system." "Toronto, Toronto" explained the problem: a Bruegel-like crowd hurries by the steps of the old city hall, ignoring the Christ figure on the steps. "People either pay him lip-service only, or else they ignore him altogether."⁴² "We Think Ourselves He-

⁴⁰ Isaacs Gallery, William Kurelek to Harry Malcolmson, April 1966.

⁴¹ Kurelek, *Someone*, p. 516.

⁴² Kurelek, *O Toronto*, pp. 2, 4.

Men" (1965) makes the same point even more startlingly. Kurelek felt sure the day was coming when Christians would be forced to declare themselves against the world around them. "To-day, though Christians have lost social leadership, we are still tolerated," he wrote in the "Notes on the Last Days," "but as the morality of secular society grows ever more opposed to the Christian one, sooner or later concerned Christians will have to take a stand. And then they will be openly attacked."⁴³

Kurelek's religious purpose is obvious enough in his explicitly didactic paintings. But it was also there in nearly everything else he painted. He was always looking for new ways to express his beliefs. He described the process in a 1965 diary entry during a painting trip to his father's farm.

I started painting a winter scene from Manitoba from a photo of a snow storm. I meditated a good while on what the theme of the picture would be and after a while it suggested itself to me. Cattle and birds are out in the storm and a boy hiding behind a smoke house. A line from Francis Thompson's poem "Hound of Heaven—Naught shelters thee, who wilt not shelter Me." I recall how in severe western winters nothing really sheltered man sufficiently except the heated farm house and so I compared it to a person in this life trying to find comfort in all sorts of places and activities forgetting that none will permanently shelter him but God. And his final resting place will be heaven. If he makes it.⁴⁴

IV

Childhood, the prairies, settling and cultivating the new land, Christianity: these are the great recurrent themes of William Kurelek's paintings. They all come together, so naturally, in a small lithograph done in 1973. In the foreground is the figure of the Christ-child standing in a field of tumbling Russian thistles. To the left two farm hands are sinking fenceposts, one of which is a crucifix. Near the horizon a tractor-drawn binder is at work, and further back the grain elevators and train smoke present a typical prairie skyline. To the right the forked lightning reaches down, directing attention to the man hurrying along the country road pursued by a hound. It is entitled "A Prairie Parable," and it contains the essence of Kurelek's vision.

⁴³ Isaacs Gallery, William Kurelek, "Notes on The Last Days."

⁴⁴ Isaacs Gallery, "Diary of June 1965."

Journal

A master painter teaches us to see the world in a new way, and in doing so he allows us to enter his imagination.⁴⁵ Tom Thomson taught us to see the Canadian Shield in his shapes and colours. David Milne gave us a world that is light and elusive, though no less clear for that. Jean-Paul Lemieux shows us a Québec where both people and landscapes have endured the centuries. Kurelek, too, provided us with a new way of seeing. His people move through a vast landscape, at work and play, in celebration and suffering, painted in a style that is at once naive and earthy and yet abstract. But abstract in the fashion of the mediaeval icon painters. "Only a great artist," says Mrs. Bentley in Sinclair Ross's classic prairie novel *As for Me and My House*, "only a great artist could ever paint the prairie, the vacancy and stillness of it, the bare essentials of a landscape, of earth and sky."⁴⁶ William Kurelek was that artist.

⁴⁵ Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, p. 389.

⁴⁶ Sinclair Ross, *As for Me and My House* (Toronto, 1970), p. 59.

LIFE AT KHARKIV UNIVERSITY TODAY*

In 1974 I finished my studies in the department of Russian language and literature of the Philological Faculty at Kharkiv University. The faculty also had a department of Ukrainian language and literature, as well as a department of mathematical linguistics. It had approximately two hundred students, mostly women. The time has long passed since Kharkiv University, and especially the Philological Faculty, by their high standards of teaching attracted those who decided to devote their lives to literature, philology, or linguistics. The principal task of the faculty today is to prepare teachers of language and literature, and this profession attracts women almost exclusively. There are few young men who want to devote themselves to a thankless job in a Soviet school.

Young people from the village are given first priority in regular admission to the university. There is a good reason for this: there is less difficulty in allotting the diploma-holding specialists to work in villages. They can go back where they came from. This tendency is most discernible in the Ukrainian department, since those who are admitted outside the regular criteria (children of Party and KGB functionaries and all those who have the "right connections" [*blat*]) choose the Russian department, thus leaving room for the Ukrainian young people from the village, who have no *blat*.

The general standard of teaching at the university (as in the schools) is rather low. If a very bright student should suddenly appear, it would not be because of the university, but rather through an omission by the university authorities. One can safely say that the intellectual level of the Ukrainian department is much lower than that of the Russian. The basic reason for this is the level of teaching in village schools. What a child living in the city may learn in a library, and anything that goes a little beyond the "general Soviet education," is inaccessible to young girls in a village. They hear the names of Kafka, Sartre and Proust for the first time at the end of their university studies, usually in a brief survey of the various "isms" that are regarded as hostile to the Soviet world outlook. The same is true of their general grasp of contemporary literature, art and social life. A desire to analyse

* This is a translation of an article that first appeared in Ukrainian in *Suchasnist* (September, 1979).

the surrounding reality and to reach out with one's own intellect to the truth of life is almost totally absent. Such information as the "Soviet government is the most just," "Solzhenitsyn has sold himself to the West," or "everything Soviet is the best in the world" is accepted on trust, not without some doubts, but simply because of intellectual inertia.

I stress the fact that the Ukrainian department was full of Ukrainian young people from the village. Many Ukrainians attended the Russian department, but they had all graduated from Russian high schools and spoke Russian at home. All that was Ukrainian about them was their surnames. These students showed not the slightest interest in Ukrainian culture, language or literature because they were completely Russified.

The university administration was satisfied with the general level of the Ukrainian department since it was not its task to prepare future leaders of Ukrainian culture. It is possible to "produce" ordinary village schoolteachers out of quite indifferent material.

Since some courses in Ukrainian literature and language, and special courses in Ukrainian philology were taught in the Russian department, I have a good impression about the level of teaching and the general tendencies in the Ukrainian department. The chief concept permeating all courses in Ukrainian literature from its origins to the Soviet period (it is a matter of course that apart from Soviet writers no other contemporary Ukrainian writers are ever mentioned) is the complete identity of literary and historical developments in Ukraine and Russia and the unquestioned dominance of Russian literature. It appears that Shevchenko and Kotsiubynsky and Lesia Ukrainka and Franko were simply in love with Russia and linked Ukraine's future with it, along with the future of Ukrainian literature, art and culture in general. Even the teaching of the Ukrainian language is conducted along these lines. Any linguistic construction "akin to Russian" has become to everyone who studied Ukrainian language in a Soviet school or at Kharkiv University a synonym of Russian. The orthography is like the Russian, the lexicon similar to Russian, the syntax identical with Russian. Several of my fellow students said to me: "Ukrainian language? It is simply bad Russian." To be sure, I myself have understood only recently, after acquainting myself with non-Soviet or prohibited works of Ukrainian literature, that I do not really know Ukrainian. This is because the living, pure Ukrainian language does not exist in Kharkiv in either theory or practice. What I studied there as Ukrainian has little in common with the living Ukrainian language, which, fortunately, has been preserved here

and there in Ukraine and which is present, although rarely, in those émigré Ukrainian publications known to me.

Teaching in all the faculties at Kharkiv University, apart from the Ukrainian department of the philological faculty, is conducted in Russian. There are signs in Ukrainian on the university building—"Gorky State University of Kharkiv"—on the dean's door, and on the doors of offices and laboratories. And even these are not always in Ukrainian. In general, university students speak Russian among themselves or, more correctly, the southern variant of Russian. Young Ukrainians from the villages switched at once to Russian if they talked to someone who was "not their own." This has become a real psychological complex—the fact that students in the Ukrainian department are ashamed of their own language. Since their practical knowledge of Russian was limited, they spoke Russian timidly and unwillingly and remained friendly mostly with "their own kind," becoming almost like foreigners within the walls of Kharkiv University. These were mostly "sons of the soil," children of the *kolhosp* farmers, who could not easily adapt to city life and responded to it as if to a foreign country. They face "acclimatization" in the new circumstances; the language they have to adopt is foreign, and so is the attitude of the city students. This is how things are in the Kharkiv, Poltava, and Sumy oblasts and, to some extent, in Kiev oblast. As far as I know, conditions are somewhat different in western Ukraine. The Ukrainian language can be heard in the streets of Lviv more frequently than in the cities of eastern Ukraine. All in all, there is much more Ukrainian flavour in western Ukraine than in the Left Bank.

In Kharkiv, I encountered no nationalist sentiment either among individual Ukrainians or in groups, although they were very uneasy about this situation. The reader may object by saying that I did not find any because I was not looking for it. Alas, I did look for it. As a student I went through a stage that might be termed, perhaps a little grandiloquently, a "search for truth." I do not wish to imply that in my twenties I was an extraordinary person, different from others. On the contrary, I was very much like many students who, either intuitively or because of some bits of information they had gathered, felt painfully and sharply the falsehood of Soviet reality. In such a situation one tends to find kindred spirits. Just at that time I found friends, at first among the "bohemians," and later among the "Zionists," who were of different descent but close to me because of their idealism. The Zionist movement attracted me by its intensity and its clear ultimate goal. As it happened, I remained close to them and achieved their end: I now live in Israel. Unfortunately, I failed to notice

any discussions of the Ukrainian problem (which is a real problem) among Ukrainian students. I would be very pleased if someone proved that I was wrong. To be sure, I heard that a Ukrainian national movement exists in Kiev and in western Ukraine, but I did not see it in Kharkiv.

My first year at the university, in 1969, was spent not at the university but on a collective farm near Kharkiv. Students, whether they wanted to or not, were sent to the villages to help with the harvest. The harvest, such as it is, must be gathered in the fields, and the collective farms are short of labour. Old people would complain—this time in pure Ukrainian: “They have brought skubents [*skubenty*] again, and they don’t know how to do our hard work.” It was true that we did not know how to work, but we soon discovered the farmers’ indifference to the harvest, much of which would be lost. Students who originally came from the village were reluctant to work and to show their former skills. After all, they were now students. Having left the village they were determined never to return to it. I would like to point out that this contemptuous attitude to physical work in general, and to work on a farm in particular, is visible not only among Ukrainians or former villagers. This is a general tendency in the USSR. The concept of the “happy life” in Soviet terms cultivates very peculiar attitudes to physical labour.

A few words about my chance encounters with Ukrainian folk art. It is alive among the people, but it takes hard work, good will and patience to find it. In the summer of 1973 I happened to spend a month with some other students among the villagers near Kharkiv and to collect samples of oral folklore from the people. Since I was a student in the Russian department, I should have been sent to a village in Russia, but because of bureaucratic bungling I was sent to a Ukrainian village where there were supposed to be some Russian settlers from the Volga region. But we could not find those who had been resettled. Perhaps they never arrived there, or have disappeared, but the result was that we had to record pure Ukrainian folklore. It was hard but rewarding. Unfortunately, I did not succeed in taking abroad with me the notebook I used and kept for the next three years. Customs officials took it away from me, since it is forbidden to take out manuscripts.

The best sources of folklore were very old people, and it was impossible to evaluate properly what their memories have preserved. Most of them were illiterate, so there is no doubt that their memories came from their ancestors and not from books. Among them were marvellous interpretations of Cossack songs and lyrical

songs of the highest quality. Unfortunately, all this will probably be lost, because the younger generation has not preserved any of it since it does not understand its value.

We also listened to songs and *dumy*, performed with lesser willingness, of the recent past—the war years, the period of Stalinist terror—and to the couplets that satirized Soviet reality. Usually those willing to sing them were warned by others: “Don’t wag your stupid tongue—or else they will shut you in the cooler.” Of course, in our reports of the expedition not a word was said about this “criminal” folklore. The report was bland and lacked objective value. Students from the Ukrainian department often brought back with them from the villages not the true folklore, but some verses praising Soviet rule in Ukraine. These came from villages that were rich in “pseudo-folklore,” in which there were minstrels (*kobzars*) who appeared at concerts for the workers’ brigades and whose “folklore” was officially approved. This simulated folk art may soon lead to a situation in which young people will hear as a folk song: “I glorify the Party . . .”

Forecasting is a thankless task. Nevertheless even the most superficial acquaintance with the state of the national cultural tradition shows that folk culture in Ukraine is not enjoying a normal development but is forced from above; otherwise it is either simply destroyed or something alien is substituted for it. The conclusions could be very pessimistic: we are witnessing the agony of a folk culture, at least of that branch that is most deeply rooted in the native soil. Even if my impressions of the situation as a whole are not true, such pessimistic conclusions come to mind.

I have never tried to fathom the essence of Ukrainian-Russian relations. An *a priori* instinct tells me that an analysis of these relations could lead to very interesting conclusions. Was it to the point to search for material for such a study in Kharkiv? Perhaps it might be the best place, after all. It is relatively easy to analyse overt Russification in Ukraine. From the point of view of successful Russification, the Kharkiv area is a good example. The number of Ukrainian schools there is decreasing catastrophically. The situation has reached the proportions of a joke when, in order to prove that some schools are Ukrainian and so to shut up those foreign critics, some children have to be forced to register in a Ukrainian school even if their parents do not want it. They would prefer them to go to Russian schools, since after a Ukrainian school it would be more difficult for them to study at the university and to get a good job. Ukrainian schools are only necessary in order to place them in the statistical tables. It would really look very awkward if there were no Ukrainian schools in Kharkiv!

I have no statistics at my disposal. Here is one interesting fact, however: When, at the end of the academic year, students from the Ukrainian department asked to be sent for practice teaching to Ukrainian schools in Kharkiv, they could not all be accommodated, not because there were too many applicants, but because there were too few schools. Another example: In order to attract more students to a Ukrainian school, the school is given "special" status, that is, it specializes in either mathematics or English. The result is that Ukrainian is again downgraded, although recently some "special" schools have been turned into ordinary ones because they became centres for "thinking differently." Gifted and privileged students seize the opportunity to think for themselves, and not only about mathematics or English. It is, therefore, politically unwise to allow such student concentrations. Unfortunately, a large part of the Ukrainian population in eastern Ukraine goes along with this type of Russification, preferring Russian to Ukrainian and thus ensuring better jobs for their children.

I do not claim that I have an original attitude to this problem, but my attitude is as follows. The greatest threat to the Ukrainian nation, in my opinion, is not that there are fewer Ukrainian shop signs in Kharkiv, Poltava and Kiev, and that fewer songs are sung in Ukrainian in the various music halls. The most important thing is what these signs and songs say. If they glorify Lenin and the Party, then it would be better if they were in Russian. Does contemporary Soviet Ukrainian literature foster love for one's own country and stimulate the desire to live according to one's own conscience? Does the Soviet Ukrainian radio and television discuss the real problems of their Ukrainian listeners and viewers?

An interesting fact was the choice of the leadership in the student union, the Komsomol and the Party, "elected" by the more experienced Party committee. It consisted exclusively of Ukrainians, that is, representing the Ukrainian department. So how can you speak of Russification? The explanation is, of course, that all these Ukrainians, who were empowered to represent the "Soviet people," were the spokesmen of the official line. They would never commit an "ideological error." This is how the Soviet nationality policy works: it denationalizes with the help of the hand-picked representatives of a given nation.

I am not inclined to explain the national catastrophe in Ukraine through Russification alone. The most important aspect of this process is not linguistic but ideological: histories of nations can be written in foreign languages. Thus, those works of Mykhailo Hrushevsky that were written in Russian will remain

a contribution to Ukrainian, not to Russian, historiography. The author's stand, not his language, is decisive. The vast majority of Ukrainians take no such stand. Their position does not allow them to see the threat to their nation's existence in the fact that Ukrainian universities use Russian and that Ukrainian students go to Russian schools.

Almost one hundred graduates of Kharkiv University annually obtain positions as teachers of Ukrainian language and literature in Kharkiv oblast. I am sure that most of them do not try to teach love and respect for everything Ukrainian. They have no knowledge and no desire to do so, they do not feel part of a national cultural tradition. They represent Soviet rather than Ukrainian culture. They will tell their students how Ukrainians have always dreamt about friendship with Russia, how Soviet Ukraine is flourishing, how secure is its future that, in the words of a poet, may be found in "brotherly union." It is sad that my memories of Kharkiv University contain so little that patriotic Ukrainians would like to hear. Perhaps I did not live there or missed something very important. If only I had.

"IDENTIFICATIONS: ETHNICITY AND THE WRITER IN CANADA"

— Some Impressions and Reflections —

Dr. Manoly Lupul of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies enthusiastically declared in his closing remarks that it was the best conference he had ever attended. Writer Maara Haas, however, was not at all impressed: in her panel appearance she bitterly denounced the entire venture as a waste of time. University of Alberta writer-in-residence, Maria Campbell, found the three-day gathering to be encouraging and worthwhile; others simply thought it was a good idea and wanted to hear more about the subject. Few seemed disappointed, and no one looked bored. You might say it was a qualified success.

"Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada" offered participants a brief excursion into the murky waters of literary politics and a smorgasbord sampling of the "ethnic literary fare" produced by Canadian writers from minority-culture backgrounds. Held at the University of Alberta in the fall of last year (13-16 September 1979), it involved Ukrainian, Icelandic, Italian, Hungarian, Jewish and Mennonite, Scottish and Metis, Canadians from across the country. The discussion was launched with a keynote address by well-known author and critic Henry Kreisel, and then developed through a series of scholarly presentations on a wide variety of topics ranging from "Icelandic Writing in Canada" to "Canadian Yiddish Writers" and covering such diverse themes as the "Ideological or Literary Identification of Canada's Ethnic Writers" and "Problems of Ukrainian Ethnicity in Canadian Culture and Literature." A popular noon-hour festival of films (*Wood Mountain Poems*, *Teach Me to Dance*, *Our Street Was Paved with Gold* and *Autobiographical*) made the conference more accessible to students and the general public, as did a museum exhibit and a library display (of early Ukrainian newspapers and books) commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian publishing in Canada.

In the evenings there were well-attended readings of poetry and prose, one of which was held off-campus in the neighbouring Ukrainian-Canadian community of Vegreville, sixty-five miles east of Edmonton. The two afternoon panel discussions involving the writers were also well-attended and sparked lively debates that spilled over into the audience and rumbled on in undercurrents for the duration of the weekend. As these panel discussions brought together writers, critics and the reading public—at the same time illuminating the conference theme in a contemporary light—they deserve to be commented on and examined in some

depth. For although the transcripts of the debates (along with the academic papers) are to be published in a forthcoming book, it is unlikely that they will adequately convey the sense of excitement that characterized these sessions. It would therefore seem useful to provide a summary sketch of the panel-discussion highlights.

The first panel discussion, chaired by poet and critic Stephen Scobie, began rather slowly but steadily gained in momentum as it progressed. It was perhaps most interesting from the point of view of what it often unconsciously revealed, namely, the many and different ways that ethnicity can affect even a writer who works in the English language. Writer Rudy Wiebe perhaps best illustrated the complex nature of the interaction between ethnicity and literary expression when he began by dismissing as insignificant the influence of his background on his work, only to go on to reveal several ways that ancestry came up in connection with his writing. For instance, he talked about the negative reaction the Mennonite community had to one of his books because some of its Mennonite characters were shown to have all-too-human weaknesses. Wiebe's fellow brethren felt his depiction was too much like hanging one's dirty laundry in public and regretted that he had not chosen to portray his own people in a more "favorable" light. Wiebe then remarked—possibly indicating his sensitivity to the criticism—that reviewers often unkindly describe the style of his prose as being "Germanic," a characterization he clearly felt was unfair and inaccurate. This comment led him to confess that although German was the language he spoke first, he seldom used it now. Obviously, he wanted to distance himself as much as possible from the "ethnic" label. His diffident manner certainly suggested that he was uneasy about participating in the conference.

Maria Campbell also spoke about the way her work was received by her own people, once again underscoring the fact that writers from minority-culture backgrounds are regarded—whether they like it or not—as spokespersons for, or representatives of, their particular communities. Campbell expressed, with great feeling, her frustration in trying to live up to the expectations of her fellow Metis, whom she described as being her severest critics. It was obvious from her remarks that she had accepted the task of trying to speak for her people, however difficult it might be to please them as well as the literary critics from the educated elite. She too addressed the issue of language, revealing that she does much of her thinking in Cree and must then translate her thoughts and feelings into English. Without a doubt her observations, on the panel and throughout the weekend, were the most poignant and often the most insightful.

Poet Pier Giorgio Di Cicco, in his opening statement, added yet another thought for consideration. Di Cicco, who was born in Italy and raised in both Canada (Montreal) and the United States, spoke at length about how his multinational upbringing had sensitized him to the question

of identity and affected his outlook as a writer. Picking up on the comments of his fellow writers, he explained that his fluent knowledge of Italian definitely made him more conscious of the musical potential of English. He also discussed his relationship with the Italian community in Toronto (where he now lives), which he revealed was not particularly close because of regional differences transplanted from the homeland. Whereas most Italian Canadians come from central and southern Italy, Di Cicco is from the industrial north and for this reason feels somewhat estranged from his countrymen here. That he would compile and edit a collection of Italian-Canadian verse—appropriately titled *Roman Candles*—does, however, illustrate that he strongly identifies with his Italian heritage and has given considerable thought to the question of ethnicity.

The fourth member of the panel, Andrew Suknaski, has also reflected at length on his background and therefore could elaborate, in a comprehensive manner, on his ethnicity and identity. Born of a Polish mother and a Ukrainian father (the language at home was Ukrainian), Suknaski was raised in the southern Saskatchewan community of Wood Mountain, where he came into daily contact with the English, Romanian, Indian and Metis cultures of the people living there. Not surprisingly, he has evolved what might be described as a truly multicultural definition of himself, for he draws on the myths and histories of all of his neighbours and successfully synthesizes them in his work. Also profoundly regional in his outlook, Suknaski's world view might be characterized as being broadly "humanistic" in the best sense of the word, for his internationalist spirit is firmly rooted in a local and specific understanding of himself. He thus perhaps exemplifies one of the ways that Canadians can best resolve their perennial quest for an identity.

In jarring contrast to the tone of the first panel discussion was the debate among the writers participating in the second panel, which Douglas Barbour of the University of Alberta had the misfortune of chairing. All of the panelists were of Ukrainian descent or origin, but this was not enough to provide any basis of unity, because they represented a broad spectrum of generations, regions, political allegiances and social backgrounds. The tone of this session was set immediately by an emotional opening statement read by Maara Haas, and tensions simply escalated with each speaker despite the efforts of some to retain a measure of self-control. Haas, a freelance writer and the author of *The Street Where I Live*, caught everyone by surprise when she stormily denounced the conference theme and its organization. Her attack, however, was somewhat undermined by her own unwitting revelation that the very term "ethnic" was enough to make her physically ill because it unleashed a flood of unpleasant memories from her childhood years in Winnipeg's north-end ghetto. Recalling the taunts of "dirty ethnic" that she had to endure, she left little doubt in people's minds that her outburst had largely been pro-

voked by her unhappy early encounters with discrimination. Regardless of the tactless nature of her remarks, she must be credited for opening up the discussion to the uncomfortable but important realm of personal feelings.

Myrna Kostash, with some trepidation, bravely followed in the turbulent wake of Haas's remarks and attempted to pour oil over the troubled waters with a very reasonable and lucid opening statement. She explained, in a voice that was tense with emotion, that in coming to terms with herself as a feminist and a socialist, she inevitably had to confront the ethnic aspect of her identity. Obviously satisfied with the resolution of her "identity crisis" (which she felt was now behind her), Kostash wondered aloud if she would have been included on the panel had she not written *All of Baba's Children*. She then addressed herself to the previous remarks made by Haas about her loathing of the "ethnic" label. She pointed out that the women's movement also had to deal with similar problems related to emotionally charged terminology and often successfully adopted the strategy of appropriating the offensive epithets. Although Kostash failed in her attempt to put the discussion on a rational course, her thoughtful observations and her sincerity stand out in the aftermath of the debate. Of all the participants, she was the most articulate in expressing her ideas and feelings about identity.

The next speaker, Yar Slavutych, also attempted to restore decorum but only succeeded in provoking a string of angry reactions. A postwar immigrant and the only writer at the conference who worked in his native language, Slavutych essentially expressed a Ukrainian nationalist viewpoint on citizenship, allegiance, outlook and identity. Citing the ruthless oppression of Ukrainian culture as evident in the mass purges of Ukrainian writers and intellectuals in the 1930s, Slavutych then steered the discussion into more contemporary waters by denouncing the April 1979 murder of Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, allegedly killed by the KGB. His reference was especially explosive, as three guest lecturers from the University of Chernivtsi—in Canada on an exchange with the University of Saskatchewan—were in the audience at the time. Although obviously agitated by Slavutych's allegations, they did not interrupt him, and the moment of unease was quickly forgotten in the ensuing din.

George Ryga was the fourth speaker on the panel, and he added to the tension that was noticeably mounting in the packed room. Expressing a certain sympathy with the sentiment of the opening statement made by Haas, Ryga began by disassociating himself completely from the position taken by Slavutych, which he characterized as being reactionary. He followed up this denunciation with an attack on multicultural policies and a declaration of his internationalist orientation. In a pointed reference to the paper presented on his work by Jars Balan, he revealed that he saw himself primarily as a regionalist and played down the Ukrainianness of

his work. He also was critical of the lack of discussion about Quebec and about academia in general. Myrna Kostash intervened at this point, and the debate then shifted towards the audience, with Doug Barbour struggling to keep a measure of order. Speaker after speaker rose to praise or condemn panel members or opinions that were expressed, with moments of passionate eloquence alternating with irrational fits of near hysteria.

After the debate finally ended and the session had formally been closed, the lecture hall was awash with animated conversations as people attempted to make sense of what had just occurred. Myrna Kostash burst into tears as soon as she left the room, and conference organizers were visibly shaken by the unexpected turn of events. But when all is said and done and the stormy debate is looked at in retrospect, the second panel discussion must be considered as one of the high points of the weekend gathering. For in a flash it revealed that, underneath it all, ethnicity was still a gut issue that affected people very deeply—a fact often overlooked in the shuffle of academic papers. This great cathartic gush of feeling, which occurred at the exact climax of the conference, was a reminder to all that questioning one's past can be a risky, albeit ultimately rewarding, all that questioning one's past can be a risky, albeit ultimately rewarding, experience.

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That the conference was a justifiable expenditure of academic energy and public money should be obvious from the preceding account of one thin slice of its proceedings. But as is perhaps to be expected from such pioneer endeavours, "Identifications" ultimately raised more questions than it answered, and posed more problems than it solved. It also failed in one major respect: it did not succeed in defining the parameters of the ethnic dimension of Canadian literature, an objective it should have set itself and could have met. Several important aspects of the question posed by the theme of the conference were not even touched upon by the writers and critics in attendance. For instance, not a single paper was devoted to an examination of the portrayal of ethnic minorities in mainstream Canadian writing: by way of example, Stephen Leacock's work comes to mind as being deserving of such an approach. Nor were there any presentations on the Scots or Irish traditions that definitely exist within the body of the literature of English Canada. This was especially unfortunate, as it would be a mistake to fall into the trap (as many minorities do) of regarding the English majority as a monolithic entity, which it clearly is not. One can only hope that future explorations along the lines of the "Identifications" theme will deal with these important aspects of the question.

Similarly, it is worth noting that the conference made no attempt to consider the ethnic dimension as it pertained to the literature of Quebec

and French Canada. This was because the conference organizers did not want to introduce an element into the discussion that could sidetrack the debate into the realm of more political considerations related to the upcoming Quebec referendum on sovereignty-association. Besides, it would be impossible to devote any significant amount of time to this area, which could be better served with a separate conference. Whether or not this reasoning was correct is irrelevant now that the conference is over; but one should certainly look at the possibility (as suggested by George Ryga) of inviting bilingual Quebecois writers and critics to participate in future conferences, if only as observers.

More glaring, however, are some of the other shortcomings of the "Identifications" undertaking. The fact that the only writer present at the conference who wrote in a language other than English or French was Yar Slavutych—who was primarily asked to participate as a critic—is indeed striking in light of the theme. As difficult as it might be to learn of other such writers working in minority languages—especially those who are completely unknown to the Canadian public—an effort must be made to involve them in future gatherings of this sort. Similarly, the definite eurocentrism of the conference must also be avoided at all costs. Latin American, Asian and Caribbean writing in Canada was not represented or discussed by the participants: unfortunately, Japanese-Canadian poetess Joy Kogawa, who was invited to attend, was unable to take part in any of the activities because she took ill and was confined to her hotel room. But it is a fact that the problem of eurocentrism tends to plague many multicultural endeavours and should be consciously counteracted.

Finally, it is necessary to say something about the overrepresentation of Ukrainians at "Identifications," as they visibly dominated the list of invited participants and were even the conspicuous majority at many of the sessions, for the Edmonton Ukrainian community did come out in numbers to various events over the three days.

To begin with, it is important to realize that the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies played the major role in initiating and organizing the "Identifications" intervention into CANLIT and therefore had a legitimate interest in promoting Ukrainian writers and encouraging research into Ukrainian-Canadian literature—henceforth a field of study known as U-CANLIT. Thus it is not surprising that virtually half of the writers and critics at the conference were of Ukrainian origin or descent. But one suspects that there were less obvious reasons why "Identifications" was top-heavy with Ukrainian content. After all, the Departments of English and Comparative Literature co-sponsored the assembly of writers and critics and were given every opportunity to contribute their ideas and suggestions to the program. That they did not take a more active interest in either planning or organizing the conference is certainly no fault of the C.I.U.S., which did everything to encourage their input. But a more

tantalizing explanation can be offered for the high profile Ukrainians presented in the push to get recognition for the literature produced by Canada's ethnic writers.

Although it is mere speculation at this point, when so little is known about the literary activities and heritages of other minority cultures, the possibility exists that Ukrainians played such a pivotal role in the "Identifications" venture for the simple reasons that they are better informed about and more interested in their literature in Canada. For it seemed as if there were many qualified Ukrainians who were prepared to speak about Ukrainian-Canadian writing to the conference. Is the Ukrainian-Canadian literary community more developed and better equipped to take on the task of assessing and assimilating the body of Ukrainian literature into a more comprehensive understanding of CANLIT? And is that body of writing more extensive and varied than that produced by other ethnic groups?

These questions, of course, will be impossible to answer until we learn more about the literary histories and activities of other ethnic minorities. If the "Identifications" conference succeeded in doing anything, one hopes that it would be in terms of raising questions such as these. For this reason alone it must be regarded as a beginning, and not an end. A follow-up conference would be the next step in the direction of a better understanding of CANLIT, and ultimately Canadian identity. It is to be encouraged

ЗАМІСТЬ РЕЦЕНЗІЇ

Почну з цитати.

Не можу спокійно чути слів: Чигирин, Черкаси, Хорол, Лубні, Чортомлик, Дике Поле, не можу без хвилювання дивитися на очеретяні дахи, стрижені селянські голови, жінок у жовтих і червоних чоботях, навіть ликові кошики, в яких вони носять на коромислах вишні і сливи. "Чайка скиглить, літаючи, мов за дітьми плаче, сонце гріє, вітер віє на степу козачім...". Це Шевченко, — абсолютно геніальний поет! Кращої від Малоросії немає країни в світі. І головне те, що в неї тепер уже немає історії, — її історичне життя давно і назавжди скінчилося. Є тільки минуле, пісні легенди про нього — якась позачасовість. Це мене захоплює понад усе.

Це абзац з ледве чи не найкращого твору російської прози 20 століття „Жизнь Арсеньева” („Життя Арсеньєва”), розпочатої Іваном Буніном у 1927 році і закінченої в 1933 році.

Тепер ще одна цитата.

Трагедія української еміграції, трагедія всього — за малими винятками — українства 19-20 сторіч в їхньому безконечному провінціалізмі. Від Марусі Дротівни через Винниченка до леопардизму нашого — раз-у-раз чесні душі, прекрасні наміри, благородні почуття — і провінційщина, провінційщина, провінційщина. Українство весь час — прекраснодушне і замріяне, воно весь час стоїть поза своєю добою. Іноді воно пишається цим, частіше — не здає собі з того справи. А то робиться страшно вольовим, страшно активним, мало не звірячим, але це виглядає дуже мило і трохи смішно. Тому наш європеїзм завжди відстає від Європи найменше на яких тридцять років і наздогнати її не зможе, як прудконогий Ахілл в уяві Зенона Елеата не може наздогнати черепахи. Тому наші органічно-національні прямування раз-у-раз сходять на закостенілість і реставраторство.

Рядки ці були написані в 1947 році українським есеїстом і філологом Юрієм Шерехом. У 1978 році „Сучасність” випустила майже чотиристорінковий том есеїстики Юрія Шереха „Друга черга”. До цього тому увійшли праці про літературу, театр й ідеологію, написані й опубліковані автором в українській та іншомовній періодиці з 1947 до 1956 року. Юрій Шерех — літературний псевдонім Юрія Шевельова, до недавнього часу професора славістики Колумбійського університету. Ще до війни Ю. Шевельов закінчив Харківський університет, там таки захистив дисертацію, одержав вчене звання

доцента. Він — учень Булаховського, одного з визначніших українських мовознавців. За війни Ю. Шевельов емігрував. В академічних колах добре відоме і його ім'я і його праці, наприклад, „Історична фонологія української мови”. Але тут мова піде не про мовознавця Ю. Шевельова, а про есеїста Шевельова-Шереха.

Повернімося до цитат. Чи не правда, що на перший погляд бунінська Малоросія не така вже й далека від Шерехової України? Але не покладаймося на перший погляд. Між двома цитатами — безодня. Бо одна з них, приналежна перу російського генія, — це заупокійна й українському народові і його культурі, а друга — гірка й жорстока констатація, без якої не можна зрушитися з мертвої точки, тобто подолати той самий провінціалізм, закостенілість і реставраторство, про які пише Шерех. Хоч і який поетичний і музичний абзац з „Життя Арсеньєва”, та в ньому поезія поминок і музика похорону. А Шерех ставить діагнозу, як лікувати, як рятувати Україну.

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Боюсь, що для більшості росіян Україна — це передусім галушки, Оксани й Наталки, бандура і, звичайно ж, Шевченко. Не Шевченко поет, а Шевченко — символ, пам'ятник, монумент. Ну як таки, упертий нахил голови, козацькі вуса, круча Дніпра. Що ще про Шевченка? Ну, викуплений від поміщика-кріпосника російськими мистцями, важка доля — лиха доля, запроторений у солдати, форт Шевченка. Але все ж таки — він поет! Так, поет, ну, як Пушкін для Росії. Боюсь, що я не перебільшив: це, приблизно, все, що може сказати тамбовець, перм'як чи сибіряк. А тим часом Шевченко тільки подесеяте викуплений кріпак, лиха доля, круча Дніпра. А перше він поет. Співставлення його з Пушкіном — велика наляжка навіть у розумінні їх впливу на національні літератури. Після Пушкіна в Росії були письменники, які не поступалися йому в геніяльності, а щодо впливу на світову літературу навіть визначніші від нього. А Шевченко був і лишається вершком української літератури. Як поети, Шевченко і Пушкін теж різні. Шевченко один з перших, якщо не перший поет слов'янства, який почув, що слова — це не тільки їх значення, по-теперішньому — семантика, але й жива самоцінна матерія, матеріал, тканина. Шевченко відтворює реальність мовою як такою. Цим ставленням до мови Шевченко ближчий від усіх слов'янських поетів своєї доби до традицій Шекспіра. Ім'я ж Пушкіна зовсім не випадково найчастіше стоїть поруч з ім'ям Байрона.

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В. Набоков: „Руки тіла, гримаси, ландшафти, млість дерев, запахи, дощі, талі й переливисті відтінки природи, все ніжно-людське (хоч як це дивно!), а також усе мужицьке, грубе, соковито-сороміцьке по-російському виходить не гірше, якщо не ліпше, ніж по-англійському”. Думаю, що коли О. Мандельштам писав про гелленістичну природу російської мови, він мав на увазі те, що між російськими словами, між їх звучанням і тим, що вони означають, чи то предмет, дію, напрям чи ознаку, — дистанція, близька до нуля. У цьому розумінні російська мова „матеріальніша” від англійської. У цьому самому розумінні українська — ще „гелленістичніша”, ще „матеріальніша” від російської. Шевченко, як жоден інший українець, відчував цю матеріальність рідної мови і прекрасно користувався нею.

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Я згадав дати написання „Життя Арсеньєва” не лише з любови до хронології. Останню крапку своєї, умовно кажучи, повісти Бунін поставив у 1933 році. Того самого року застрілився український письменник Микола Хвильовий, зачинатель і надхненник українського культурного відродження двадцятих років, гвалтовно здушеного, розстріляного, викорчуваного. А в двадцять сьомому році, коли Бунін виводив на першій сторінці свого рукопису: „Я народився піввіку тому, в селі, у батьківській садибі”, — Україна пробувала дихати на повні груди. Про цей час Шерех пише так: „То був період буйних сподівань і великих початків. То був період кипіння і перших стадій кристалізації. Період формування заново українського духового світу, коли тільки відокремлювалися небо і земля, суходіл і водоймища. Події обірвали розвиток, і новостворений світ не судилося заселити рибами, комахами й тваринами, вкрити лелітками квітів і хащами лісів, Тільки перші дні світобудови відбулися. Але постала незрушна твердь, і нарис морів і суходолів випнулися на непрохололій ще землі”. Я хочу назвати кількох мистців, чия творчість визначала биття серця, пульс і дихання тих літ: Аркадій Любченко, Євген Плужник, Павло Тичина, Лесь Курбас, Микола Куліш, Юрій Яновський, Володимир Свідзінський, поет з Галичини Богдан-Ігор Антонич. Це були мистці європейської, модерністичної орієнтації, які нікому не дивилися в потилицю, які відкривали і творили світ спільно з Гарсією Льоркою, Борисом Пастернаком, Томасом Вульфом, Арто. Чи знав Бунін про

цю спрямовану не в минуле, а в майбутнє Україну? Не варто ворожити, бож Бунінові не тільки Маяковський, а й навіть Блок здавався образою російської словесности.

* * *

Мені було десять. Я вчився у третій класі. На годині української літератури мене викликали до дошки. Але прозвучав дзвінок. Я знав, що мене викличуть через три дні, на наступній годині української літератури. Три дні я читав маленький текст і переказував його, переказував. Усе було так, як я й припускав: мене викликали через три дні і наказали спочатку прочитати текст, а потім переказати. Я прочитав і переказав, і одержав чвірку. Я сів на парту і заплакав. Я плакав не з уваги на оцінку. Я плакав з безсилля: ця майже рідна, ця чужа мова була невловна для мене. Вона була жива. Щойно тепер я зрозумів, що можна було схопити її — любов'ю.

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Юрій Шерех — продовжувач традицій Шевченка й українського відродження двадцятих років. Це виявляється в його мовній свободі і напруженій синтаксі, в широті й зухвалості асоціацій, в його кровному спорідненні з європейською літературою, філософією і взагалі культурою, в його вірі в цінність людського індивіда. Його думки про поразку українського визвольного руху сорокових років перегукуються і відштовхуються від сартрівської філософії резистансу. Він шукає, знаходить і переконливо доводить зв'язок між Коцюбинським і Росселіні, Миколою Кулішем і Жаном Жіроду. Це не спроба стати навшпиньки, щоб дотягнутися до Європи. Ні, це аргументована певність того, що Україна теж визначає культурний клімат Старого Світу. Книжка Шереха багатоплянова і багатотемна. У ній багато точних спостережень і суджень про природу тоталітарних режимів. До того ж, Шерехові судження що метафоричніші, то точніші. Тоталітаризм для нього — це не тільки узурпація влади чи примітивізація культури, а й мислення сучасників, їх побут, їх кінофільми, їх одіж. Усунення капелюха по революції й утвердження кепки, пласкої кепочки, про яке пише Шерех, — хіба це не говорить про диктатуру більше, ніж льозунгова публіцистика чи наукоподібна аналіза?

Я дещо докладніше зупинюся на темі, яку сам автор визначив як одну з головних у своїй книжці: на темі провінційности. „Провінція — все те, що не думає, що воно столиця

світу. Провінція — все те, що не стверджує себе столицею світу. Провінція — не географія, а психологія. Не теорія, а душа”.

Перед українцями завжди стояла велика спокуса пояснити всі національні нещастя тим, що їх батьківщина уярмлена, колонізована. Шерех теж про це не забуває. Але він розуміє, що обвинувачення і прокляття — це не вихід. Що вихід треба шукати в самих собі, в національних моральних ресурсах. Тільки подолавши провінційність, інертність, замкнутість Україна може знайти себе. Тому так безсторонньо і шорстко пише Шерех про все те, що обплутує і стискає Україну з середини. Ця шорсткість — від любови до батьківщини, від ясности розуму, від здорового глузду. Думаю, що публічно висловлене тверезе ставлення Шереха до Організації Українських Націоналістів й Української Повстанської Армії, що боролися за другої світової війни як проти російської, так і проти німецької окупації, було свого часу актом інтелектуальної й професійної мужності. Так, завдання ОУН й УПА були шляхетні: визволення України, здобуття національної незалежності. Але Шерех пише і про нездорові тенденції українського визвольного руху: про псевдоелітарність, нормативність, примат сліпої віри над думкою... Чи не ці риси так уперто прищеплювали своїм громадянам німецька і радянська диктатури? Перебуваючи між молотом і ковадлом, мимоволі починаєш жити за їх залізними законами. Є над чим замислитися.

Шерех пише: „Від доби ми засвоїли елементи масовости виховання. Ми не засвоїли усвідомлення свого місця в світі. Ми стверджуємо: Україна. Ми забуваємо додати: і світ. Ми вчимо людей вмирати за Україну. Це, на жаль, теж потрібно. Але чому ми не вчимо жити за Україну?”

Книжка Шереха далека від дидактики, і все таки вона вчить жити. Я не про рецепти чи повчання. Учити можна й по-іншому: прикладом власного мислення і вчинку. На противагу масовим, елітарним чи псевдоелітарним теоріям Шерех утверджує вартість людини, її неповторність, її силу й тендітність. Що вільніша людина, то вільніша її батьківщина. Як навчити людину бути вільною? Політика скомпромітувала себе. Політика, без якої немисленне становлення України, потребує прищеплення культури. Шерех запевняє: „Так, ми чекаємо, що мистець буде нашим Мойсеєм. Для цього він мусять зрозуміти свій час”.

* * *

Вірш, написаний мною в юності:

Я ніколи не розмовляв
зі старим гуцулом,
схожим під
баранячою шапкою
на недокурену сигару.

Кілька років пізніше знову промайнуло в одному вірші:

... з гуцулами,
прилютованими до повітря
в подобі бурульки ...

Гуцули — доцентрові. Штани в них вузькі, дудочкою. Коли танцюють, стають у тісне коло, руки кладуть один одному на плечі. У танцях, коломийках — безконечні повтори. Міняється лише темп — з кожним повтором він дедалі швидший і швидший. Здається, немає такої сили, яка могли б розірвати тісне гуцульське коло.

Правобережні українці — відцентрові. Шаравари в них широкі. Пісень — на всі народи вистачить. Коли танцюють — кожна сцена їм затісна.

* * *

Ірпінь — це пам'ять про людей, про літо. Про моє передостаннє київське літо. Про мого приятеля, до якого я того літа найїздив до ірпінського дому письменників. Приятель працював над перекладом роману про якогось африканського диктатора. Він завжди був радий мене бачити. Стискаючи мені руку, він часто говорив: „Як шкода, що Гелій від'їхав! Знову ви не познайомились”.

Уже після арешту Гелія я дізнався, що Гелій вважав мого, та й свого, приятеля — стукачем, провокатором.

... про волю, про втечу з неволі, про хвою ...

* * *

Шерех: „Що доброго може бути з Назарету? Назарет був глуха провінція. Звідти вийшов Ісус Назарей: він не мислив категоріями Назарету і Самарії і їх протиставлення. Для нього існувало людство, людина, світ і Бог. Назарет і Єрусалим стали осередками тисячолітньої історії. І коли йшли на Схід хрестові походи і коли сьогодні араби воюють бомбами з жидами, — це все постало — і багато іншого — з того, що Назарет стверджено центром світу”.

Так не пишуть автори з провінції.

* * *

Спершу село поблизу Чернівців, потім їх околиця — Сад-гора. І слово сад і слово гора є в російській мові. Але, певно, на всю Росію немає ні села, ні околиці з такою назвою, з таким ім'ям, схожим на казку.

Вижниця. Таке мале місто. У сто разів краще від Вишніці. У сто разів свіжіше, соковитіше, терпкіше.

* * *

Я жив в Україні десь з п'ять років. У дитинстві я не помічав, не усвідомлював, що живу в Україні. Здавалося, місто — це щось російське, тим що говорять у ньому по-російському, а село — українське, тим що говорять там по-українському. Геть пізніше один грузинський поет сказав мені: пощо ти борониш українців, таж вони самі соромляться говорити своєю рідною мовою, їх ніхто не примушує говорити по-російському. У цих словах є щось від правди. Але думаю, говорити про це треба зовсім інакше: до чого ж доведено величезний, сорокмільйоновий народ, коли він і справді часто цурається своєї мови? Тут доречні не закиди, а бажання втямити трагічну долю українців, історичні джерела цього трагізму.

* * *

Шерех: „Ми в стані війни з Росією. Це незаперечний факт, і від висліду цієї війни залежить наше бути чи не бути. І Росії, в кінцевому рахунку, теж. Здавалося б: треба вивчати ворога, треба знайти в ньому свою п'яту колону, своїх квіслінгів”.

Боже, до чого ж ми довели українців, коли такий розум бачить у нас у кращому випадку квіслінгів?!

* * *

Шевченко і Пушкін? Ні, нічого спільного. Найдошкульніша шевченківська тема — дитинства — у Пушкіна взагалі відсутня. Скорше вже Шевченко і Діккенс.

Але ось два уривки, що завершують вірші лєнінградця Кушнера і киянина Стуса.

Сами себе не прощаем слабости.
В щастье есть приторный привкус сладости.
Нам же любовного стыдно вздоха.
Ветер взбивает листву без устали.
Я ни с одною себя не чувствовал
Так хорошо, как с тобою: так плохо.

Прощай. Не озирайся. Благовість
Про тогосвітні зустрічі звістує
зелена зірка вечора. Крихкий
звереснув яр. Скажи — синочок мій
нехай віку без мене довікує.
Прощай. Не озирайся. Озирнись!!!

Чомусь у моїй пам'яті ці два уривки стояли поруч. Я відшукав тепер їх у книжках поетів і переписав. На папері вони не здаються мені близькими. Але я більше довіряю пам'яті.

* * *

Ірпінь — це не слово, це згусток прозорої смоли.

Того ж літа Гелій попросив приятеля поїхати разом з ним до Москви. Гелієві треба було домовитися про участь у пресконференції, на якій він мав намір публічно відмовитися від радянського громадянства. Пізніше приятель оповідав, що Гелій дуже нервувався, боявся, що за ним стежать, змушував приятеля йти позаду, щоб запам'ятати можливих переслідувачів. Розповідаючи про це, приятель кривився.

А тим часом ніякої потреби в переслідувачах не було: таж поруч з Гелієм був приятель.

... про білу вербену, про терпке терпіння смоли ...

* * *

Шерех: „Шанс України не в заборольності, а якраз у рибіжності. Сотні років ми плачемо, що ми — чайки при битій дорозі. Прежалісна пісня і справді гарна. Пластуни, правда, її на острові не співали. Але шанс України якраз у тому, що вона при битій дорозі. Що вона і Європа і Азія. Наша культура вбирала елементи з обох сторін світу. Було багато орієнтальних впливів і зв'язків. Їх треба виділити, вивчити, випнути. Трипілля і Іран. Візантійське защеПЛення теж було східне. Шпенглер розглядає візантійську культуру як арабську. Слово о полку Ігоревім зв'язане не тільки з арабськими сагами і піснею про Ролянда. Воно зв'язане з Біблією і епосами Сходу. Злочин Росії не тільки в тому, що вона відірвала нас від Європи. Вона відірвала нас і від Сходу. Вона виховувала не тільки европофобство, а і зневагу до Сходу”.

М. Бердяєв: „Суперечливість і складність російської душі може бути пов'язана з тим, що в Росії стикаються і стають до взаємодії два потоки світової історії — Схід і Захід. Російський народ є не чисто азійський народ. Росія є ціла частина світу, великий Сходо-Захід, вона сполучає два світи”.

Може, ми — дві чайки при битій дорозі?

* * *

Це гори Карпати. А це село, що холоне, застигає. У ньому школа-інтернат. Я в ньому вчитель. Вечорами я обходжу присадисті корпуси, де сплять мой учні, гуцульські діти. У коридорі на першому поверсі стоять десятки пар дитячих чобіток, черевиків, калош, сандалій. Чому сандалій — адже надворі жовтень? Взуття зношене до вибілення. Звисають уривки шнурків: вузол на вузлі. Взуття вологе. Від нього тхне прілим духом шкіри, поту, дощу. Спробуйте, дивлячись на ці чобітки, черевички, калоші, сандалі — та чому ж сандалі, таж надворі жовтень! — не спертися на поруччя, не заплакати...

* * *

З повідомлень інформаційних агентств: у народному суді Садгірського району Чернівців відбувся суд над правозахисником Йосифом Зісельсом.

Йосиф — мій друг. Садгора — казка з поганим кінцем.

* * *

Від часу, коли Шерех написав свої есеї, проминуло двадцять, двадцять п'ять, тридцять років. Цього не відчуваєш при читанні, бо талановите слово долає час. Думаю, що і в майбутньому читач матиме нагоду від пристрасного слова українського есеїста. І все таки, наскільки реалізувалися прогнози і прагнення Шереха? Думаю, що він мав слушність, орієнтуючись на людину і культуру. Інша справа, що ні за умов еміграції, ні в самій Україні з причини різних обставин не пощастило зробити процес розвитку культури безперервним. І все таки, я думаю, на шляху утвердження людської особистості саме за ці десятиліття були закладені моральні основи майбутніх національних звершень України. І зроблене це було передусім тими українськими письменниками, поетами, філософами, які, на нещастя, більше відомі світові як політв'язні мордовських й уральських таборів.

* * *

В тот день всю тебя, от гребенок до ног,
Как трагик в провинции драму Шекспирову,
Носил я с собою и знал назубок,
Шатался по городу и репетировал.

Цю пастернаківську строфу Маяковський назвав геніальною. Здається, він був захоплений диханням, тобто синтаксою,

тим, що Пастернак мислив не рядком чи рядками, а відразу цілою строфою. До Пастернака подеколи таке щастило Фетові. Ось, для прикладу, його по-германському похмура, незбагненно прекрасна — зі скрипом, присвистом, розвітреним волоссям, строфа з „На качелях”, що виходить з-під ніг:

И опять в полусвете ночном
Средь веревок, натянутых туго,
На доске этой шаткой вдвоем
Мы стоим и бросаем друг друга.

Шевченко теж мислив не рядками, а цілими періодами, часто віршами. Я лише про дихання, тобто про синтаксу.

* * *

Був кінець вересня. Бабине літо. Він заночував у мене, а вранці пішов до Гелія. Ніколи ні до, ні після я не бачив його таким зім'ятим, якимось іржавим. Коли він прийшов, Гелія вже не було. Двері відкрили гебісти. Як і належало, поїхали робити обшук у прибулого. При обшуку знайшли публіцистику Гелія. Мабуть, на всякий випадок готували для суду факт „виготовлення і поширення”.

Я знаю, що приятель потім відвідував Гелія, який вмирав у лікарні. Ось що мене мучить: чому Гелій так і не сказав йому в обличчя: падлюка, провокатор! Чому не прогнав його, не вигнав у шию?

...о друзі, для яких мало моєї хвали і моїх вихвалень, мого славословія, моєї хвали...

* * *

На цьому я поставив би крапку, якби писав про книжку парагвайського, кубінського чи південноафриканського демократа. Але я пишу російською мовою про книжку українця, пишу для тих, хто вважає себе росіянином. У нас нагромадилось багато боргів: перед угорцями, поляками, чехами. Але найважчий, найнесплатніший борг у нас перед Україною. Як забудемо про це — тим гірше для нас.

Как обещало, не обманывая,
Проникло солнце утром рано
Косою полосой шафрановой
От занавеса до дивана.

Це Пастернак. Але я не про нього. Я про „Життя Арсеньєва”. Ця проза пройнята смугою суму, нудьги, втрат. Через

шафранову смугу „Життя Арсеньєва” більше схожа на вітраж, ніж на прозу. Чар поезії в цих косих шафранових пасмугах, нереальних, невловних, ніби вигаданих не поетами, а нами, нашою уявою, ніби нами самими випромінюваних.

Переклад з російської мови
Івана Кошелівця

THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE: AN IMPORTANT SOURCE FOR ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

The Public Record Office, London, England

Readers of the *Journal* will already be aware of the relevance of the Public Record Office (PRO) as a repository of numerous documents of interest to students of Ukraine.¹ This commentary will provide further, updated information on the PRO, while concurrently supplying an annotated list of selected PRO files having direct bearing on contemporary Ukrainian studies (Table 1).

The Research Objectives

During April and May of 1979, research was conducted at the PRO with a view towards locating and copying key British Foreign Office (FO) files relating to the post-World-War-II movement of Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons to Canada. Simultaneously, efforts were made to collect evidence pertaining to the Ukrainian situation as perceived by FO officials during the later interwar period and up until the immediate postwar years. These inquiries form part of a large doctoral research project examining the impact of refugee flight and resettlement on antecedently established Ukrainian immigrants in Canada.

The time framework of this research theme necessarily limits the scope of this note. Those interested in earlier records may wish to consult a basic reference work, such as the *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office*, vol. 2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1963). Particular information relating to the World-War-II years can be located in *The Second World War: A Guide to Documents in the Public Record Office* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1972).

Working At The Public Record Office

The PRO is now situated in west London on Ruskin Avenue, Kew Gardens. Travelling to the new PRO facilities from central London is relatively easy by public transport. The archive itself is modern, spacious and generally efficient. Those undertaking study there are well provided

¹ Konstantin Huytan, "A Guide to Foreign Ministry Archives in England Relating to Ukraine," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 2, no. 1 (1977), pp. 94-8.

for with ample study areas, washrooms, a licensed canteen and a knowledgeable, helpful staff. The PRO is only open on weekdays, with the exception of the usual British statutory holidays. Admission to the actual building complex is restricted to those bearing official passes, each numbered and bearing the signature of the researcher. A pass is easily obtained, however, by completing an application form at the information desk located in the central ground-floor lobby. Once in possession of this pass, the student is free to move upstairs to the research areas and to familiarize himself with the PRO's facilities and record-retrieval procedures.

The main indexes are a multivolume collection of catalogues housed in a room located adjacent to one of the main study areas on the second floor. The third floor is reserved for the PRO's extensive cartographic holdings.

The catalogues are basically straightforward, although after 1906 entries are listed only by country, date, volume and file number. Consequently, one must begin an extensive, if nonetheless fascinating, search through the various tomes of the catalogue in pursuit of relevant files. Experience is certainly the best teacher at this stage. If particular difficulties are encountered, however, it is reassuring to have on hand PRO staff members, many of whom have a specialized knowledge of particular areas of the PRO collections.

After making a note of which records are of interest, one proceeds to any of four computer consoles located around the main catalogue room. After entering one's pass number and seat location, all that is required is for the researcher to meticulously follow the computer's program for calling up files. This is a simple, quickly mastered procedure. One to three files can be requested at any one time. When these have been transferred from the stacks to the circulation desk located in the main study area, the researcher is signalled by a "beeper" assigned on a daily basis. The number of this device corresponds to a study-area seat and a pigeonhole located behind the circulation desk. Generally there is about a forty-minute delay between the initial request and delivery.

There is no time limit on the use of any file. If requested, files can be kept at the circulation desk overnight for immediate use the following morning. Of course, should any particular item be required by others, arrangements will be made for circulating the material accordingly. Very occasionally one finds that government employees have recalled certain files for use "within the department." Such materials can be requested, although the time delay always amounted to several weeks. When this study was being undertaken, a number of records related to the forced repatriation of Cossacks, Russians, Ukrainians and others was unavailable. Possibly this was related to the furor unleashed by the publication of a

revised paperback edition of Nikolai Tolstoy's *Victims of Yalta* (London, 1977) and the subsequent polemics in the British press.²

No material may leave the PRO's designated study areas. Hence the researcher must be content with reading and examining the files and taking notes, or else present documents for copying to the duplicating staff. The drawbacks of copying can be related to the costs and time delays involved. While scores of files whose relevance to the stated theme were found, handcopying these was deemed counter-productive. The alternative of photocopying was likewise unattractive. At that time the price per page was approximately forty cents Canadian! Added to this were time delays of between eighteen and thirty working days. Anyone contemplating the use of the PRO must be prepared to spend either a long time in England taking notes (in itself an expensive proposal given the high costs of living in the London area) or else rely on a program of selective copying, with all of the costs that this implies.

One last point should be made. During the summer season, scholarly activity at the PRO is particularly intense. If at all possible, a student would be well advised to make use of the PRO during off-seasons (mid-winter, early spring) when the staff is less involved and so able to deal more readily with individual requests and difficulties.

The Records

All files are subjected to a "weeding" process before being made public. In essence this means that the contents of any given file may appear incomplete, even trivial. How much is contained in any given file is unpredictable. Furthermore, all files are first subjected to a minimum thirty-year closure rule. So, if one were to begin work in the PRO in 1980, material filed after 1949-1950 would be inaccessible. Regrettably perhaps, a number of seemingly salient files are also closed to the public for even longer time periods (fifty to one hundred years), making their use all but impossible. These restrictions impose significant limits on the quality and quantity of the records available for examination. Nevertheless, the value of the many unpublished documents that are available cannot be underestimated. The following, briefly annotated list includes a small selection from files located and copied by the author.³ Despite the limits of this table, some indication of the variety of sources about Ukrainian affairs existing in the PRO is provided.

² For example, see "Yalta, the Questions That Still Go Begging," *The Guardian*, 24 April 1979 and "Yalta Extra," *The Guardian*, 3 May 1979.

³ I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Table 1: An Annotated List of Selected Public Record Office Files Relating to Ukraine

<i>File Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
FO 371 23596	6 February 1939.	Notes compiled at the request of the Foreign Office. These describe the chief economic assets of Ukrainian territories and indicate some of the probable effects on the economies of the USSR and Germany of the creation of an autonomous Ukrainian state under German protection.
FO 371 23138	13 July 1939.	Includes a letter from Stephen Holmes (Office of the High Commissioner for the U.K. in Ottawa) to the Foreign Office. Mr. Holmes notes that "... perhaps [it is] somewhat surprising that Mr. Burianyk managed to get as far as the Prime Minister here, but the explanation may lie in the fact that Mackenzie King sits for a constituency in Saskatchewan, a province in which there are a good many voters of Ukrainian origin."
FO 371 32103	18 September 1939.	Telegram from Sir William Seeds at the British Embassy in Moscow to the Foreign Office, London. Discussing the Soviet invasion of Poland, he remarks that "I do not myself see what advantage war with the Soviet Union would be to us, though it would please me personally to declare it on M. Molotov."
FO 371 23138	1 November 1939.	Contains Foreign Office deliberations on the Ukrainian question. R. A. Leeper notes that "I am all in favour of embarrassing the Russians over this Ukrainian question, but not through direct action by us, only indirectly through the Poles. They will know how to play their cards in this

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<i>File Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
		part of the world much better than we can, but we should make them do so. If Poles and Ukrainians come together they should be able together not only to embarrass Russia, but create as much trouble as possible between Russia and Germany where the two frontiers meet."
War Office 203 1734	1941	Secret Memorandum on the Ukraine Question.
FO 371 32721	13 January 1941.	A file titled "Mr. Tracy Phillips: Mission Dealing with Ukraine Problem." An inquiry into whether or not Mr. Phillips was in Canada on behalf of the Foreign Office.
FO 371 43382	24 April 1944.	A file titled "Ukrainian and White Russian Troops Fighting for the Germans under General Vlassov." Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, writing to V. M. Molotov, requested direction on the "...large Russian element that has been forced to serve with the German armies in the West." Molotov replied on 31 May 1944 to the effect that "...the number of such persons in the German forces is very insignificant and a special appeal to them would not be of political interest."
FO 371 51234	14 August 1945.	"Relief for Ukrainian Refugees in Belgium." The minutes on the file cover include the remark that "1. All Ukrainians who come from inside the Soviet Union frontiers as these existed on September 1, 1939, must be repatriated."
FO 371 47906	15 September 1945.	Titled "Anti-Soviet Propaganda in British Zone of Occupation." The British noted that "Soviet allegations against the Ukrainian Red Cross and

<i>File Number</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
		the Ukrainian National Committee are not without foundation but that instructions have already been issued that these organizations are not to be recognized, and indeed, some of their agents have been arrested." Mention is also made of the repatriation of Cossacks from Italy.
FO 371 47957	15 October 1945.	"Ukrainian Nationalist Movements." A file prepared by the War Office for the Northern Department of the Foreign Office. Based largely on captured German military reports.
FO 371 56791	5 January 1946.	"Forcible Repatriation of Ukrainians to the Soviet Union." Correspondence between Thomas Brimelow and the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau's (CURB) G. R. B. Panchuk and S. W. Frolick.
FO 371 56791	1946.	Correspondence relating to the "Future of the Ukrainian Division held in prisoner of war camp at Rimini, Italy."
FO 371 66696	May 1947.	"Proposal for the Formation of a Foreign Legion from Non-Repatriable Refugees."
FO 371 66357	27 October 1947.	"Units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army entering the U.S. zones of Germany and Austria." Contains a letter from M. Lebed to the British Legation in Berne. The Northern Department of the Foreign Office instructed its officials that Lebed was active in "terrorist organizations" and later participated in "guerilla warfare activities in the Ukraine against Germans, Poles and Russians indiscriminately." British representatives were told "... not to acknowledge his letters."

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Conclusions

No archive can provide all the information a scholar requires. For those engaged in Ukrainian studies research will undoubtedly continue to combine a mixture of long hours of work in unsorted, private archives with a reliance on in-depth interviewing, the collecting of oral testimonies and study in numerous public depositories. Not all such archives can be expected to equal the PRO. The collections there contain both important and, as yet, largely unused material relating to Ukraine's historical and political geography. Retrieval of this data will require continuous efforts for years to come. New information will be released on a yearly basis, thereby adding to extant documentation. Despite the expense involved in using the PRO, the information that can be gleaned from the files there, when combined with the opportunity of exploring the London milieu and its Ukrainian elements,⁴ justifies the significant effort involved.

Lubomyr Y. Luciuk
University of Alberta

⁴ The kindness of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, and in particular of Dr. S. Fostoon and Mr. T. J. Kudlyk, must be noted. Thanks are due also to Mr. and Mrs. C. Zelenko for their courteous hospitality. The British Council provided travel support.

REVIEWS

V. K. PROKOPOVYCH, *VICHNE PIDDANSTVO*. Paris: Ukrainska Biblioteka im. Symona Petliury, 1976. 134 pp.

The brief, posthumously published study by the noted political activist and specialist in the study of seventeenth-century political and legal documents deals with one of the major questions of Ukrainian historiography—the nature of the relationship between Cossack Ukraine and Muscovy.

Prokopovych's approach to this issue clearly reflects his lifelong interest in the study of documents. Taking what he considered to be the key phrase in Khmelnytsky's negotiations with the Muscovites in 1653-54—*vichne piddanstvo* (eternal subjection)—the author analyzed what these two words meant to the Ukrainians and Muscovites of the mid-seventeenth century.

First, he examined the philological and juridical connotations of the word *vichne* in the context of the negotiations. After a lengthy and learned discussion, the author comes to the conclusion that to Khmelnytsky at Pereiaslav *vichne* did not mean eternal but, rather, lifelong, that is, his agreement with the Tsar was understood by the Ukrainians to be for a limited time, not for eternity. The analysis of the word *piddanstvo* is more complicated and, in its implications, more far-reaching. After carefully comparing how Muscovite scribes used the term in various cases, Prokopovych argues that when *piddanstvo* was applied to non-Muscovites—for example, to Tatar khans, Georgian tsars or Ukrainian hetmans—it implied a relationship similar to western vassalage. And this explains why Khmelnytsky could consider himself both “the lord and ruler of Ukraine” and a *piddanyi* of the Tsar. It also indicates that the so-called Pereiaslav Treaty was a quid-pro-quo agreement: as was usual in vassal-lord relations, Khmelnytsky recognized the authority or overlordship of the Tsar in return for the latter's promise to provide the Hetman with military aid or protection against the Poles. Thus, Khmelnytsky's *piddanstvo* to the Tsar was a loose, conditional relationship that in no way foresaw a *voziednannia* of “two brotherly peoples,” not to speak of a *vichne piddanstvo* of the Ukrainians to Moscow.

Prokopovych's study, based on a careful and thoroughly documented study of the sources, is a convincing and valuable piece of historical research. Its greatest achievement is that in attempting to explain Khmelnytsky's relations with the Tsar it uses the concepts of the seventeenth century, and not, as is often done, the anachronistic ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Orest Subtelny
Hamilton College

STEFAN KOZAK, *U ŹRÓDEŁ ROMANTYZMU I NOWOŻYTNEJ MYŚLI SPOŁECZNEJ NA UKRAINIE*. Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdansk: Polish Academy of Sciences, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978. 145 pp.

Books on Ukrainian pre-Romanticism in a social context that are also free from obvious stereotypes are rare. Kozak's study is one of these rare books. It offers a new attempt to discuss this fascinating period of the Ukrainian *Geistesgeschichte*. The book's virtue lies precisely in the reference to the wide framework of Slavic and western-European intellectual history underlying it. Indeed, the entire first chapter is devoted to theoretical and methodological considerations. The concept of the Ukrainian nation is later traced not so much in a sociological context as in terms of the history of ideas. The old truism that the birth of modern Ukraine is tied to literature is given a new philosophic underpinning.

Kozak first analyses the relationship between Ukrainian oral literature and the awakening of a historical consciousness. The German philosophers and western-European Romantics make it possible for him and for us to understand the significance of the discovery of the *dumy* and other Ukrainian songs in the early nineteenth century. They ignited a sense of native history in a people that had lost its place in the historical development of eastern Europe. They also provided the Ukrainian Romantics with a language and an ideology that was distinctly Ukrainian. In an age when, for the first time, the common people were included in the idea of a nation, the Ukrainians did rather well with their rich folk heritage. In the third chapter, Kozak argues that the loss of political autonomy led directly to the intensification of literary imagination, in which a new concept of the nation was coined. The greater part of this chapter, as well as of the rest of the book, is devoted to the discussion of *Istoriia Rusov*, an anonymous tract on Ukrainian history that was very popular in the early nineteenth century (circulating widely in manuscript copies) and was probably a product of the old Ukrainian nobility, which glorified Cossack history as well as outlined the right of Ukraine to an autonomous existence. The last chapter of Kozak's book deals with the relation of the newly created Romantic idea of a nation to the "idea of action" (*idea czynu*). *Istoriia Rusov* is interpreted here as an expression of the new political ideology of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the Romantic era. Here some of Kozak's conclusions may be disputed, since many Ukrainian Romantics did not share Shevchenko's vision of an independent Ukraine.

Although *Istoriia Rusov* was a myth (in the sense of Mircea Eliade—"a sacred story"), as long as a few Ukrainian intellectuals believed in it, it was, and perhaps still is, indestructible. Myths such as this are often the moving forces of history, and modern Ukrainian history is no excep-

tion. For despite its "imaginary" content, this particular myth inspired those Ukrainians who went into action in 1917.

Kozak's book, however, does not claim to discuss Romanticism but pre-Romanticism, and within this topic, despite a certain repetitiveness, it offers a valuable contribution to scholarship.

George S. N. Luckyj
University of Toronto

HELENE CARRERE D'ENCAUSSE, *L'EMPIRE ECLATE: LA REVOLTE DES NATIONS EN URSS*. Paris: Flammarion, 1978. 314 pp.

Despite its somewhat sensational title (which can be literally translated as "The Shattered Empire"),* this is a carefully researched and well-documented study. The book does not contain much novel material for serious students of the national problem in the Soviet Union; it does provide, however, an excellent introduction to a very complex topic. In view of the rapidly increasing amount of specialized literature dealing with various specific aspects of the national problem in the Soviet Union, such a synthetic, integrative work was long overdue.

The book begins with a brief description of Lenin's nationalities policy and its later modifications under Stalin and his successors. Within this historical framework, the author then analyses the various factors that have affected the attainment of the objective of the integration of all nationalities to form one "Soviet" people. Considerable attention is devoted to those demographic factors that militate against this integration: the fifty-million-strong Moslem community, for example, is increasing at almost three times the rate of annual growth of the population of the rest of the Soviet Union, and the reluctance of the Moslems to migrate from their homelands has greatly interfered with official plans for the distribution of the work force. There is an interesting chapter devoted to Soviet linguistic policies vis-à-vis national minorities and the resistance these policies have evoked, and detailed consideration is given to the regime's primary instruments of integration—the administrative system, the Party, and the armed forces.

The author usually avoids sweeping generalizations in describing the situation of the many and diverse peoples of the Soviet Union; she does, however, distinguish among three broad categories: those groups liable to eventually assimilate with larger neighbours because of their

* An English translation of this book was recently published in the United States by Newsweek Books under the less dramatic title, *The Decline of an Empire*.

small size, or lack of historical background or distinctive culture (for example, the many small peoples of Siberia, and probably the Belorussians); those groups with a strong national consciousness, but which may be condemned to extinction not because of assimilation but because of the physical circumstances in which they find themselves (the Latvians, Estonians, and possibly the Lithuanians); and the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia, where the degree of national consciousness and demographic dynamism will assure these nations of an important and growing place in the Soviet Union. The author seems to have some difficulty dealing with the case of the Ukrainians. She places them within the latter group, although she acknowledges that the demographic situation of the Ukrainians differs greatly from that of other groups in this category. (The growth rate of the Ukrainian population is very low, and its rate of assimilation into the Russian group is much higher than in the case of the Central Asian peoples.)

Although the author's treatment of the non-Russian nationalities is quite comprehensive, the later chapters of the book demonstrate her principal theme—the significance of the large and rapidly increasing Moslem community in the Soviet Union and of developments within this community. Although there are few overt manifestations of dissidence among the Moslems, according to the author this apparent stability “conceals a latent crisis of another dimension amounting to an even greater threat to the cohesion of the whole.” Some readers may consider that Carrère d'Encausse has devoted too much attention to the Central Asian nationalities; in view of the strength of the Islamic revival movement in countries bordering on this area, however, her emphasis is certainly very timely. The author is a well-known expert on Soviet Central Asia, and her work shows the greatest insights when she deals with the Moslem peoples. It is interesting, however, to speculate about one topic that Carrère d'Encausse does not mention—the influence of the growing weight of the Moslem population on Soviet nationality policy in the western regions of the Soviet Union. An increasingly important motivation for strong Russificatory pressures in Belorussia and Ukraine may be, for example, a desire on the part of the central authorities to present a more united bloc of Slavic peoples in the face of the Moslem “menace.”

One can disagree with some of the author's conclusions—for example, her pessimistic outlook on the future of the Baltic peoples, who have shown great tenacity in the face of considerable adversity. In addition, the necessarily brief accounts of the specific circumstances in which various ethnic groups find themselves often raise more questions than they answer. Nonetheless, although the book is primarily descriptive in nature and does not propose any theoretical frameworks for comparative research on the various nationalities of the Soviet Union, it does outline many of the factors that must be taken into account in further studies. If the English

translation of *L'Empire Eclaté* achieves some of the popularity of the original, which was a non-fiction best seller in France, it will do a great deal to inform the English-speaking public about the importance and complexity of the national problem in the Soviet Union. It will also, it is hoped, encourage scholars in various disciplines to employ more Soviet case-study material in studying the relationships between ethnicity, politics, and socioeconomic development in multiethnic societies.

Ivan Jaworsky
Carleton University

IZRAIL KLEINER, *NATSIONALNI PROBLEMY OSTANNOI IMPERII (NATSIONALNE PYTANNIA V SRSR OCHYMA RADIANSKYKH DYSYDENTIV)*. Paris: Première Imprimerie Ukrainienne en France, 1978. 406 pp.

If the *Journal* made a practice of giving titles to its book reviews, this one could well be headed "A Lost Opportunity." Emigré Ukrainian politicians are forever bemoaning the lack of objective reporting on Ukraine, yet this book—an informative, well-written primer on national dissent in the USSR—has not been made available to the Western audience, which the author explicitly addresses. Instead, it has been issued in an expensive Ukrainian-language edition on which the publishers will be lucky to make a return.

Perhaps—to look on the bright side—the publication was intended as a gesture in the direction of Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation. Readers of *Suchasnist* and *Ukrainske Slovo* will be aware that Izrail Kleiner has advocated such cooperation in his articles, and that he was a founding member of the Society for the Study of the Problems of Ukrainian Jewry, established in Israel in 1977.¹ A former resident of Kiev, Kleiner was active in the movement for Jewish emigration from the USSR. In 1971, he himself won the right to emigrate with his family: his struggle with the emigration authorities is described in his previous book, *Anekdotychna trahediia* (Suchasnist, 1974).

Since his emigration, Kleiner has worked for Radio Liberty, whose *Arkhiv Samizdata* is the principal source for the volume under review. (Contrary to a report in these pages a year ago, *Arkhiv Samizdata* has not ceased publication.)

Kleiner's book is by no means a complete analysis of the nationality question in the USSR: as the subtitle indicates, the author has limited

¹ For information about the Society and the text of its founding declaration, see *Suchasnist*, 1978, no. 1, pp. 83-9.

himself to an analysis of the views expressed by dissidents of various nationalities. Such crucial factors as the demographic rise of the Muslim peoples and the Soviet Union's economic difficulties are virtually ignored. Nor is this the place to look for an authoritative summary of the historical background to the Soviet nationality question. Kleiner's brief introductory chapter, which is devoted to this topic, skips lightly over complexities: thus, he states that collectivization was intended to "suppress the national will of the local population," noting the policy's economic significance in a parenthetical comment. One need not be an apologist for Stalin to question the adequacy of this formulation.

As a work of popularization, however, Kleiner's book is admirable. Assuming no previous knowledge of the subject, he presents a thorough, well-documented analysis of dissident writings on the nationality question. Two chapters—more than one-quarter of the text—are devoted to the views of Russian writers. In later chapters, Kleiner focusses on Baltic, Ukrainian, Crimean Tatar, German, and Jewish dissidents; there are also brief discussions of dissent in Armenia, Georgia, and Central Asia. The appendix, some 125 pages in length, provides a statistical table of major Soviet nationalities based on the 1959 and 1970 censuses, as well as translations and reprints of ten representative documents. A bibliography and index facilitate the use of the book as a reference work.

Two major findings emerge from Kleiner's analysis. He shows, first, that the nationality question has re-emerged as a central problem of Soviet politics, the Stalinist "solution" having failed. Attempts to put down national dissent by means of police repression have had the opposite effect: dissidents of every nationality have become more explicitly anti-Russian and have put forward more radical demands. In the words of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, which Kleiner takes as an epigraph for his book, national conflicts in the contemporary USSR register ten on a twelve-point scale, compared with two in Tsarist Russia.

Kleiner's second point is that the Russian dissident movement is badly split on the nationality question. On the one hand, there are extreme nationalists of a neofascist variety who believe that the purity of the race is being threatened by minority nationalities; on the other hand, there are individuals such as Vladimir Bukovsky who condemn Russification outright. Other dissidents occupy various positions between these extremes or struggle with contradictory views: thus, Andrei Sakharov opposes nationalism from a liberal-democratic perspective; the neo-Marxist Roy Medvedev finds himself echoing the fears of his Russophile opponents; Solzhenitsyn cannot decide whether Ukraine is a nation or a province.

By contrast, dissidents of minority nationalities present a much more united front. Kleiner argues that, whether neo-Marxist or avowedly na-

tionalist, minority dissidents have far less difficulty understanding and supporting one another than do the Russians.

The book ends with a well-justified plea to Western readers to take heed of the mounting conflict over the nationality question, which is leading the Russian people "to a decisive turning point in their history." Unfortunately, it appears that Kleiner will not be given a chance to put his message across to his intended audience. To this reviewer's knowledge, there has been only one attempt to plan an English translation of this book—an attempt that failed for lack of funds, translators, and publishing contacts. May it serve as a lesson about priorities.

Myroslav Yurkevich
University of Michigan

DONALD AVERY, *"DANGEROUS FOREIGNERS": EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND LABOUR RADICALISM IN CANADA, 1896-1932*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979. 204 pp.

According to its author, this slender volume is concerned with "the part which European immigrant workers played in the rapidly changing economic and social life of the country" (p. 7). It is not an example of the "new" labour history that seeks to set the history of working people in the broadest possible social and cultural context. Instead, it deals with subject matter usually associated with the "old" labour history—socialist parties, radical movements, unions, labour-management relations, strikes and lockouts. No attempt is made to consider how those immigrants who did not embrace a radical alternative accommodated themselves to turn-of-the-century Canada. Yet, Professor Avery's monograph deserves more than passing notice for two reasons. For the first time a Canadian labour historian has focussed on the role played by immigrants from southern, central and eastern Europe in the Canadian labour movement. In the process he has devoted a considerable amount of space to Ukrainian immigrants. In fact, this may well be the first time that a mainstream Canadian academic historian has published more than a token paragraph or two about Ukrainians.

In its broad outlines Professor Avery's narrative is clear and manages to destroy a number of popular misconceptions. Between 1896 and 1930 Canadian "captains of industry" recruited a proletariat composed of southern, central and eastern European immigrants. In addition to agricultural settlers, unskilled peasants and labourers were lured to Canada in order to meet the needs of labour-intensive industries, such as railroad construction, lumbering, mining and commercial agriculture. They came by the hundreds of thousands during the boom years between 1907 and

1913 to risk their lives performing menial and unremunerative work scorned by native-born, British and north-European immigrants. Of the 400,000 immigrants who entered Canada in 1913, forty-three per cent were classified as unskilled labourers, and forty-eight per cent came from southern, central and eastern Europe. Although immigration was interrupted by recession, war and the "red scare," the immigrant labourers' lot did not improve. During the war years many immigrants were dismissed from their jobs, designated "enemy aliens," deprived of their civil liberties, interned, accused of being Bolsheviks, intimidated, harassed and deported. In 1919, confronted with a labour surplus, the federal government bowed to nativist pressure and barred most east-central Europeans from entering Canada. Within five years, however, a massive exodus of unemployed Canadian labourers and the failure to find suitable replacements in Britain caused the ban to be lifted. The federal government gave the two transcontinental railroad companies a free hand in recruiting and settling east-central European agriculturalists, and allowed any immigrant whose labour or services were required in Canada to enter the country. As a result, 370,000 continental Europeans arrived during the next six years, displacing established labourers in resource industries and the manufacturing sector, and aggravating nativist fears. When the depression set in and unemployment began to soar, stringent restrictions were again imposed on east-central European immigrants, whose rate of unemployment was well above the national average.

In spite of the social dislocation and alienation experienced by these immigrants, Professor Avery points out that they were neither helpless nor resigned. Nor did they have a negative impact on the Canadian labour movement. Modernization had intruded into many southern, central and eastern European villages prior to the turn of the century, and collective protest had become part of everyday life. In Canada a number of ethnic organizations provided social, economic and psychological sustenance, and helped to transform individual grievances into collective action against social oppression and economic exploitation. Prior to and during the war, immigrant socialist parties tried to organize and integrate unskilled immigrant workers into the Canadian labour movement. Ukrainian, Finnish, Jewish and Russian immigrants, who had been active in radical politics in the old country, organized autonomous branches of the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC), published socialist newspapers, and attracted popular support by diversifying their activities to include social and cultural events. The Ukrainians (who were the first to organize, in 1907) and the Finns had the largest, most vociferous and radical following. Both groups supported and participated in such North American unions as the Industrial Workers of the World, the United Mine Workers of America, and the One Big Union, all of which made a serious effort to reconcile the interests of immigrant and English-speaking workers. The

alliance yielded a wave of strikes between 1906 and 1912, and again between 1917 and 1919, in the mining and lumbering districts of British Columbia, Alberta and northern Ontario. By 1919 government and business were sufficiently aroused to take drastic action. The subsequent weakening of the radical unions enabled the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) to fill the vacuum during the 1920s.

The CPC became *the* party of radical immigrant labourers during the 1920s. A fringe group, it was nevertheless the only working-class organization that sought out foreign workers and offered them an avenue of protest. In 1929 over ninety per cent of the Party's members were Finns, Ukrainians or Jews. In fact, the CPC drew most of its membership and financial support from two immigrant organizations—the Finnish Organization of Canada (FOC) and the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA)—both of which had succeeded the outlawed Finnish and Ukrainian Social Democratic Parties. Prominent members of the FOC and ULFTA participated in the formation of the CPC, worked in CPC-led unions, and sat on the party's Politbureau. Their insistence on a degree of cultural autonomy within the party, similar to that which they had enjoyed in the SDPC, brought them into conflict with the Comintern and the CPC's English-speaking leadership. Although a reconciliation was achieved after FOC and ULFTA leaders recanted their "national exclusiveness," Finnish and Ukrainian influence within the party hierarchy declined while membership continued to grow. According to Professor Avery, "the CPC was no more tolerant of cultural pluralism than its Anglo-Canadian bourgeois enemy" (p. 141).

The book leaves one with an ambivalent impression. On the one hand, there is the inclination to commend Professor Avery for setting out to recapture the hitherto neglected past of southern, central and eastern European immigrant workers in Canada. Canadian historians, after all, have managed to remain blissfully oblivious and indifferent to—if not contemptuous of—the historical experience of immigrants and labourers. Professor Avery's monograph should help to dispel the notion that the continental European immigrant experience in Canada belongs to the nebulous realm of "ethnic studies" and is of little relevance to "Canadian history." On the other hand, there is the temptation to reprimand Professor Avery for failing to do his homework. Noble intentions aside, his treatment of continental European workers in Canada is often sketchy and superficial. Sometimes he seems to extrapolate from the experience of one ethnic group and then generalize on the basis of skimpy evidence. For example, there are numerous references to the "padrone system," to "straw bosses" and to "ethnic intermediaries," "who ruthlessly exploited their countrymen" (p. 9). Yet the only example provided is that of the "Ukrainian" labour agency of Davis and Nagel in Montreal. The chapters on immigrant radicalism are based almost exclusively on secondary

sources, which are sometimes used carelessly. In fact, Professor Avery has managed to write a book on immigrant radicalism almost without consulting any of the literature produced by the immigrant radicals themselves. In a slender volume that is weighed down by no fewer than 528 footnotes spread over fifty pages there are no references to Italian, Polish, Russian, Jewish, Bulgarian or German publications. The Finnish paper *Vapaus* is cited twice, and the Ukrainian socialist and communist press is cited in twenty-one footnotes, although almost all refer to the war years. Ukrainian graduate assistants (whose efforts remain unacknowledged) are apparently in greater supply than those of Finnish, Italian, etc., origin at the University of Western Ontario. The point to be made here is that Canadian historians venturing into the field of immigration and/or labour history will ultimately have to acquire the language skills necessary for this type of work if they hope to produce informative, in-depth studies.

Professor Avery's treatment of Ukrainian labour radicals illustrates the hazards of undertaking this kind of work without adequate preparation. Thus we are told that

... the parent Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (RSDRP) [sic], originally founded in Galicia in 1890 [sic], experienced considerable difficulty in its recruitment campaigns. This was partly because the leadership of the party was dominated by Great Russians [sic] and Jews [sic], and partly because the organization was reluctant to consider Ukrainian autonomy "either within the party or within the future socialist state." It was not until about 1910, when Lenin and other Social Democratic leaders recognized the strength of "Ukrainian nationalism and agrarian socialism," that the RSDRP began to make appreciable headway in the Russian Ukraine and in the Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina [sic]. (pp. 59-60)

This must surely be the most curious account of the spread of socialism among Ukrainians ever printed. Professor Avery has confused the origins and growth of socialism among Ukrainians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire with the same process among Ukrainians in the Russian Empire. Since the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians emigrated from Austria-Hungary, the radical activists among them (Popovich, Navis, Tkachuk, Lobay) were products of the Ukrainian Radical Party (1890) and its offspring, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovina (1899). Both of these parties were led and controlled by Ukrainians and attracted Ukrainian peasants and labourers. The policies of the Russian Social Democratic Party (RSDRP) had little effect on Ukrainian radicals in Austro-Hungary or Canada prior to 1915. The Ukrainian Social Democratic Union (Spilka) (1904), and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (USDLP) (1905), both of which led a clandestine existence in the Russian Empire, were also of relatively little interest to Ukrainian radicals

in Canada prior to 1917. Professor Avery makes other questionable statements with respect to Ukrainian socialists in Canada. He implies that it was "the ethnocentric appeal of the Ukrainian socialists" (p. 60) that led to their break with the Socialist Party of Canada, whereas it was the SPC's ultra-radicalism, its contempt for electoral politics and reformism, that was at the root of the problem. Pavlo Krat, who was consistently criticized for his *buntarstvo*, is described as a "gradualist" (p. 72) on the basis of what he wrote in 1915 (after enrolling in the faculty of theology at Manitoba College). And the Federenko affair, which caused relatively little concern within the Ukrainian community, is played up as an example of the Ukrainian socialists' appeal to nationalism, while the Sichynsky campaign is ignored in spite of its widespread appeal and repercussions.

Typographical errors and inconsistencies abound. Ukrainian names are mutilated (Thachuk, Ferenko, Loby, Petrurities, instead of Tkachuk, Federenko, Lobay, Petliurites); *Robochyi narod* (Working People) is transliterated as *Robochny* or *Robotchny narod*; other Ukrainian newspapers are cited by their English names (Ukrainian Labour News, Red Flag, Canadian Ruthenian); authors' names are cited incorrectly (William instead of Michael Marunchak); and in at least one instance an article is attributed to the translator rather than to the author (Johann Chmelar, not Thomas Childers, is the author of the article on Austrian immigration in n. 14, pp. 154-5). A thin paperback with a seven-dollar price tag should at least spare its readers this complication.

To sum up, Professor Avery's book is rather weak on immigrant workers and labour radicalism, although it provides a creditable outline of changes in Canadian immigration policy during this period. In fact, the book might have been entitled more appropriately "The Impact of Canadian Immigration Policy on the Male Continental European Immigrant Labourer, 1896-1932." But then again, with a ponderous title like that, fifty pages of footnotes, a paper cover, numerous typographical errors and a seven-dollar price tag, it would have gathered dust on bookstore shelves until the next McClelland and Stewart "three for the price of two" promotion of Canadiana.

Orest Martynowych

JOHN KOLASKY, *THE SHATTERED ILLUSION: THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN PRO-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS IN CANADA*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1979. 255 pp.

Mr. Kolasky breaks new ground with his latest publication. A detailed and objective analysis of a major Ukrainian-Canadian ideological group has never been published; studies of Ukrainian-Canadian life since 1940—

other than those concerning the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada—have been scarce; and the Ukrainian-Canadian communist movement has been dismissed altogether too often as the handiwork of deluded individuals without examining the substance of that phenomenon. *The Shattered Illusion* makes a valiant effort to rectify partially this situation, although it is neither a full history of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations in Canada, as indicated by its subtitle, nor a convincing case for the “shattering” of their ideological bases, the “illusion” to which the author refers. Rather, it is an analysis of the structure of the Ukrainian-Canadian pro-communist movement at the peak of its activity during the 1940s and a chronicle of its subsequent demise.

The Shattered Illusion should be regarded primarily as Kolasky's personal insights into the pro-communist movement rather than as a formal history of it. The author spent thirty years in the ranks of the Communist Party of Canada and its Ukrainian components before breaking away in the mid-1960s over the issue of Russification in Ukraine. He knows the Party's workings well and uses this first-hand knowledge throughout the book. However, the very depth of the author's involvement with, and later against, the pro-communist movement obviously has prejudiced his presentation. At times Kolasky tends to be polemical in what is ostensibly an academic work. Fortunately his thorough knowledge of this field more than adequately compensates for this and makes *The Shattered Illusion* a welcome addition to the study of Ukrainian-Canadian history.

One obvious criticism of the book is its nominal treatment of the pro-communist movement before 1939 in the opening chapter. One could say that this would discredit the author's claim to have written a full “history of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations in Canada.” However, this would ignore a more important point. In his introductory paragraph the author implies that the pre-1939 period can be dismissed as a formative era when “the Ukrainian communists laid the foundation of their organizations and ideological patterns, acquired numerous halls in which they conducted their activities and forged a hard core of disciplined members and cadres” (p. 1). Such a treatment subordinates this period to events that occurred after 1939 rather than studying it in its own right. It ignores the pro-communist movement's considerable development even before the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association's formal incorporation in 1924 and does not deal with its specific activities in farmer and labour movements, and in cultural and educational work, nor with its relations with other Ukrainian-Canadian organizations. It would have been better either to have omitted this first chapter completely or to have stated plainly that this was a background to the study rather than give the false impression that these first twenty years of the pro-communist movement were “formative” ones.

A second, and perhaps more fundamental, criticism is that the author does not distinguish clearly enough between the decline of the pro-communist organizations and the disillusionment of individual members with their pro-Soviet posture. Kolasky certainly understands the reasons for the decline of the movement, but he is inconsistent in his manner of explanation. This may be simply a problem of chronology and craftsmanship, but it could also reflect Kolasky's desire to bring the question of the Soviet Union to the fore of his discussion even though it may not be the main issue at hand.

In his chapter entitled "Seeds of Decline," Kolasky contends that the movement's decline "began soon after the war with the dissipation of the euphoria generated by the Soviet victories" (p. 191). Strong pro-Soviet sentiment fell quickly under the startling revelations of the Gouzenko affair and the onset of the cold war. The pro-communists were forced to go on the defensive as the mood of the times shifted against them. Moreover, prosperity and assimilation undermined their strength as the conditions of poverty and alienation that had sustained the movement for so long disappeared. Many rank-and-file members were now regularly employed and financially secure, and they had integrated more into Canadian society after having learned to speak English. As well, they were becoming older and increasingly less willing to involve themselves as extensively as before. The Canadian-born youth, which had never experienced the same hardships as their parents, could see no rationale for the organizations' radical politics and did not come forth to fill the thinning ranks. They rarely involved themselves beyond the ongoing social and cultural events, and even here they were burdened with restrictions imposed by the leadership. Only a hard core of aging veterans retained the true faith. With the unveiling of Stalin's crimes, the growth of Russification in Ukraine, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, this faith, based largely upon the image of Ukraine as a budding socialist utopia in the Soviet fraternity of nations, was tested severely. Many pro-communists became disillusioned, although few actually left the ranks. In most cases the social and emotional bonds were too strong. Their leaders, although disenchanted by these damning revelations, either lacked the will to meet this challenge directly or felt duty-bound not to break party solidarity.

This analysis is both plausible and enlightening. However, the author does not follow its chronology at all times. In his summary (pp. 221-7) Kolasky stresses this widespread sense of disillusionment among the pro-communists before dealing with what he admits are the primary causes of their postwar decline. Likewise, the chapter entitled "Differences with the USSR," which deals with the growth of disenchantment with Soviet policies, precedes the one dealing with the primary causes of organizational decline. One might thus infer that the revelations about the Soviet

Union were one of the initial causes of the organizations' difficulty. It is not stressed consistently that the Ukrainian-Canadian pro-communist organizations had declined greatly before the "shattering" of their image of the Soviet Union and that the revelations made rocked only the remnants of this once dynamic movement.

Whether this ambiguity is deliberate or unconscious is debatable. It is possible that the author himself believes that the onerous pro-Soviet posture ultimately was more responsible for the decline of the pro-communist organizations than was the aging of the leaders and the members and the failure to replenish the ranks with fresh, young recruits. He notes that "It might have been possible to revitalize the organization by taking a bold public stand. The leaders could have thrown open the pages of the press and given the disillusioned members an opportunity to express their opinions. They could have reprinted policy statements on human rights of the Italian, British, and other communist parties and materials from dissident sources in Ukraine, without comment, 'for the information of the readers'" (p. 217). Furthermore, he mentions that had the pro-communist leadership stood firm by a report they had published in the late 1960s condemning the Soviet policy of Russification, they would have enhanced "their prestige in the Ukrainian community as staunch defenders of the Ukrainian language and culture. But instead of emerging as heroes, the Ukrainian communist leaders were branded as traitors" (p. 171). Although the question of a pro-Soviet posture was not the primary cause of the movement's decline, Kolasky recognizes that it made this trend irreversible. Consequently, he seems to have exaggerated its importance.

Despite these drawbacks, *The Shattered Illusion* has much to offer the reader, and its author should be commended for his efforts. Kolasky simply could have written a memoir about his involvement in the Ukrainian-Canadian pro-communist movement, but he chose instead to organize and research his material further. The criticisms I have raised deal primarily with the conceptual framework of the book. Most of the text, however, simply analyses the pro-communist organizations at the height of their activity. It is these chapters, dealing with wartime and postwar activities, differences with Ukrainian nationalists, ties with the Soviet Union, organizational life, and relations with the Communist Party, that are the most solidly researched portions of the book. Despite their narrative character and occasional flaws in composition, these passages provide a unique insight into, and a full grasp of, the dynamic and wide-ranging activities of the Ukrainian-Canadian pro-communist organizations. They may be the more lasting contribution by the author to Ukrainian-Canadian historiography, although one should not belittle his achievement in analysing the factors that led to the demise of these organizations.

Although *The Shattered Illusion* suffers somewhat because of its author's ambiguous intentions, it remains, nevertheless, an interesting and

important work. One can only hope that Mr. Kolasky will continue his research in this field. As demonstrated by this publication, his personal insights and interpretations are very valuable. As well, let us hope that other scholars undertake similar, equally ambitious studies of other Ukrainian-Canadian ideological groupings.

Andrij Makuch
University of Alberta

UKRAINSKYI PRAVOZAKHYSNYI RUKH: DOKUMENTY I MATERIALY KYIVSKOI UKRAINSKOI HROMADSKOI HRUPY SPRYIAN-NIA VYKONANNIU HELSINKSKYKH UHOD. Comp. Osyp Zinkewych, intro. Andrew Zwarun. Baltimore and Toronto: V. Symonenko Smoloskyp Publishers, 1978. 477 pp.

Smoloskyp Publishers and the "Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee" (Washington) have provided the Ukrainian-reading public with some of the most important documents to have filtered out of Ukraine since the appearance of Chornovil's, Dziuba's and Moroz's works in the 1960s.

This collection of over sixty letters, appeals, memorandums, and declarations of what has become the centre of the Ukrainian oppositional movement—the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group—is a valuable one indeed. Anyone who has been closely following the national-democratic opposition in Ukraine since the rise of the *shestydesiatnyky* and of the *shelestivshchyna* will find that this collection reflects the ceaseless social turbulence beneath the Soviet veil of social harmony, national equality and economic well-being. No one can fully understand contemporary Ukraine without familiarizing himself with the socio-economic and political questions raised by such socially and nationally conscious people as Oles Berdnyk, a science-fiction writer and former member of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, by former Major-General Petro Grigorenko, by the former Soviet lawyers Ivan Kandyba and Levko Lukianenko, by long-time activists Oksana Meshko, Oleksa Tykhy, Mykola Rudenko and many others.

It is, however, precisely in its major strength that this book reveals a great weakness. A book that provides researchers with complete texts of documents, Western defence-work activists with key programmatic statements and new photographs (to quickly put out an agitational leaflet or booklet), and community leaders with useful material cannot, at the same time, fulfill the needs of students, non-specialists in Ukrainian politics and history, or casual readers.

It is discouraging to find few signs of editorial assistance for those uninitiated in Soviet reality. If information were given on at least a fraction of the over 500 people named in these documents, the non-specialist

might be more inclined to make his or her way through the mountain of seemingly disparate details. It is simply not sufficient to introduce this book (pp. I-III) by welcoming the formation of the Helsinki Group, pledging spiritual solidarity, and wishing it the best in its dealings with the organs of state repression. What is necessary is a concise overview of the history of the Ukrainian rights-defence movement¹ in the USSR, of how it formed itself from the various radicals, reformists, liberalizers and revolutionaries.

A proper introduction to the complex social dynamics of Soviet Ukraine and the accompanying circumstances of the late 1970s would explain the character and activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. It did not grow out of some eternal idea of independence; it did not appear in isolation from either the international political and socio-economic situation or from events in Moscow and Leningrad. Developments in Afghanistan and Iran, as well the failure of the Soviet leadership to legitimize the new 1977 constitution, are important in understanding the metamorphosis of the Helsinki Group.

What at first seems to be a collection of complaints and seemingly petty troubles quickly emerges as a fascinating account of the persistent opposition to the petrified dogmatism of the Official Lie. Our sympathy is aroused by the dignified objections, the fearless criticisms and the insightful analyses of those who speak from the prisoners' dock. Whatever we may think of the political content of the following passage by Oles Berdnyk, we cannot fail to be moved by its truly human and creative aspect:

Thus only a cosmic criterion is suitable for comprehending the past, for consolidating new paths. All of us—human beings—are drifting on an earthly ship amid the shining stellar ocean of the universe towards the solution of the mystery of existence. It is unseemly for the passengers and sailors of this ship to forget about the fundamental calling of the bearers of wisdom—to befriend their torn-apart world and to prepare for contact with faraway systems, with other spheres. (pp. 32-3)

¹ Soviet Ukrainian oppositionists have used this term (*Ukrainskyi pravozakhysnyi rukh*) to describe their movement. It has usually been (not very adequately) translated as the Ukrainian human-rights movement, the Ukrainian civil-rights movement, or the Ukrainian movement for human rights and justice. It is clear that Western use of these terms (especially by governments and the media) envelopes them in specific value-laden notions, thus obscuring key aspects of the movement in Ukraine. This is revealed in the fact that national rights are either not included or are reduced to cultural and linguistic rights within the term "human rights."

Echoing Berdnyk, Mykola Rudenko says at his trial:

The universe has no boundaries. Therefore a person's Word should also not be restricted. It should freely traverse the boundaries of the heart, soul and the state. Otherwise it will cease being the Word.... Information that has not emerged into the open from a person's head is not information. It dies together with that person.... A person who freezes the Word inside himself, either because of fear or some other reason, does not, in fact, live. (p. 293)

The authors of the documents in this collection are not concerned solely with "politics." They are forced to be "political" by circumstance and not by choice. Attempting to escape the boredom of Soviet socialist realism and single-Party dictates on the one hand, and to reproduce one's own creative potentiality in all its emotional, thinking and enquiring facets on the other is a process that reappears in different people at different times. The same is true of entire social groups. Repression can never completely erase social opposition when that social opposition is defined as independent creative (critical) activity.

Letters and documents are not only written by someone; they also are written for, with an orientation to, someone. Therefore, a balance sheet of the impact of the numerous defence committees throughout North America and Europe, and of the former Ukrainian dissidents now in the West on the orientation of the Ukrainian Rights-Defence Movement is necessary to make sense of the documents contained in *Ukrainskyi pravozakhysnyi rukh*.

Notwithstanding the countless searches, interrogations, intimidations, arrests, trials and provocations by the Soviet government and security forces, new leaders of the Ukrainian Rights-Defence Movement and the Soviet Democratic Movement have repeatedly emerged. The story found in *Ukrainskyi pravozakhysnyi rukh* is not much different from that found in *Ferment in the Ukraine*.² Many of the same names (and not a few new ones) reappear of young doctors, lawyers, teachers and workers being interned in psychiatric hospitals: Vasyl Ruban—for having a document entitled "Ukraine: Communist and Independent"; Anatolii Lupynis—for reading poems at the Taras Shevchenko Monument; Borys Kovhar—for refusing to work for the KGB; Mykola Plakhotniuk—for defending Ukrainian cultural figures against the illegal arrests and trials of the early 1970s; M. Kovtunenکو—for refusing to work for the KGB; Iosyf Terelia—for his religious beliefs. But although the tune is the same, the audience and the circumstances have all changed. The grave economic and political

² *Ferment in the Ukraine*, ed. Michael Browne (London, 1971; 2nd ed. Woodhaven, N.Y., 1973).

situation throughout the world has combined with widespread disillusionment and dissatisfaction to provide fertile ground for international solidarity among those unjustly and illegally oppressed and repressed. The three dozen Ukrainian Helsinki Group members may be imprisoned, but the oppositional movement continues to attract more and more members from various layers of society. Though there have been many victims—tragedies all—the struggle for the right to independent, creative human activity, Ukrainian independence and social justice continues.

Lubomyr Szuch
University of Alberta

STUDIA UCRAINICA. Volume I. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1978. 178 pp.

У видавництві Оттавського університету вийшло у світ перше число наукового збірника *Studia Ucrainica*, підготоване до друку, в основному, ще сл. п. проф. Константином Бідою та завершене редакційною колегією, у склад якої входять проф. Деніс Г. Бреарлі, проф. Теофіль Кіс та д-р Павло Юзик. Публікація журналу фінансована Фондом українських студій та наукових дослідів ім. Івахнюків.

Рецензований збірник присвячений шістдесятиї річниці від часу заснування Всеукраїнської Академії Наук у Києві. Об'єм збірника — 178 сторінок. Він має вдало вибраний журнальний формат і приймає до друку статті англійською, французькою та українською мовами, будучи в цьому відношенні унікальним виданням зарубіжної україністики. *Studia Ucrainica* має шанси стати солідною трибуною для українців Канади та інших країн. Покищо в журналі представлені лише науковці Канади та США і такий профіль, в основному, журнал зберігатиме й надалі, найбільше місця відляючи, звичайно, канадським українцям.

Перше число наукового збірника має розділи "Політична соціологія", "Філологія", "Література", "Наукові замітки", "Переклади" та "Рецензії". До участі в журналі залучено п'ятнадцять авторів. Журнал рецензує десять публікацій наукового характеру, що з'явилися впродовж останніх років. Деякі книги рецензуються вперше.

Програмовою статтею журналу є соціологічний есей проф. Теофіля Кіса (Оттавський університет) п. з. "Considérations sur l'identité nationale de l'Ukraine". Написана французькою мовою, ця стаття має двояку вартість: вона кваліфіковано знайомить франкомовного читача з проблематикою української нації по відношенню до української державности, а заразом має і самостійне значення для соціології як науки. Стаття послідовно витримана в площині соціології і не скочується до історизму, як це трапля-

ється іноді при аматорському підході до соціологічних досліджень етнічної групи або ж нації. Автор пояснює термін *nation* як структурно-функціональну єдність двох реальностей — реальності існування свідомої самої себе етнічної нації та реальності формальної державної організації цієї нації (вживаю тут “нація” в українському значенні слова). Якраз ця друга реальність все ще перебуває в стадії вивершення, а тому не доводиться говорити про Україну як про *nation*. До такого висновку автор підводить читача шляхом детальної аналізи організаційної структури УРСР та СРСР. При повній структурній підпорядкованості УРСР державному механізмові вищого порядку не доводиться говорити навіть про паралельне співіснування двох різних порядків: формальна реальність у випадку України не співпадає з соціологічною реальністю.

Надзвичайно цікавою для спеціаліста є стаття проф. Юрія Шевельова “On the So-Called Signature of Queen Anne of France”. Розглядаючи відомий напис на французькому історичному документі 1063 року — *anagryna* — Ю. Шевельов доказує, що задовільну наукову інтерпретацію цього унікального випадку можна запропонувати лише з погляду української історичної фонології. Саме це він і робить у своїй стислій, чітко аргументованій статті, доходючи до методологічно важливого висновку: “Письмові пам'ятки, створені в Києві або ж киянами, можуть бути релевантними для історії російської літературної мови, але разом з тим вони не мають відношення до російської історичної фонології”.

Проф. Константин Біда у своїй посмертній статті “Early Eastern Slavic Primers” описує чотири українські букварі XVI — початку XVIII століть. Це детальний і акуратний опис композиційних особливостей цих підручників, їхньої методологічної орієнтації. Дається сумлінна порівняльна характеристика букварів, при чому для порівняння використовуються дані таких же підручників, створених в той самий час іншими мовами, і виявляються цікаві паралелі. Робити лінгвістичну аналізу мови букварів не було метою статті проф. К. Біди. Застереження викликає вживання терміну “східнослов'янські” по відношенню до цих підручників. Можна також сумніватися в тому, що автори букварів усе ще вбачали під літерою *г* графічну репрезентацію звука *g*.

Проф. Ярослав Рудницький пропонує увазі читачів статтю “Дѣв — Дѣвъ in Slovo o Polku Ihorevi”. Ця стаття, як вказує сам автор, є підсумком його двох попередніх робіт про розвиток значень слів *bogъ* та *divъ* у слов'янській мові (термінологія Я.Б.Р.). Автор також використовує найновіші дані чеського вченого Вацлава Полака. Еволюція значень цих двох слів надзвичайно цікава для етимолога та дослідника історії мови. Однак вживана термінологія викликає багато запитань до автора. Вище згадувалося про термін “слов'янська мова”. Крім того, “Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка” І. І. Срезневського автор статті вважає “історичним словником старо-східнослов'янської мови” (наводжу тут мої переклади термінів з англійської). Розглядаючи статтю В. Полака, автор вживає та-

кож термін “протослов’янська мова”.¹ Системність лінгвістичного викладу викликає сумніви вже від самого заголовку статті в тому вигляді, що його цитуємо вище: не зрозуміло, чи йтиметься про оригінальний текст, чи про його переклади сучасною українською мовою. В самій статті слово “див” ще кілька разів транслітерується із сучасної української мови. *Slovo sv. Hryhoria* явно “українізується” як і *Ihorevi*, хоч слово *bogъ* — ні разу.

Проф. Поль Вичинський, відомий спеціаліст у галузі франко-канадського літературознавства, опублікував у рецензованому збірнику статтю “Le monde ukrainien dans *La Petite Poule d'Eau* de Gabrielle Roy.” Стаття цінна однаково і для франко-канадського читача, і для українського. Габріель Руа, проживши багато років свого життя в рідній Манітобі, написала 1950 року твір, щокладається в українське поняття “повість”. *La Petite Poule d'Eau* — один із тих творів письменниці-реалістки, який показує, що вона, за словами П. Вичинського, “так само добре орієнтується і в мітичній перспективі цінностей, створюваних життям суспільства”. В житті суспільства провінційного містечка Манітоби, де відбувається дія повісті, письменниця помітила своєрідність українських характерів. Тонкий психолог, вона напрочуд добре підмітила як індивідуальні, так і групові риси українського характеру. Поль Вичинський представляє нам твір на тлі всієї творчості письменниці, а український світ у ньому — в тісному зв’язку із психологічними портретами інших персонажів. Робить це проф. П. Вичинський методологічно бездоганно і навіть, сказав би я, елегантно.

Проф. Олег Зуєвський публікує статтю “Натуралізм в літературознавчих поглядах Івана Франка”. Стаття базована на солідному знанні літературної епохи і має яскраво виражений стиль автора-компаративіста. Стаття коротка, але оперує великим об’ємом матеріалу, термінологічно вона витримана в одному ключі. Не належать, проте, до прикрас наукової статті такі емоційні вигукі як: “А обізнаність же у Франка була універсальна!” Нічого не говорять літературознавцям також і “терміни” типу “блискучий твір”.

Ще більше емоційних вигуків і пейоративних зворотів у статті проф. Яра Славутича “Поетика раних творів В. Стефаника”. Автор зібрав сумлінно багатий фактичний матеріал і дав реєстр поетичних прийомів молодого В. Стефаника. Висновок про прямування письменника в бік модернізму — абсолютно правильний, і тема ця залишається багатообіцяючою для порівняльного літературознавства. Але емоційність зовсім не сприяє ясності

¹ Важливість термінологічної послідовності в царині мовознавства та недопустимість інтерференції термінологічних “кодів” різних наук проф. Ю. Шевельов розуміє так: “The notion of Eastern Slavic, if it means more than just geographical proximity, is as good a figure of speech as ‘sunset’ or ‘sunrise’ which are current in everyday conversation, in defiance of Copernicus’ and Galileo Galilaei’s view on the place of the Earth in the universe which we espouse.” (George Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* [Heidelberg, 1979], p. 1.)

викладу: “Яскраві метафори... тут підсилюють, унаочнюють авторську думку — без них, може, й не було б мистецтва слова!”

Проф. Валер'ян Ревуцький, розглядаючи “Патетичну сонату” М. Куліша та “Оптимістичну трагедію” В. Вишневського, наводить нові, неопубліковані досі відомості про театральне життя двадцятих — початку тридцятих років.

Проф. Дуглас Клейтон, відомий канадський пушкініст, робить цінний екскурс у теорію поетичного перекладу. Аналізуючи структуру поезії Пушкіна “Я вас любил”, автор розкриває секрети її чарівності та мелодійності. Він знаходить у цій поезії три вирішальні структурні елементи, послуговуючись методологією Р. Якобсона. Ці структурні елементи при адекватному перекладі повинні бути перенесені в іншомовну версію твору, що зробити майже неможливо. В усякому разі, існуючий український переклад цього твору не задовольняє вимог адекватного перекладу.

Оксана Ашер оптимістичніше дивиться на можливості перекладу. В усякому разі, символістичну поезію перекладати легше, якщо бути “вірним символіці цілого”. Вона аналізує сонет “Лебеді” М. Драй-Хмари, перекладений на французьку Шарлем Вільдраком. Вдумливий, лаконічний есей Оксани Ашер однаково цікавий як для французького, так і для українсько-го читача.

Соціально-економічну категорію “рурбанізм” і її вияв у романі В. Підмогильного “Місто” розглядає Ярослав Пінчук у своїй короткій, але добре організованій статті. Індивідуальний авторський почерк цього молодого дослідника, стислість, логічність, уміння “дозувати” аргументи — все це вселяє оптимістичний погляд на перспективи українського літературного критицизму.

Невідомо, з яких міркувань упорядники журналу винесли статті Оксани Ашер та Ярослава Пінчука за межі розділу “Література”.

* * *

Перший випуск наукового збірника *Studia Ucrainica* не позбавлений помітних недоліків. Не сприяє репутації наукового журналу досить велика кількість невиловлених “друкарських чортиків”, які характерні як для українських, так і для іншомовних статей. Друкарня, якій довірили випуск журналу, не посідає повного комплексу “кириличного” шрифту, що вкрай необхідно для публікації праць з мовознавства. Мовний редактор повинен уважніше придивлятися до текстів, писаних українською мовою, які іноді загрозливо перескакують поза “дозволений” еміграційний мінімум ненормативних вкраплень і звучать ось як: “Правда, автор свого часу завважив був і вніс на кінці книжки деякі помилки; шкода, що їх не включено в текст” (стор. 175).

Викликають застереження назви деяких розділів. Термін “філологія” явно не задовольняє сучасного науковця, який давно розбив філологію минулого століття на окресленіші компоненти. Деякі славістичні журнали розподіляють увесь об'єм свого друкованого матеріалу лише на два розділи —

“Статті” та “Рецензії”. Інші пропонують докладнішу специфікацію, але розділу “Філологія” вже не зустрічаємо. Збереглися ще деякі журнали, які традиційно мають термін “філологія” у заголовку. Нашому збірникові можна рекомендувати “Мова — Language — Langue” замість розпливчастого “Філологія”. І, щоб бути послідовним, назви розділів варто подавати трьома мовами, а це зроблено тільки для розділу “Література”.

Варто задуматись і над графічним оформленням збірника. Він має всі можливості стати згодом періодичним журналом, отож чи варто випускати його в двох варіантах — у твердій та м'якій обкладинках? З цих же самих міркувань, обкладинка (м'яка) повинна бути захисного кольору, заголовок має бути набраний строгим, струнким шрифтом. Замість гігантського “1” хотілося б бачити скромне і точне “Volume I” і т. д. Мережані візерунки на обкладинці наукового журналу також зайві.

Сподіваємося, що технічні недогляди першого числа не знеохотять авторів. Журнал з першого випуску зумів показати свій профіль і буде вдячний науковцям Канади та інших країн за допомогу в дальшому поліпшенні якості публікацій та в розширенні сфери його наукового засягу.

Ярослав Харчун
Оттавський університет

IU. SEMENKO, ED., *PAM'IATI V. A. DOLENKA*. Munich: Soiuz Zemel Sobornoï Ukrainy—Selianska Partiia, 1975. 413 pp.

Iurii Semenko's *Pam'iati V. A. Dolenka* is a tribute to his friend and party colleague Volodymyr A. Dolenko (1889-1971), who had been leader of Soiuz Zemel Sobornoï Ukrainy—Selianska Partiia (SZSU—SP), one of the dozen and more émigré parties active among Ukrainians, first in the displaced persons camps of Germany and Austria after the war and later in their countries of settlement. Semenko's book is a mixed collection of material by eight authors that includes articles by and about Dolenko, reports on the SP's four major conventions (1948, 1950 and 1965) and primary documents from Dolenko's archives, now stored with the Petliura archives in Paris. This collection is not an academic work. Its editor sets himself limited objectives and fulfills them moderately well; but he leaves sensitive questions unexplored. The book does, however, distil information about much of the political thinking and activities of this one current within the Ukrainian “political emigration” and will be useful to analysts interested in the postwar Ukrainian emigration.

The Selianska Partiia is one of the smaller groupings (300 invitations having been sent out for the founding convention) that emerged among postwar Ukrainian émigrés. Its significance is that it is a party made up primarily of former Soviet Ukrainians. Its leaders—V. A. Dolenko, V. V. Dubrovsky, M. Pavliuk, V. F. Senyk, K. T. Turkalo, S. F.

Domazar, D. S. Melnyk, A. Vovk, M. Vetukhiv, V. M. Derzhavyn—were, in the main, individuals from eastern Ukraine who had been active in the Ukrainian national movement prior to and during the revolution, as well as under the Soviet regime. Dolenko himself had been politically active together with M. I. Mikhnovsky in the Ukrainian circles of Kharkiv since 1908. During the revolution he represented Kharkiv at the All-Ukrainian National Congress, taking a centre-liberal position between the Ukrainian SRs and SDs on the left and the Russian KDs on the right. After the revolution he participated in a clandestine “Shistka” group (1920), in the “Komitet sprotyvu” (1920-4) and in the “Muzhycha Partiiia.”* During this time he was involved in building up organized Ukrainian life in Kharkiv (then 70 per cent Russian) and was instrumental in the growth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Arrested in 1926 for his activities, he served five years in the Solovki camps and was sentenced in 1931 to an additional ten. This personal background was important in legitimizing Dolenko’s credentials as leader of the Selianska Partiiia when it emerged in 1948 in Germany.

Dolenko returned to Kharkiv in 1941 when it was controlled by the German army. He proceeded to build a covert network of ethnic Ukrainians that had some success in controlling the city administration of Kharkiv. After the defeat of the Germans in 1943, Dolenko and his followers (“Orhanizovana ukrainska hromadskist”) withdrew to the west. They co-operated, in Krynytsia, Lviv and then in Bavaria, with the Ukrainskyi Tsentralnyi Komitet, the official Ukrainian civil authority under the German occupation headed by Professor Volodymyr Kubiiiovych. After the war Dolenko’s group resisted Soviet repatriation and identified itself politically with the Ukrainska Narodnia Respublika (UNR) in exile, which had continued to exist in interwar Poland and had re-established itself in Germany. Dolenko was then instrumental in setting up the Ukrainskyi Natsionalno-Derzhavnyi Soiuz (UNDS) as a bloc of democrats to support the UNR. But he soon found co-operation in UNDS to be difficult. The Galicians and old eastern-Ukrainian émigrés (the “Petliurivtsi”) in the UNDS were “psykhologichnym i politychnym nastavleniam daleki vid dumannia i bazhannia nashoho novoho pisliarevoliutsiinoho selianstva” (p. 297). In 1948, the “Dolenkivtsi” split from the “Petliurivtsi” and

* The “Shistka” was a clandestine nationalist and Orthodox group operating in Poltava province, the members of which later became involved in the “Komitet sprotyvu,” another clandestine formation that supported Ukrainization and functioned as the political arm of the Autocephalous Church in Poltava province. The “Muzhycha Partiiia” grew out of this. Over seventy people were tried and sentenced for belonging to it during the infamous SVU trials. The “Muzhycha Partiiia” is viewed as the ideological forerunner of the Selianska Partiiia.

created a peasants' union, then subsequently a political party, which hoped to unite émigrés around an anticommunist, private-market, small capitalist ideology (pp. 238-45) favorable to the peasantry (p. 199). The SZSU—SP's platform (pp. 111-22) called for the UNR to consolidate all émigré political parties and act as a government in exile (i.e., by conducting elections to the UNR, taxing Ukrainians abroad, maintaining Ukrainian armed forces and negotiating bilaterally with other governments). This was a grand, idealistic vision that aspired to the political consolidation of all Ukrainian émigrés within one political framework. Although Dolenko persisted in his ideology to call for all émigrés to consolidate politically regardless of religion or party (p. 201), he ended up, like other émigré leaders, building a group characterized by regionalism, whose members (mostly Orthodox "Sobornopravnyky") were sympathetic to only one of the Ukrainian churches. He was unable to attract those whose politicization had occurred outside the context of interwar Soviet Ukraine. SZSU—SP is one of many Ukrainian émigré political parties that called for unity but in actuality represented only the interests of a specific social group.

Semenko's review of SZSU—SP is evidence of how impossible was the task of politically consolidating the emigration. The simple ideological objective of the "national independence of Ukraine" is far from being a program that could consolidate Ukrainians living in vastly different social and economic circumstances. As a "peasants'" party, SZSU—SP did provoke some Soviet response to its political activity; but as an organization, it remained more a status, than a political class, formation. This was an organization of regional and religious elites searching for a political base rather than a party articulating the economic and political concerns of a broad number of people. The SP owed its existence more to Dolenko's personality and personal history than it did to its ability to represent the social, legal or military objectives of the immigrants in their new countries of residence.

The story of SZSU—SP, in a small way, is a reflection of the process of grand theorizing contrasted with minor social achievements characteristic of most émigré parties. Yet there are achievements, and they ought to be documented. Ethnic studies needs to appraise the actual role of Ukrainian émigré parties in the development of the Ukrainian ethnic community. In this regard, this book is an important source of materials for the student of this period. It gives us valuable evidence of Soviet postwar rehabilitation methods, a good deal of discussion about the personalities and ideologies of Ukrainian émigré groups, a glimpse into the way sectarianism emerged among parties in the UNR, and a look at how émigré parties interact with Soviet political events.

The time has come to critically evaluate the postwar émigrés' endeavors to achieve political consolidation. By presenting the experiences

and views of a section of eastern-Ukrainian émigrés, this collection enables us to ask questions that might guide the future research of other groups. For example: Would many more eastern Ukrainians have identified themselves as Russian in the emigration without political pressure from émigré parties? Can a study of the evolution of Ukrainian political groups demonstrate ethnic differences between eastern- and western-Ukrainian émigré parties? What role do émigré parties play in political struggles taking place in the USSR? This book stands as an example for other émigré groups to follow and improve upon in writing their own histories. Such histories would allow evaluative scholarly work to emerge in this area.

W. Roman Petryshyn
University of Alberta

LETTER TO THE EDITORS

January 25, 1980

Dear Editor:

With great interest I read Professor Peter J. Potichnyj's letter to the Editor of the *Journal* (Fall 1979) in which a list of Japanese articles and books on modern Ukrainian history was included.

I have been in close contact with one of the Japanese authors mentioned in the list, Setsuya Aoki, for some time, providing him with source materials on Ukrainian economics of the twentieth century. Because he sent me two of his articles, "The Fate of a 'National Revolution': The Formation and Disintegration of the National United Front in Ukraine, 1917-20" (1977) and "Nationalities Problem in Postwar Ukraine 1945-72" (1978), I am enclosing xerox copies of both of these articles for your files.

Mr. Aoki is a serious scholar of modern Ukrainian history and a doctoral candidate at the University of Tokyo. His interests lie in the field of Ukrainization policy of the 1920s. His B.A. thesis dealt with the "Spirit of the Makhno Movement and Its Fate, 1917-21," and his M.A. thesis was entitled "Revolution and Nationalism in Ukraine, 1917."

At a recent meeting of the Society of Japanese Researchers in Russian History, conducted under the general theme of "The Nationalities Problem in the Russian Revolution," Mr. Aoki presented a paper entitled "Nationalities in the Soviet Union: The *Natsionalizatsiia-Korenizatsiia* in Ukraine, 1923-33." Mr. Aoki is well acquainted with the sources on twentieth-century Ukrainian history and has a working knowledge of both Russian and Ukrainian, as well as a perfect command of the English language.

Sincerely yours,

Professor Nicholas G. Bohatiuk
Department of Economics
Le Moyne College, Syracuse, N.Y.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH, Borys. *Pechatka*. Foreword by Dmytro Chub. Melbourne: "Lastivka", 1979. 85 pp.
- CARRERE d'ENCAUSSE, Helene. *Decline of an Empire: The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*. Trans. Martin Sokolinsky and Henry A. La Farge. New York: Newsweek Books, 1979. 304 pp.
- CHUB, Dmytro. *Borys Antonenko-Davydovych. Zhyttia i tvorchist*. Melbourne: "Lastivka", 1979. 32 pp.
- IURKEVYCH, Pamphil D. *Tvory*. Introductory treatise and ed. Stephan Jarmus. Winnipeg: St. Andrew's College, 1979. 785 pp.
- KRAWCHUK, Peter. *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada (1907-1918)* Toronto: Progress Books, 1979. 101 pp.
- MYKYTIUK, Bohdan Georg. *Die Ukrainischen Andreasbraeuche und Verwandtes Brauchtum*. Osteuropa-Institut, Munich, history series, vol. 47. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979. 340 pp.
- , ed. and comp. *Ukrainischen Maerchen*. Dusseldorf and Cologne: Eugen Diderichs Verlag, 1979. 286 pp.
- NYTCHENKO, Dmytro. *Elementy teorii literatury i stylistyky*, 2nd rev. ed. Melbourne: "Lastivka", 1979. 136 pp.
- RAKHMANNY, Roman. *In Defense of the Ukrainian Cause*. Ed. Stephen D. Olynyk. North Quincy, Mass.: Christopher Publishing House, 1979. 297 pp.
- The Ukrainian Experience in the United States: A Symposium*. Ed. Paul Magocsi. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1979. x, 197 pp.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Lektsii z Istorii Ukrainskoi Literatury, 1798-1870

(Lectures on the History of Ukrainian Literature, 1798-1870)

By Mykola Zerov

Edited by Dorren W. Gorsline and Oksana Solovey

Mykola Zerov, the gifted Ukrainian poet, translator, and critic, may also be considered as a founder of modern Ukrainian literary scholarship. His arrest in 1935 and subsequent death in a Soviet labour camp prevented him from completing the work he had begun with *Nove ukrainske pysmenstvo* (*New Ukrainian Writing*, 1924), but this gap is filled in large measure by the lectures he delivered at Kiev University in 1928. Published from a typescript compiled by Zerov's students and checked by Zerov himself, the lectures deal with the crucial period of nineteenth-century Ukrainian literary history and are a model of scholarly objectivity.

271 pages cloth \$9.95 paper \$3.95

Vaplitianskyi Zbirnyk

(The Vaplite Collection)

Edited by George Luckyj

The writers and artists who grouped together in VAPLITE (1925-1928) spearheaded the cultural revival in Ukraine in the 1920s. Their attempt to develop a high culture, based on Western European models, was cut short by the onset of Stalinism. The group was disbanded under official pressure, and many of its members were subjected to severe repressions. George Luckyj, who is also the author of *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934*, has assembled a rich collection of letters, diaries, poetry, and fiction from the archives of VAPLITE. Unavailable elsewhere for the most part, the texts are enhanced by forty-three rare illustrations.

260 pages cloth \$10.95 paper \$4.95

Antolohiia Ukrainskoi Liryky, Chastyna I—Do 1919

(An Anthology of Ukrainian Lyric Poetry, Part I—To 1919)

Edited by Orest Zilynsky

"A favorite scholarly idea of Zilynsky's was that the Ukrainian *Geist* attained its greatest heights in lyrical poetry," wrote *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* in June 1977. This idea has found its full expression in the present anthology, which provides a rich sampling of Ukrainian lyric poetry, from anonymous seventeenth-century songs to twentieth-century Symbolist poetry. The volume contains a long introduction by the editor, whose untimely death in 1976 deprived Ukrainian scholarship of a leading light, a biographical note by Eva Biss-Zilynska, a survey of Zilynsky's scholarly work by Mykola Mushynka, and notes on the authors and sources.

439 pages cloth \$13.95 paper \$6.95

Journal

Ukrainian for Undergraduates

By Danylo Husar Struk

Intended for university students with some background in the language, *Ukrainian for Undergraduates* introduces basic morphology and vocabulary through numerous drills, written and oral exercises, and tables. Points of grammar are explained in English, but grammatical terminology is given in both Ukrainian and English.

350 pages cloth \$9.00 paper \$5.00

JUST PUBLISHED

Ukrainian Dumy

Editio minor

Introduction by N. K. Moyle

Translated by George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina

The *dumy*—lyrical epics based on sixteenth and seventeenth-century historical events and performed by wandering minstrels to a musical accompaniment—are widely regarded as an especially important achievement of Ukrainian oral literature. They are presented here in a college edition with originals and translations *en face* by the poets George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina. The complete academic edition of the *dumy* will be published by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. Published for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

219 pages cloth \$9.95 paper \$5.95

FORTHCOMING

Modern Ukrainian

By Assya Humesky

Used as a first-year university grammar at Harvard University for several years in manuscript form, *Modern Ukrainian* presents the fundamental morphology and vocabulary of Ukrainian and some notations on syntax and intonation through the use of exercises and dialogues. Notes explain grammar rules, usage, stylistic flavour, regional variants, and so on.

Approx. 400 pages paper \$8.00

These books may be ordered from:

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A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language

By George Shevelov

Covering the entire history of Ukrainian in its phonological aspects from the inception of the language in Common Slavic to the present, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* examines Standard Ukrainian against the background of, and in relation to, its dialects. All phonetic changes are discussed, including accentological ones and those interacting with morphology. Diagrams, charts, and maps supplement the text, and each chapter is followed by an extensive selective bibliography. The book constitutes a part of *The Historical Phonology of the Slavic Languages*, a series edited by Professor Shevelov, who is also the author of such distinguished studies as *The Syntax of Modern Literary Ukrainian* (1963) and *A Prehistory of Slavic* (1964).

Published for the CIUS by Carl Winter Universitaetsverlag.

vi, 809 pages cloth 500Dm paper 460Dm

Available from:

Carl Winter Universitaetsverlag
Postfach 10 61 40
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West Germany

Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works

By Frances Swyripa

Frances Swyripa, a research assistant in the CIUS at the University of Alberta, has provided an important guide to the state of Ukrainian-Canadian studies. Her survey highlights the changing place of Ukrainians in Canada by taking a chronological look at government reports, theses, novels, magazine articles, and writings by educators and churchmen to show changes in the image of Ukrainians. The book concludes with a bibliography of sources, biographical sketches, and a note on existing Ukrainian-Canadian bibliographies.

169 pages cloth \$9.95 paper \$3.95

Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment

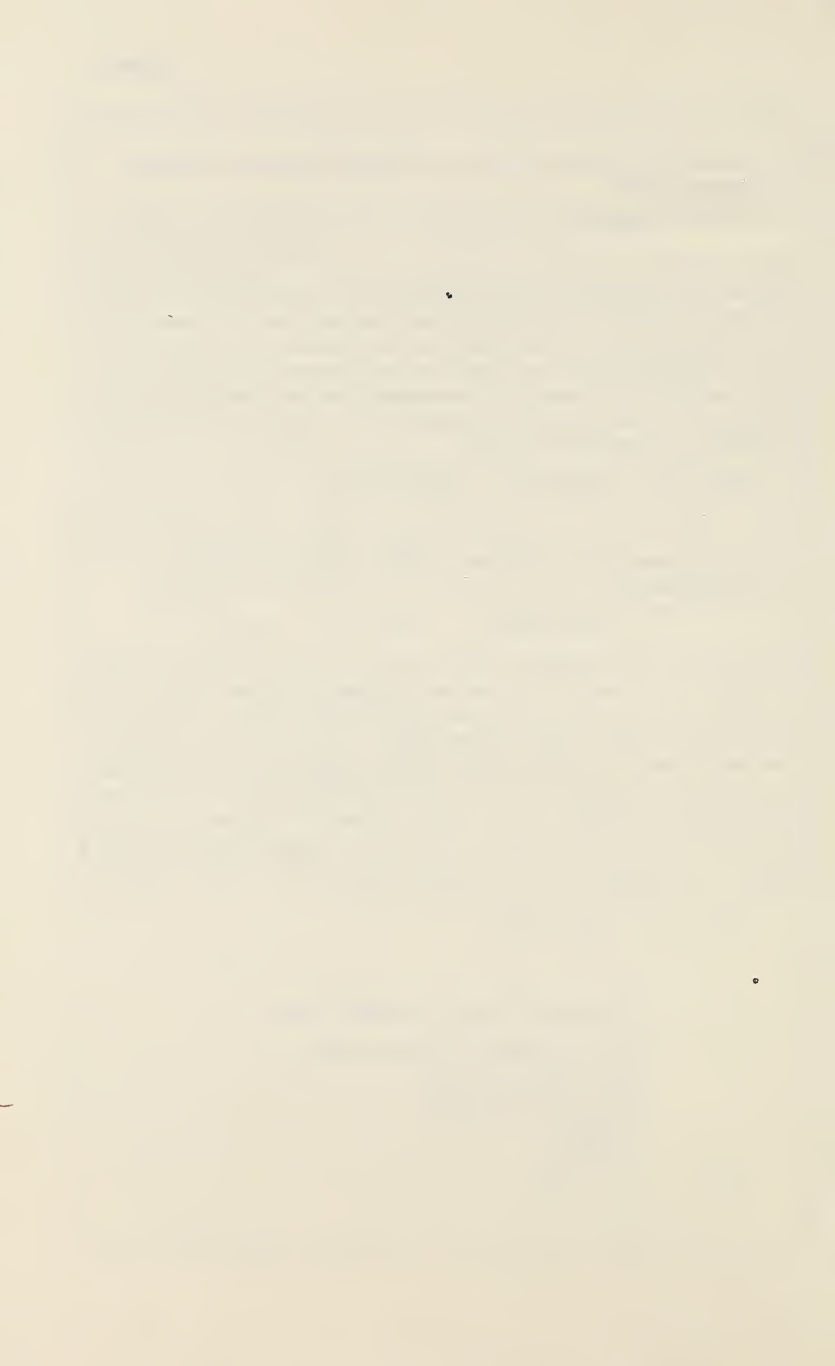
Edited by Manoly R. Lupul

The conference proceedings in this volume record the discussion of relationships between multiculturalism and separatism—issues crucial to all Canadians. They illustrate that Ukrainians have a large contribution to make in the current national unity debate. The contents also critically examine the implications of multiculturalism, federalism, and separatism for Canada as a whole and for one of Canada's largest ethnocultural groups—the Ukrainians—in all regions of Canada. Proposals put forth illustrate that it is both possible and vital that the development of Canadians of all backgrounds be encouraged and helped to achieve a sense of national unity which encompasses all Canadians.

177 pages paper \$4.95

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TO THOSE WISHING TO SUBMIT MANUSCRIPTS

All submissions must be typed on 8½ x 11 inch paper and double-spaced throughout. Footnotes should be placed at the end of the manuscript. Block quotations and four or more lines of verse from Ukrainian should appear in the original. Otherwise the modified Library of Congress system of cyrillic transliteration should be used.

In general, articles should not exceed 25 double-spaced pages, except where especially justified by extensive documentation, tables, or charts. For purposes of style and footnoting, the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* should be consulted. Authors should send a short academic biography with their submissions. Manuscripts will not be returned unless specifically requested and postage provided. The policy of the *Journal* is not to consider articles that have been published or are being considered for publication elsewhere. The editors reserve the right to edit all submissions.

A TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

(Modified Library of Congress)

а — a	ї — i	ф — f
б — b	й — i	х — kh
в — v	к — k	ц — ts
г — h	л — l	ч — ch
ґ — 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

