

JOURNAL OF

# UKRAINIAN STUDIES

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Winter 1994

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CONTRIBUTORS:

Oleh S. Ilnytskyj  
Myroslav Shkandrij  
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Volume 19, Number 2

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## Contributors

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# Ukrainska khata and the Paradoxes of Ukrainian Modernism

Oleh S. Ilnytskyj

## I

It has been argued that *Ukrainska khata*, the Modernist journal published in Kyiv from 1909 to 1914, "parted ways much more radically" with the ideas of the Ukrainian Realists and Populists "than [did] the Moloda Muza poets,"<sup>1</sup> and that its members "carried forward the work of the Moloda Muza group, developing their ideological-aesthetic program to the extreme."<sup>2</sup> The clear implication of such statements is that Modernist trends of the previous decade reached a zenith in their Kyiv iteration. But Mykola Sribliansky (pseudonym of Mykyta Shapoval), the major force behind *Ukrainska khata* and one its chief critics and theoreticians, casts doubts on these conclusions when he summarizes the history and achievement of the journal thus:

Modernism in Ukrainian criticism refers to that current of *literary-social thought* that appeared in *Ukrainska khata*. To a certain degree this is true. [It was] Modernism, but only in the sense of "newness," because *khatianstvo* never had anything to do with *decadence* in literature, nor with Modernism in religion. Our Modernism was a *reappraisal of the Ukrainian movement*, and our relationship to Ukrainian history, a re-appraisal of our relationship to our revolutionary contemporaries, who

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1. Bohdan Rubchak, "Probnnyi let: Tlo dlia knyhy," in *Ostap Lutsky — molodo-muzets*, ed. Iurii Lutsky (New York: Slovo, 1968), 40.

2. P. I. Kolesnyk, "Poeziia: Zahalna kharakterystyka," in *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury u vosmy tomakh*, vol. 5, *Literatura pochatku XX st.*, ed. P. I. Kolesnyk (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1968), 343.

created the 'revolution' of 1905, a reappraisal of our liberation ideology and the search for *a new ideology of liberation*.<sup>3</sup>

Doubt about the journal's Modernist steadfastness intensify when we recall other incidents in the life of the journal; for example, Sribliansky's scorn for "aesthetes, admirers of beauty and pure art" or his reaction to the rise in the number of Modernists as "a real epidemic."<sup>4</sup>

Such facts have inspired alternate strains of interpretation, which emphasize Ukrainian Modernism's shortcomings, contradictions, and flaws. The Achilles' heel of the movement, accordingly, is precisely that which Sribliansky chose to emphasize about *Ukrainska khata*, that is, its social and national components. The apparent inability to abandon such pursuits in the name of pure art is considered by some not only a stigma on *Ukrainska khata*, but on Ukrainian Modernism as a whole. These "sins" seem particularly grievous when viewed in the broader context of European Modernism, which often serves as a benchmark for judging the Ukrainian movement.

While there is no denying that Ukrainian Modernism is different from its west European counterparts, its inconsistencies may have more to do with our own preconceived notions than with the phenomenon itself. The real problem may lie not in the movement, but in an approach that amounts to little more than simple juxtaposition, which interprets differences in the Ukrainian movement primarily as deficiencies. The danger of this method is that it tends to overlook Ukrainian Modernism's peculiar integrity and its genuinely revolutionary impact not only on letters, but also on the very structure of Ukrainian culture and society.

This paper will proceed from the premise that it is fundamentally incorrect (or at least premature) to treat Ukrainian Modernism as a simple extension—in time and geography—of west European processes, or to evaluate it only on how closely it lived up to the ostensibly "universal" west European "model." Although Ukraine's links to European Modernism were not insignificant, the Ukrainian phenomenon, in its essence, was fundamentally unlike its west European counterparts largely because it took root in entirely unique socio-historical circumstances. In other words, Europe and Ukraine represented two radically distinct literary

3. My emphasis. M. Shapoval, "Doba khatianstva," in *Ukrainska khata*, Kyiv, 1909–1914, *redaktor-vydavets Pavlo Bohatsky*, ed. Sava Zerkal (New York: Ukrainska hromada im. M. Shapovala, 1955), 35.

4. M. Sribliansky, "Etiud pro futuryzm," *Ukrainska khata* (hereafter UKh), 1914, no. 6, 449. On the other hand, Sribliansky also defended the Modernists. See his "Na suchasni temy," UKh, 1911, no. 3, esp. 181–6.



*systems*. Consequently, it is to be expected that Modernism functioned differently in each sphere. Furthermore, I would argue that the Ukrainian movement, having encountered European arts in their Modernist phase, was actually less galvanized by the trends themselves than by a desire to replicate in Ukrainian society the structures of the European artistic system that supported Modernism. In fact, one of the movement's major tasks was to make Ukrainian art—as a system—resemble more closely European institutions.<sup>5</sup>

From the 1890s the pursuit by Ukrainian writers of a new thematics and poetics was intimately linked to the momentous transformation of Ukrainian society, especially the rise of a European oriented national consciousness and the intelligentsia's mindful decision to recreate Ukrainian culture in its own image. Modernism in the Ukrainian setting did not evolve as a series of narcissistic *literary-artistic groupings* feuding over ever new aesthetics (the pattern in western Europe): it assumed the shape of an *intellectualist* movement bent on freeing art from nineteenth-century Ukrainian Populist canons and legitimizing it as a independent category of Ukrainian national culture. The Modernist intelligentsia revered art, but it did so *not* necessarily as the embodiment of discreet styles or schools but as a symbol of High Culture. In this guise (rather than as a particular "ism"), it became the battle cry for inventing an entirely new image of Ukrainianness. Thus, the movement represented not simply an historic shift in style and sensibility (i.e., from Realism to Modernism), but a total realignment of Ukrainian culture along European lines. It reversed the nineteenth-century orientation on "the people" (*narod*) by championing the idea that Ukraine's national culture must be a reflection of the intelligentsia. Given this sweeping agenda, the new writers and critics were prone to treat art less as a formal object than as a broad indicator of cultural and spiritual refinement. This explains why Ukrainian Modernists were reluctant to articulate strictly artistic theories or defend private aesthetics—preferring instead general formulations about "beauty" and "truth"—and why they recurrently betrayed an antiformalist streak, which was most evident in the frequent disavowals of "decadence" by nearly all of them. Mykola Ievshan (pseudonym of Mykola Fediushka)—another of *Ukrainska khata's* major critics—wrote that

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5. This introduction summarizes views that are developed in detail in my article "Conceptualizing Ukrainian Modernism" (forthcoming). I have alluded to these issues also in "The Modernist Ideology and Mykola Khvylovnyi," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 15, no. 3/4 (December 1991), 257–62; and in "Ukrainian Symbolism and the Problem of Modernism," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 34, nos. 1–2 (March–June 1992), 113–30.

"We [Ukrainian society] ... fear decadence like the plague."<sup>6</sup> Sribliansky's statement above (i.e., that *Ukrainska khata* had nothing to do with decadence and was a reappraisal of the Ukrainian movement) is thus quite characteristic and highly significant.

## II

If one examines the parameters and context of *Ukrainska khata*'s discourse on art, one finds that "art" is always conceptually joined to an array of other, tightly knit issues—namely, the "intelligentsia," "culture," and "nation." To properly understand Ukrainian Modernism, it is essential to see how the dynamic and logical interaction of these elements was perceived.

A central axiom of Ukrainian Modernism, and of *Ukrainska khata* in particular, was the idea that there existed a sharp distinction between "individuals of intellect"<sup>7</sup> and the masses. This willingness to countenance social polarization in the name of art and culture was extremely controversial from the very start of the movement, earning the first Modernists immediate notoriety and censure.<sup>8</sup> *Ukrainska khata*, however, proclaimed this principle aggressively as a self-evident truth and made it the very foundation of its cultural and artistic program. According to Sribliansky's apt phrase, Modernist intellectuals were, first and foremost, "separatists from the mob." They recognized that "the masses lived in accordance with their own interests" and offered nothing to the intelligentsia, which by its very nature was inclined to seek "its own soul, its individuality" in the service of "beauty and truth alone."<sup>9</sup> *Ukrainska khata* welcomed the process by which art was becoming the domain of an elite and the expression of its private experience (the "soul" and "heart"). It rarely confused the "aristocratization of [spiritual and cultural] values," with the idea of "democratizing the social order" in the Russian Empire.<sup>10</sup> Both were highly desirable but very distinct goals. Art, in actual fact, needed protection from the masses (i.e., democratization) because they did not and could not comprehend it. Andrii Tovkachevsky, one of the journal's most talented polemicists, expressed it this way:

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6. M. Ievshan, *Kudy my pryshly: Rich pro ukrainsku literaturu 1910 roku* (Lviv: Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1912), 37.

7. M. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," *UKh*, 1912, no. 2, 97.

8. Recall Serhii Iefremov's "V poiskakh novoi krasoty," *Kievskaiia starina*, 1902, no. 10, 100–30; no. 11, 235–82; no. 12, 394–419.

9. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," 97, 101.

10. A. Tovkachevsky, "Partykuliaryzatsiia tsinnostei," *UKh*, 1914, no. 3–4, 300.

"Nature did not endow everyone with the soul of a poet, the eye of an artist, the ear of a musician, the mind of a philosopher, or the fire of a prophet—and thank God this is so."<sup>11</sup> Sribliansky insisted: "A spiritual aristocratism is the precondition for culture."<sup>12</sup> And another contributor to the journal, Oleksander Avratynsky (pseudonym of Oleksander Neprytsky-Hranovsky) complained: "For some reason, Ukrainian society does not want to understand that, in order to become a spiritual aristocrat, one must constantly improve oneself, hone one's sensibility to the highest level of refinement [and] artistry."<sup>13</sup>

Such a stance was quite common in the journal. The poet Hrytsko Chuprynka was esteemed by his *Ukrainska khata* colleagues especially because he combined in his work elements of individualism and subjectivism and appealed to the genteel reader. Wrote Sribliansky: "The poetry of H. Chuprynka is unusually strong, beautiful, brilliant, artistic, and deep in content. And for this reason he will not be a leader of the mob. On the other hand ... he has endowed Ukrainian art with strength and beauty. This is the highest level our poetry has attained—a poetry [that reflects] the lonely soul of a contemporary Ukrainian whose head is filled with intellect rather than grease."<sup>14</sup> As we shall see below, the theme of the lonely artist (alternately, the "genius" or "intellectual") who stands in opposition to the mob became a virtual trademark of the journal.<sup>15</sup>

The critics of *Ukrainska khata* saw themselves as "brave ideologues" promoting "revolt for the sake of revolt" (a slogan coined by Chuprynka).<sup>16</sup> The new art was proclaimed a form of "protest against the levelling of individualism." It was led by "cadres of 'young' ... poets, writers, critics, [and cultural] warriors" who were fighting against the older generation's "'spirit of desolation.'" "We must extend a welcome," wrote Sribliansky, "to the individualism of Ukrainian art, because only it can create a new intelligent generation, which, inevitably, must take the place of the dying liberal Ukrainophile landlords, bourgeoisie and their

11. Ibid.

12. M. Sribliansky, "Z hromadskoho zhyttia," *UKh*, 1914, no. 1, 75.

13. "Estetyka v zhytti ukrainskoho hromadianstva," *UKh*, 1913, no. 2, 118.

14. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," 103.

15. On the subject of the genius and the mob (i.e., the "reader"), see A. Tovkachevsky, "Mirkuвання ne na chasi," *UKh*, 1911, no. 2, 125. This article—especially pp. 132 ff.—inspired Mykhail Semenko's Futurist manifesto, "Sam" (Alone), published in his *Derzannia* (1914).

16. M. Sribliansky, "Na suchasni temy," *UKh*, 1911, no. 2, 114.

lackeys.”<sup>17</sup> The “new literature is the answer to a fundamental problem of Ukrainian culture [*ukrainstvo*]: its [lack of] cultural emancipation, its tragic dependency, its historically determined [but] unfortunate slavishness.”<sup>18</sup> Ievshan reiterated these themes: “Literature is not in itself the struggle for liberation, but a great force that helps liberation. [Literature] is the beauty of protest, the beauty of rebellion against enslavement and [against] the most awful type of slavery that can possibly exist: spiritual slavery.”<sup>19</sup> Clearly, *Ukrainska khata* saw art as something that was fundamentally good for society, even as it recognized that it was not meant to be used for social or political goals. Art was a social good in its own right because it was an embodiment of human individuality, creativity and spiritual freedom.

Not surprisingly, *Ukrainska khata*—much like the earliest Modernists—vigorously defended art from “tendentiousness” or what Sribliansky called “the itch to teach” [*sverbliachka navchannia*].<sup>20</sup> This was a popular saw in both articles and literature (see, for example, the short story by L. Budai (pseudonym of Serhii Buda), “V nashii kraini”<sup>21</sup>). For those who deplored the atrophy of didacticism and civic relevance in art, *Ukrainska khata* had a ready retort: “[P]eople have begun to speak about the decline of art. There is a decline, especially in the ‘literature for broad consumption’ [*literatura dlia shyrokykh kil*]. This decline is, of course, only to the good.”<sup>22</sup> The difficult cultural predicament Modernists faced was summarized by Sribliansky: “One group [the artistic intelligentsia] said, ‘live free and create freely’; while others [the Ukrainophiles and

17. Ibid., 115.

18. Sribliansky, “Borotba za indyvidualnist,” 104. Elsewhere he writes: “The spiritual slavishness of our ‘creative’ elite was and is the reason for our national wretchedness. Because where there is slavishness, there is no creative initiative, action, development of life’s potential.” See “Z hromadskoho zhyttia,” *UKh*, 1913, no. 9, 564.

19. M. Ievshan, “Dobroliubov i ioho krytychna shkola,” *UKh*, 1911, no. 11–12, 564.

20. M. Sribliansky, “Apoteoza prymityvnii kulturi,” *UKh*, 1912, no. 6, 345.

21. *UKh*, 1911, no. 11–12, 511. This story, a classic *pièce à thèse*, describes the artist who serves “society” as a person who is creatively dead. The following is a fairly common statement Sribliansky made while analyzing a literary work: “This is already tendentiousness; an obvious tendentiousness dominates and therefore one cannot speak of artistry” (“Literaturna khvyliia,” *UKh*, 1913, no. 1, 30). Cf. P. B[ohatsky]: “Literature should be governed only by literary criteria, nothing else.” (“Literaturni novyny,” *UKh*, 1912, no. 9–10, 546).

22. Sribliansky, “Borotba za indyvidualnist,” 100–1.

Populists] made the comment, 'In other words, you want to exploit the people and destroy Ukraine!'"<sup>23</sup>

*Ukrainska khata* struggled against views of the latter sort not only because they were personally antipathetic to the intelligentsia, but because they were seen as impediments to building a full-fledged and self-sufficient nation and national culture. Although the first Modernists had also rebelled against populist culture, *Ukrainska khata* gave their relatively timid labors a new urgency by taking a much harsher and irreconcilable position on Ukrainian society's past practices and subjecting them to a more refined intellectual analysis.<sup>24</sup> One still finds attacks on Iefremov as the "knight of darkness," but the actual defense of art and culture goes well beyond that.<sup>25</sup> *Ukrainska khata* strongly opposed the idea of Ukrainian culture as "some sort of petty provincialism,"<sup>26</sup> and identified Populism, Ukrainophilism,<sup>27</sup> Little Russianism, and ethno-

23. Ibid., 97.

24. Ukraine is depicted frequently as something ill and deformed by Russian colonialism and imperialism, which also spawned the Ukrainophile orientation. Sribliansky accused the Ukrainophiles of a "spiritual poverty," which was "increasing the speed of decay [and] decline of our pathetic, revolting monster—Ukraine—which has wrested from the depth of history so much crime, stupidity, [and] barbaric elements that it will serve as nutriment for many generations to come" ("Nova era," *UKh*, 1911, no. 10, 495). The struggle for a national culture (Ukrainianization vs. Ukrainophilism), writes Sribliansky, is a process of "humanizing" Ukraine: "Ukrainianization means humanization." He refuses to take part in the "building of a kingdom of Ukrainian slavery, a kingdom of mediocrity, baseness, and darkness. I protest against gallows designed in the national style. Let foreign ones stand" ("Na suchasni temy," *UKh*, 1911, no. 4, 245, 249).

25. See M. Ievshan, "Lytsar temnoi nochii," *UKh*, 1911, no. 10, 468–75. Ievshan criticizes Iefremov for calling "all contemporary literary movements [and] all aesthetic principles reactionary" (p. 473). See also the polemics with Iefremov in S. Prosvitnianyn (pseud. of Serhii Shelukhyn), "Literaturni Herostraty ukrainstva," *UKh*, 1909, no. 3–4, 166 and esp. 181–5; in M. Sribliansky, "'Nove slovo' v ukrainskii krytytsi," *UKh*, 1910, no. 7–8, 491 ff.; and in M. Sribliansky, "'Koproliia' P. Iefremova," *UKh*, 1910, no. 9, 569.

26. M. Sribliansky, "Na suchasni temy (Natsionalnist i mystetstvo)," *UKh*, 1910, no. 11, 682.

27. For a definition of this term as understood by the critics of *UKh*, see A. Tovkachevsky's review of Ievshan's *Kudy my pryishly*, "'Kudy my pryishly,'" *UKh*, 1911, no. 11–12, esp. 569. See also the ironic attitude toward "Little Russians" in A. Tovkachevsky, "Optymizm i pesymizm v ukrainskomu zhytti," *UKh*, 1910, no. 11, 670.



graphic tradition as "primitive" ills that had to be destroyed so that urbane and civilized pursuits could take their place.

*Ukrainstvo*, [which was] created on the basis of Populist ideologies ... is developing under the banner of popular culture, more precisely, [a culture that is] primitive, simple, [and] always accessible to the most primitive person. Herein lies the so-called democratism of Ukrainian culture, its accessibility, its simplicity.... Our Populist ideologies rest precisely on the common people, use the simplest popular element as a foundation of the national culture, [and] look at the world and at the tasks of Ukrainian culture through its spiritual prism. [These ideologies] are creating a culture not for the nation but for the *common people*, and they do so in a *Populist manner*.<sup>28</sup>

*Ukrainska khata* declared this "popular Ukrainian culture" unfit for the intelligentsia and added: "trade in folk-art goods ... [is] a serious problem for high culture." (356). While it [popular culture] may satisfy people with a primitive psyche and low expectations, it is definitely insufficient for others." For this reason *ukrainstvo* is a sterile field on which no living being can survive."<sup>29</sup> The antidote was to create a truly sophisticated culture: "Everyone who desires to live and create must ... come out into the fresh air of action, movement, work, and individual creativity in the name of complexity, broad ambition; [they must struggle] in the hearth of ambiguity in the name of a mysterious, deep blue *superiority*."<sup>30</sup> Although the latter formulation is hardly rigorous and intentionally poeticized, the expectation is clear enough: the new intelligentsia was determined to espouse a culture that would end the need for Ukrainians to live off the culture of other nations, especially Russia. As Sribliansky puts it: "The dominant form [of Ukrainian culture] does not satisfy a Ukrainian. *Ukrainstvo* itself ... excludes the possibility of a cultural existence within it. Because of this, [many] Ukrainians do not love *ukrainstvo* and quietly graze on foreign fields."<sup>31</sup> Sribliansky, obviously, was aware that cultural provincialism compelled Ukrainians to embrace

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28. Emphasis in the original. Sribliansky, "Apoteoza prymityvnoi kulturi," 354. In another article he states that "the culture of the simple folk [*prostonaroddia*] is useless [*nepotribna*]" for the "intelligentsia" ("Z hromadskoho zhyttia," *UKh*, 1913, no. 9, 564). Two years earlier he criticized the idea that "the concept of nation has been completely equated with the Ukrainian folk, without restrictions or limitations" ("Nova era," *UKh*, 1911, no. 10, 491). See also A. Tovkachevsky, "Literatura i nashi 'narodnyky,'" *UKh*, 1911, no. 9, 417.

29. "Apoteoza prymityvnoi kulturi," 354, 356–7, 361.

30. *Ibid.*, 361.

31. *Ibid.*, 351.

Russian culture, thereby undermining Ukraine's nationhood. As a corollary, he also understood that a sophisticated culture would act as a barrier to Russification and contribute to national independence.<sup>32</sup> Thus, although *Ukrainska khata* was willing to concede that "the intelligentsia may not have anything further in common with the people, that [the intelligentsia's] culture and ideals may go counter to the ideals of the masses,"<sup>33</sup> the journal was satisfied that "the intelligentsia has placed before the Ukrainian nation a common goal—*ukrainstvo*—and thereby has stirred to life an entire people, has given them an existence as a nation.... The art of a nation is its culture; a nation exists in culture, in its creation, in its struggle to attain it."<sup>34</sup> When summarized, these ideas amounted to this: "There is something greater than the Ukrainian people, namely, *ukrainstvo*.... [We must] preserve our existence as a cultural-national complex. We can only be a modern nation through culture, not through ... ethnographic characteristics, not through our common roots, not through our common traditions."<sup>35</sup>

As is evident from the preceding, the Modernist concerns of *Ukrainska khata* were expressed through a comprehensive theory and program that recognized culture (especially literature) as a major component of the Ukrainian nation-building process. It is not without reason that Tovkachevsky declared: "We consider culture the very foundation of our life."<sup>36</sup> Culture, however, was never treated as an abstract value. Tovkachevsky and his colleagues scoffed at Russians and Poles living in Ukraine, who offered Ukrainians their "higher" culture while persecuting all expressions of Ukrainian cultural distinctiveness. For *Ukrainska khata* the preservation and cultivation of a high *national* culture was a major principle; it categorically rejected the idea of adopting a neighboring culture. As Tovkachevsky put it, "For me, a higher culture can only be my culture, [but] raised to a higher level."<sup>37</sup> Any type of

32. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," 104.

33. A. Tovkachevsky, "Budynok na pisku, abo 'sobiraniie Rusi' Petrom Struve," *UKh*, 1912, no. 2, 120.

34. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," 120.

35. A. Tovkachevsky, "Pryiateli i vorohy naroda," *UKh*, 1913, no. 2, 129, 130. See also his "Literatura i nashi 'narodnyky,'" *UKh*, 1911, no. 9, 417.

36. A. Tovkachevsky, "Problema kultury," *UKh*, 1912, no. 1, 45.

37. *Ibid.*, 52. Cf. Sribliansky: "It is our goal, it is a joy for our soul when all of us, like a family, gather around our house [i.e., Ukraine] and begin work to improve it, to catch up culturally to people who have far, far outdistanced us." ("Z hromadskoho zhyttia," *UKh*, 1913, no. 9, 568.)

cosmopolitanism that smacked of assimilation was renounced.<sup>38</sup> Sribliansky cautioned against equating Ukrainian culture and identity with "giving 'the peasant' education in an accessible form," saying that both must express "the meaning of life, our ideals and dreams" and "therefore must have the widest, universal character."<sup>39</sup> "Ukrainian culture must be a value of general human significance. Our Ukrainian culture must take the stage as an eternal value. I believe Ukrainian culture, in the ethical sense, must come to the defense of truth, in other words, of the freedom of humanity."<sup>40</sup> Ievshan looked forward to the time when Ukrainian literature would "stand side by side with the literatures of other nations" and "contribute to the chorus of human wisdom."<sup>41</sup> The ideologues of the journal were clearly spelling out a program that would take Ukrainian culture both outward and inward, i.e., make it simultaneously an expression of the universal and the national. It had to become a medium that granted individuals "the necessary fullness and satisfaction of ... [their personal] existence" while allowing them to remain true to their nation.<sup>42</sup>

*Ukrainska khata* was motivated by two firmly interlaced visions: cultural elitism and nationalism. The latter manifested itself not only in the critical and theoretical writings of Sribliansky, Ievshan, and Tovkachevsky, but was also symbolized by the appearance of Dmytro Dontsov in the journal (especially in 1913 and 1914) and by discussions such as "What is a nation."<sup>43</sup> The primary target of this dual vision was so-called Ukrainophile Populist culture; the ultimate objective was the refinement and individuation of Ukrainian culture along the lines of other "civilized" national (primarily European) cultures, inasmuch as Russian culture was dismissed out of hand as a threat. The problem of what defined and characterized Ukraine's *national* culture preoccupied the

38. See V. Hryshchynsky, "Kosmopolityzm i kosmopolity," *UKh*, 1910, no. 10, 628.

39. M. Sribliansky, "Natsionalnist i mystetstvo," *UKh*, 1910, no. 12, 734.

40. Sribliansky, "Natsionalnist i mystetstvo," 735.

41. M. Ievshan, "De-shcho pro ukrainske pysmenstvo v Halychyni za 1908 rik," *UKh*, 1909, no. 2, 87.

42. Sribliansky, "Natsionalnist i mystetstvo," 738.

43. V. Hryshchynsky, "Shcho take natsiia," *UKh*, 1911, no. 10, 476. See also M. Sribliansky, "Po-mizh susidamy: Ukrainstvo i velykorusy," *UKh*, 1909, no. 2, 91; A. Tovkachevsky, "Burzhuaiziia i natsionalizm," *UKh*, 1910, no. 1, 47; V. Hryshchynsky, "Proletariiat i natsiia," *UKh*, 1910, no. 4, 271; and O. Kapustiansky, "Pravo osoby na natsionalne samovyiasnennia (Sotsiialno-psykholohichni etidi)," *UKh*, 1910, no. 7–8, 466.



critics in the journal. Although generally open-minded and cosmopolitan in their orientation, they did stray from time to time into obscurantism when they sought "emancipation from all extrinsic moral, intellectual, social, and other influences" or searched for "the real Ukrainian style."<sup>44</sup> In the process they exhibited suspicion and even antagonism toward "foreign" things, especially when they were Russian or radically formalist in nature.

### III

Given this configuration of ideas and principles, one is compelled to ask: what type of literature did *Ukrainska khata* publish? The answer may be surprising. For all its polemical and national zeal, the journal was rather consistently asocial and apolitical in its choice of belles-lettres. It eschewed overtly patriotic, topical, or socially "useful" subjects (especially after 1909). The works it published tended to be on universally human themes; they were primarily subjective and emotive and were presented through the spiritual, artistic, and psychological prism of well-bred, sensitive individuals. Many works breathed the rarified air of mystery, awe, and wonder. As a rule, life's events, as well as those of the mind, were played out on the stage of nature, which was invariably placed in opposition to "society"—especially the urban kind. Beauty and the aesthetic life were embraced without ambivalence. In short, literature in *Ukrainska khata* was definitely not "tendentious," but exemplified the very essence of "free creativity" as understood by the Modernists.

The literary practice of *Ukrainska khata* attests that the journal was an inheritor of prevailing Modernist trends. This was inevitable given that many of its contributors had been setting the tone in literature since the early 1900s. The journal featured the works of such well-established Modernists as Mykola Vorony, Petro Karmansky, Olha Kobylanska, Mykhailo Iatskiv, Hnat Khotkevych, Bohdan Lepky, and Oleksander Oles. But even the newer and less famous contributors—writers such as Hrytsko Chuprynka, Iakiv Mamontov, Pavlo Tychyna, Mykola Filiansky, Maksym Rylsky, Mykola Cherniavsky, and Oleksander Neprytsky-Hranovsky, to name but a few—supplied *Ukrainska khata* with works that were hardly distinguishable from those of the previous decade. Mostly they dealt with love, subtle and injured feelings, nature, dreams, and the invocation of beauty. While it would be impossible to do justice in this article to even a small fraction of the works that appeared in the journal,

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44. M. Sribliansky, "Na suchasni temy," *UKh*, 1911, no. 3, 180.

one can outline their dominant features and offer a few generalizations about their overall orientation.

The writings that appeared in the journal are striking in that they seem to be generated by an implicit typological structure, i.e., a pattern of prescribed ideas, psychological moods, and emotional gestures that are embodied in a limited set of recurring code words and their synonyms. The consistent repetition of these patterns amounts to a symbolic language revealing Ukrainian Modernism's major concerns.

Without a doubt, the key words are those that evoke death, pain, sadness, and a variety of states of ennui (*nudha, tuha, utoma*). This is an especially "productive" set, generating a slew of verbal tokens that are impregnated with these basic associations. They figure prominently in titles ("Epilohy" [Epilogues], "Elehiia" [Elegy],<sup>45</sup> "Slozy" [Tears], "Tuha" [Longing],<sup>46</sup> "Osinni tsvit" [Autumnal Bloom]) and even pseudonyms (e.g., Halyna Zhurba [pseud. of Halina Dombrowska] and Olena Zhurlyva [pseud. of Olena Pashynkivna-Kotova]). The combined effect of this semantic group is one of weariness and decline. The final lines of Mamontov's poem "Bezsyllia" (Infirmary) is exemplary of this mood:

Не полетить душа безсила.

Стоїть безмовно в тихім сумі.

Скорботно голову схилила.

І чую я в тяжкій задумі,

Як падають безсилі крила.<sup>47</sup>

It is this aspect that earned Ukrainian Modernism the infamous—but not entirely undeserved—sobriquet, "decadent." This atmosphere is quite pervasive, having affected nearly every poet from Mykhail Semenko, the future Futurist (who wrote "Ia vves tomliusia u zhurbi" [My entire being grows weary in sadness])<sup>48</sup> to M. Rylsky ("Sumno doshch pokhmuryi za viknom shumyt,/ I zhurba taiemna dushu znov hnityt" [A downcast rain murmurs sadly outside the window,/ And secret grief again weighs down my soul]).<sup>49</sup> To a large degree this was a literature of loss and disil-

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45. E.g., O. Tarasenko, "Elehiia," *UKh*, 1909, no. 7–8, 390; S. Voropai, "Elehiia," *UKh*, 1911, no. 7–8, 363; and M. Cherniavsky, "Kometa (elehiia)," *UKh*, 1911, no. 7–8, 272.

46. E.g., Iu. Budiak, "Dvi tyhy," *UKh*, 1909, no. 9, 463.

47. The feeble soul will not soar./ Mute it stands in silent sadness./ Head bowed in mourning./ And I sense in deep pensiveness / how feeble wings begin to fall. *UKh*, 1912, no. 11–12, 590.

48. "Mov kvitka," *UKh*, 1914, no. 5, 357.

49. "Sumno doshch pokhmuryi..." *UKh*, 1911, no. 9, 404. On the subject of

lusionment. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that much of this melancholia functions as a convention for exalting feelings and emotions as such, which stand as programmatic antipodes to reason and unfeeling (coldness). Rylsky, typically, dedicates his story to those who "are not soiled by sober reason."<sup>50</sup> Chuprynka exemplifies this posture in these words:

Не соромся плачу і давлучих ридань  
Не ховай своїх сліз проливних!  
Той, хто може ридать, той хто може страждать,  
Певно зможе життя і людей розгадать...<sup>51</sup>

This lachrymal motif is ever-present in the works in *Ukrainska khata* and has several elaborations. A poem by Neprytsky-Hranovsky, "Chuiiu, chuiiu stohin dykyi" (I Hear, I Hear Wild Groaning), uses expressions such as "Ne zhurysia" (Don't worry), "perly-slozy" (pearls-tears), and "muky" (tortures).<sup>52</sup> In another of his poems, the author avows:

А все ж болють душа моя,  
За чимсь нудьгує, плаче сум...<sup>53</sup>

He strikes this note on other occasions as well: "Moia dusha bez liku plakala, rydala."<sup>54</sup>

Avtonom Khudoba, in a poem that opens with the lines "Iakyis fatum strashnyi zvysaie nadi mnoiu" [Some kind of terrible fate hangs over me], proclaims: "Rydaie liutyi zhal v dushi moii smutnii!"<sup>55</sup> And M. Kovalenko makes this typical use of identical code words:

sadness, see Sribliansky's review of Rylsky's *Na bilykh ostrovakh* (1910), "Koly prokydaetsia vesna (Poeziia M. Rylskoho)," *UKh*, 1910, no. 12, 758.

50. M. Rylsky, "Korol (kazka)," *UKh*, 1911, no. 11–12, 504. Ievshan protested against Realists who "only have praise for common sense" but consider "sick" and "degenerate" those individuals who "are moved by the lyrical" and "defend pure poetic ecstasy" ("Dobroliubov i ioho krytychna shkola," 559).

51. Be not embarrassed by crying or stifling weeping/ Hide not the tears you've shed!/ He who can weep, he who can suffer,/ Can surely fathom life and people. "Slozy," *UKh*, 1912, no. 3–4, 138. Cf. M. Mohyliansky, "Slozy," *UKh*, 1913, no. 9, 513, which, significantly, is dedicated to Mykhailo Iatskiv.

52. *UKh*, 1912, no. 6, 308.

53. Nevertheless, my soul is aching,/ Sadness weeps and pines for something. ... "Ne viriu ia," *UKh*, 1912, no. 7–8, 371.

54. My soul cried, wept without end. "Ty ne moia," *UKh*, 1914, no. 1, 21.

55. Ferocious misery weeps in my mournful soul. "Iakyis fatum strashnyi...," *UKh*, 1912, no. 6, 333.

У безмірній розпущі й одчаї  
 Я на струнах сердечних дзвінких  
 Мук мелодію дивну заграю, —  
 Як з цвітом-весною вмираю  
 В казці шуму під соняшний сміх.<sup>56</sup>

A snippet from Pavlo Bohatsky's "Etude" reveals that even in prose these key words have a tendency to cluster: "Rydaiut zvuky skrypy [...] plachut [...] tuha [...] minorni zvuky."<sup>57</sup> The setting in I. Fabrikant's "Chuzhyi dzvin" (Foreign Bell), one of the rare prose works in the journal that depicts the pain of separation from one's homeland, is rendered in typical images of autumnal decline and tears: "Piznia, tumanna ta plakucha osin" [A late, misty and weeping autumn]. A few lines later the narrator confesses: "rydala i moia dusha."<sup>58</sup>

We can see how these *topoi* function in context—and interact with other Modernists commonplaces, such as Beauty and the Azure sky—in the poem below, where the ratio of identified code words to other lexical material is typically high:

Чого сумний, похмурий день осінній  
 Ридає враз зо мною,  
 Нащо в сльозах малює він узори  
 Красою неземною?  
 Куди в блакитнім небі хмар холодних  
 Снуються довгі гриви  
 Й чого цей гай вдягнувся перед смертю  
 В фарб дивні переливи?  
 Чого душа моя в оттім вмиранні  
 Свій спокій загубила  
 І мовчки всю красу тих днів журливих  
 Так ніжно полюбила?<sup>59</sup>

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56. In endless grief and *despair*/ On the heart's sonorous strings/ I will play the strange melody of *suffering*—/ How I *die* with the bloom of spring/ In a fairy tale of sound to the tune of the sun's laughter. "Ukrainska melodiia," *UKh*, 1912, no. 7–8, 415. Sribliansky, who thought highly of Kovalenko, provides an interesting biographical sketch of the poet in "Na suchasni temy," *UKh*, 1911, no. 2, 118–20. Sribliansky is especially impressed by the fact that this person of peasant origin does not yearn "to merge" with "the people," but rather "strives to escape the people, [escape] from the world into the heavens" (p. 119).

57. The sounds of the violin weep ... cry ... yearning ... sounds [played] in the minor key. *UKh*, 1912, no. 6, 323.

58. My soul too was weeping. *UKh*, 1912, no. 5, 248.

59. Why does the *sad, brooding autumn* day/ Weep along with me,/ Why does

Closely connected with this melancholy emotionalism is what might be described as the cult of silence, loneliness, and spiritual retreat (rest). "Elehiina tysha zdrihnetsia od tiazhkoho, beznadiinoho zitkhannia," writes Iakiv Mamontov in his autumnally suggestive "Serpen" (August).<sup>60</sup> Khrystyna Alchevska evokes a sky that "Tykho ... vechoriie" [Quietly ... grows dark] as the moon rises "v bezkraii samoti" [in endless loneliness].<sup>61</sup> This doctrine only recognizes the sounds of nature, rejecting any that are associated with the city and large crowds (the mob),<sup>62</sup> which in most cases stand for "hirka, bolisna diisnist" [bitter, painful reality].<sup>63</sup> For example, Natalia Romanovych, in her prose etude "Tykho — na khutori" (It's Quiet at the Homestead), writes: "Metushnia liudska, halas, hurkit, kamiani dushni zhytla, kamiani shliakhy — *des daleko se vse, mov i ne bulo ikh v moim zhyttiu*."<sup>64</sup> Tychyna will suggest that silence is holy in the phrase "Tykha dumka sviata" [silent, sacred thought] and will characterize the sounds of nature in terms of rustling and singing ("*Shumyt zhyto, spiva*").<sup>65</sup> While Tychyna retires into thought, Rytsky finds solace in memories.<sup>66</sup> Others withdraw into out-of-the-way locations: homesteads (Romanovych above), deserts, forests,<sup>67</sup> the

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it paint in tears patterns/ With its unearthly beauty?/ Whither in the azure sky drift the long manes of the cold clouds?/ And why before death is this field dressed in the strange fusion of colors?/ Why has my soul in this dying/ Lost its tranquillity/ And silently fallen in love with the beauty of these mournful days? O. Neprytsky-Hranovsky, "Z tsykliu 'Osini uzory,'" *UKh*, 1912, no. 6, 307.

60. An elegiac silence will be startled by a heavy, hopeless sigh. *UKh*, 1912, no. 7–8, 372.

61. "Tykho nebo vechorie...," *UKh*, 1911, no. 3, 187.

62. A certain L. Lukychenko writes: "Юрба! Юрба! в сто раз проклята, в сто раз придавлена. Юрба! з сто головами, з життям, з кипінням! Юрба з ненавистю і любовю! Юрба! обдерта і милосердна! вона, вона, юрба вічна, живуча і гнітюча." (Mob! Mob! cursed a hundred time, crushed a hundred times. Mob! with a hundred heads, with life, with rage! A mob [filled] with hate and love! Mob! exploited and merciful! it, it, the mob eternal, living and oppressive.) Emphasis in the original. "V dushi moii," *UKh*, 1909, no. 9, 458.

63. P. Bohatsky, "Etude," *UKh*, 1912, no. 6, 325.

64. Human bustle, clamor, rumbling; cramped stone dwellings, stone streets—they are all *far away*, as if they *never existed* in my life. *UKh*, 1914, no. 2, 119.

65. The rye rustles and sings. "De topolia roste," *UKh*, 1912, no. 2, 127.

66. See his "Spohady z tsykliu 'Vidpochynok,'" *UKh*, 1912, no. 3–4, 169.

67. See M. S[ribliansky], "Lystky z lisu." The first part of this series of nature "études" appeared in the 1912, no. 9–10 issue of *UKh*. The series continued into 1913.



steppe,<sup>68</sup> islands (see Rylsky's *Na bilykh ostrovakh*), or just protective shade. Halyna Zhurba describes her character thus: "Vin buv odnym z tykh, shcho vichno *sumuiut* i mav u sebe zataieniu tuhu *pustyn bezmezhnykh*."<sup>69</sup> Equally popular is escape into lands of fantasy and legends.<sup>70</sup> These quiet settings—whether psychological, natural, or fantastic—serve as emblems of beauty, harmony, *le beau idéal*, and are the occasion for idealistic musing and dreaming. (For example, A. Kudrytska: "Daleko, v temnomu tykhomu zakutku moiei dushi zakhovalas *mriia*").<sup>71</sup> The word "*mriia*" (which can suggest "dream," "hope," "ideal," "nirvana") is virtually ubiquitous.<sup>72</sup>

Iakiv Mamontov was particularly adept at this type of verse. His poetry provides ample evidence not only of dark melancholy ("I sertse stysne smutok chornyi, / I liazhe na cholo skorbotna smuta")<sup>73</sup>—voiced through such images as "skorbni tini," "slozy," "mohyla" "tykhe tremtinnia"<sup>74</sup>—but he also provides classic examples of the themes of isolation and retreat:

Забуті тіні ... Береги  
Давно замовклого прибою....  
До вас в час тихої нудьги  
Іду непевною ходою.[...]  
  
О тихі тіні! в ваше царство  
Я молитви мої несучу

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68. See V. Tarnohradsky, "V sumnim stepu," *UKh*, 1911, no. 3, 164.

69. He was one of those who was always *sad* and hid within himself a secret longing for endless *deserts*. "Assyriiska lehenda," *UKh*, 1912, no. 5, 243.

70. A good many works with the words "kazka" (fairy tale) or "lehenda" / "legenda" (legend) in their titles or subtitles were published in *Ukrainska khata*. For example: V. Samiilenko, "Slava (kazka)" (1911, no. 7–8); N. Romanovych, "Kazky zhyttia" (1911, no. 10); H. Iurych, "Lehenda" (1911, no. 11–12); Halyna Zhurba, "Assyriiska lehenda" (1912, no. 5); M. Rylsky, "Kazka pro shchastia" (1912, no. 6); and Sava Krylach, "Legenda" (1913, no. 12). The words also appear frequently in poetry and prose texts (see the extracts from Chuprynka and Mamontov below).

71. Far in the dark, quiet corner of my soul a *dream* was hiding. "*Mriia*," *UKh*, 1913, no. 11, 666. She also has a work entitled "U velykii tyshi (Etiud)" (In the Great Silence [Etude]), *UKh*, 1912, no. 11–12, 606.

72. E.g., M. Rylsky's "*Mrii*," *UKh*, no. 3, 1911, 164.

73. And the heart is seized by a black sadness/ And mournful sorrow creases the brow. "V toi chas," *UKh*, 1912, no. 3–4, 141.

74. Mournful shadows, tears, a tomb, quiet trembling. "Vy znov pryishly," *UKh*, 1912, no. 2, 108.

І серцем чистим, без лукавства,  
Люблю розвінчану красу.<sup>75</sup>

Neprytsky-Hranovsky echoes similar sentiments (I quote only isolated phrases):

[...] Сам сидів я сумний  
[...] серце прокляттям ридало  
[...] І надії нема ...  
Тільки нічки п'їтьма  
Тихо стелеться смутками в хату ...  
[...] Чи не сон?<sup>76</sup>

F. Petrunenko fuses motifs of loneliness and suffering with the idea of a noisy crowded environment:

Самотний я, та ся пустеля-тиша  
Дає мені на всі страждання лік...  
Самотний я, а ти ще самотніша —  
Там, між людьми, де вічний гамір-крик.<sup>77</sup>

Of course, it is only logical to expect these same motifs in Karman-sky's contribution to the journal:

Камінна самота звалилася на груди,  
На змученій душі лежить німий курган.  
Ні споминів ні мрій, ні захвату, ні злуди —  
На все поклала Ніч мертвечий свій саван...

Лишіть мене брати, не з вашого я світа;  
Чужинці ми собі, а може й вороги [...]  
Не вам мій гордий храм, не вам мої боги ...  
[...] Остав мене юрбо....<sup>78</sup>

75. Forgotten *shadows*... the shores/ Of surf long *silenced*.../ Toward you when *silent sorrow* strikes/ I take uncertain steps./ Oh, *silent shadows*! into your kingdom/ I bring my prayers/ And with heart pure, without malice,/ Adore scorned *Beauty*. "V tsarstvi tiniv," UKh, 1913, no. 10, 604.

76. Alone and *sad* I sat .../ my cursed heart *wept* .../ And there is no *hope*/ Only the *darkness* of night/ *Silently* spreads with sadness into my house .../ Perhaps it's a dream? "Raz u vechir iasnyi," UKh, 1913, no. 11, 667.

77. I am *lonely*, but this *desert-silence*/ Is remedy for all my *suffering* .../ I am *lonely*, but you are *lonelier* still—/ There among people, amidst eternal *shouts* and *clamor*. "Sonet," UKh, 1914, no. 1, 21.

78. A stony *loneliness* has crushed by chest,/ A *mute* barrow lies atop my *exhausted* soul./ No *memories*, no *dreams*, no passion or illusion—/ Night has covered everything with its *death* shroud.../ Leave me *brothers*, I'm not of your world;/ We are *strangers* to one another, and perhaps even foes .../ Not for you are my proud temple nor my gods .../ O mob, leave me. "Final," UKh, 1914, no.

The sentiment about the mob is echoed also by Hnat Khotkevych in the phrase "Dali vid liudskykh budniv."<sup>79</sup>

Maksym Rylsky contributed several interesting pieces of prose. One, "Tyshyna" [Silence], paints in exceptional detail a series of fragmentary lyrical scenes from nature. It contains some typical Modernist traits, among them these sentences: "Тишина — така повна, спокійна тишина, як буває тільки зимовими вечорами. Світ — ніби якийсь містичний, такий, якого ніколи не буває весною, літом, восени. На снігу скрізь блакитні плями."<sup>80</sup>

Mamontov, in the short story "Morituri te Salutant," places his characters in a rural setting, which elicits associations of sincerity and harmony: "Денис і Марина йшли за місто.... В кожному погляді були щирі, як природа, і на кожному кроці — гармонійні, як акорд. Так іде Молодість в таємничі пустелі Будучности."<sup>81</sup>

Another set of key words, which function as logical extensions of the preceding, are those that connote dreaming, reveries, deep mental absorption, and, more broadly, any altered psychological state, such as hallucination or even madness (one of Halyna Zhurba's novellas is called "Hysteria").<sup>82</sup> Bohatsky's narrator in the aforementioned "Etude" remarks: "Ja v nezvychainomu stani.... Moia dusha roskololas."<sup>83</sup> These

6, 427.

79. Away from human cares. "Z tsykliu 'Hirski akvareli,'" UKh, 1912, no. 6, 309.

80. Silence—such full, calm silence as only occurs during winter nights. The world seems somehow *mystical*, the way it never is in spring, summer, [or] fall. Everywhere on the snow there are *azure* spots. UKh, 1912, no. 7–8, 390 (the work continues in 1912, no. 9–10). Cf. also Rylsky's "Hlas vopriiushchoho": "Пишу під шум людської річки, але не в ритм з нею.... І раптом мені здається щось зовсім інше: кругом так тихо, так тихо. Весь город вимер — ні душі.... І невже я — один, що прокинувся у царстві сплячих чи воскрес у царстві мертвих?" [I write this to the sound of the human river, but not to its rhythm.... And suddenly I feel something entirely different: all around it's so quiet, so quiet. The entire city is dead—[there's] not a soul.... Am I really the only one who awoke in the kingdom of the somnolent or was resurrected in the kingdom of the dead?]. UKh, 1913, no. 6, 337. Also on this theme, see Ia. Mamontov's "V okeani tyshi," UKh, 1913, no. 9, 515; and H. Chuprynka, "Tykhaia Nadmohylnaia," UKh, 1911, no. 7–8, 269.

81. Denys and Maryna were walking out of the town.... In their every glance they were as *sincere* as nature, and in their every step they were as *harmonious* as a *chord*. This is how Youth enters into the mysterious *deserts* of the Future. UKh, 1914, no. 3–4, 239.

82. "Histeriia," UKh, 1913, no. 1, 3–12; no. 2, 90–100.

83. I am in an unusual state.... My soul has split in two. UKh, 1912, no. 6, 328.



anomalous mental episodes are generally desirable and embraced willingly. Consider Mamontov:

Соловейка спів каскадний,  
Млосні пахощі акацій —  
Вводять душу в світ принадний,  
В грішний світ *галюцинацій*...<sup>84</sup>

The unknown Oles Zhykharenko declaims (obviously rejecting the "mob," which, by definition, is not prey to these states):

Лишіть мені моє, так-зване, *божевілья*, [...]  
*Думками, мріями щасливий і свободний!*<sup>85</sup>

Dream and reverie are desirable because they are equated with creativity. Consider these lines by Mykola Filiansky:

На лоні *мрій*, на прірвах *дум*  
Душа *поетова* носилась...<sup>86</sup>

Given the close bond between nature and the poet, these psychological states become transferable from one to the other. Rylsky, for example, attributes them to a "Blakytnyi stav, shcho mriie i drima."<sup>87</sup> Alternately, the dream is construed as a sacred ideal. For instance, Mykhail Semenko writes:

Я не вдержу в юних грудях  
*Мрій святих* моїх...<sup>88</sup>

Hrytsko Chuprynka equates hallucinations with the magic of fairy tales:

84. The cascading song of a nightingale,/ The languid scent of acacias/ Lead the soul into an alluring world,/ Into the sinful world of *hallucinations*. "Otruta," *UKh*, 1912, no. 6, 322.

85. Leave me my so-called *madness*,/ In my *thoughts* and *dreams* I am happy and free! "Poradnykam," *UKh*, 1913, no. 10, 617.

86. In the bosom of *dreams*, on the precipices of *thoughts*/ The soul of the *poet* soared. "Ad Majorem dei gloriam," *UKh*, 1912, no. 3-4, 139.

87. An azure pond that dreams and dozes. "Z tsykliu 'Vidpochynok,'" *UKh*, 1912, no. 3-4, 169.

88. I cannot contain in my young bosom/ My *holy dreams*. "Darunok," *UKh*, 1913, no. 12, 757.

Далі-ж, далі царство дивне  
Вічних чар...[...]  
Повне казок і примар.<sup>89</sup>

And Olena Zhurlyva associates the disappearance of an ideal love (compared to a dream) with the act of waking, which is also equated with the onset of pain:

Де ж дівся сон? [...]  
Не вірять люде,  
Що серце скривджене болить,  
І що усе, що є й що буде  
душі вже біль не звеселить,...<sup>90</sup>

It follows that night and shadows are typical accessories within this context. As some of the examples already quoted indicate, the night can function both as time and as location, i.e., as a moment and place of psychological isolation. Night may serve to underscore despondency (cf. Neprytsky-Hranovsky and Karmansky above), but it is more frequently a creative period (cf. Kudrytska above). Rylsky suggests as much in the phrase "vesniani kvitky, u tykhu nich rozkvitli."<sup>91</sup> Mamontov combines a number of these associations, implying that a dream (even a delusion) is as an ideal, the source of creativity, and the very definition of a poet:

Хто не вірить в казку, в сон,  
Хто жахається омани,  
Той підляже під закон,  
Під банальність, під шаблон  
І постом той не стане.

[...] Ні, до соняшних висот  
Досягають без турбот,  
Тільки мрійники-поети!<sup>92</sup>

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89. And farther and farther there is a strange kingdom/ of eternal magic .../ Full of *fairy tales* and *apparitions*. "Dalech," UKh, 1913, no. 10, 593.

90. Where is the *dream*?/ *People* do not believe/ that a wounded heart feels *pain*,/ And everything that is and will be/ will never ease the soul's *pain*. "N. N.," UKh, 1912, no. 3-4, 201.

91. Spring flowers blooming in the quiet night. "M. Shapovalovi," UKh, 1912, no. 5, 242.

92. He who does not believe in *fairy tales* or *dreams*,/ Who fears *delusions*,/ Will victim be of rules,/ banalities, clichés/ And never be a *poet*./ No! Sunny heights are attained with ease/ Only by *dreamer-poets*! "Nad zakonom," UKh, 1914, no. 5, 359.

In another poem, Mamontov reiterates these themes in a pessimistic vein. Like Olena Zhurlyva above, his persona senses loss and deprivation on waking. Note that the dream here is posited as a victim of a noisy, populated urban environment:

*Казка розтала, як ніч за вікном...*

.....

*Обриси міста ясніють [...]*

*Чується гуркіт, і лайка, і крик.[...]*

*Сон.... о, мій сон....*

*Він розтав і уже зник ...*<sup>93</sup>

These examples should confirm that *Ukrainska khata*'s poetics adhered closely to the principles of aestheticism, subjectivism, and pessimism which lie, from the 1890s, at the very heart of Ukrainian Modernism. This is not to say that the journal was in every respect a copy of its predecessors and contemporaries. Quite the contrary. It was different in several important respects, not the least being that it succeed, like no one else before, to articulate forcefully and with sophistication the principles of the Modernist ideology, which hitherto were only intimated. *Ukrainska khata* may not have been the most self-conscious promoter of the word "Modernism," but it was unquestionably a true embodiment of the mind set. Moreover, the three major critics (Sribliansky, Ievshan, and Tovkachevsky) were beyond doubt firebrands, who raised the art of the polemic to unprecedented heights and, in this respect, served as excellent (if unintentional) role models not only for M. Semenko, the Futurist, but also those who carried their torch into the literary discussion of the 1920s.<sup>94</sup>

#### IV

There is one area in which *Ukrainska khata* staked out a position that distinguishes it from its predecessors of the 1890s and 1900s: ideologically, if not necessarily in practice, the journal conducted a persistent

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93. The *fairy tale* evaporated like the *night* outside the window .../ The shapes of the *city* are clear .../ One hears *rumbling* and *profanity* and *cries*..../ *Dream*.... Oh, my dream..../ It faded and has already vanished. "Nazustrich dnevi," *UKh*, 1913, no. 12, 758.

94. See my "Modernist Ideology and Mykola Khvylovnyi." There are many parallels between Sribliansky and Khvylovny. See especially Sribliansky's "Na suchasni temy," *UKh*, 1911, no. 3, 181-5; and his "Literaturna khvyliya," 1913, no. 1, 27 and esp. 30.

campaign against what Ievshan dubbed "the poetry of impotence"<sup>95</sup> and "whining".<sup>96</sup> Although this did not have a noticeable effect on the published works,<sup>97</sup> there was an attempt on the critics' part to move away from the metaphor of the sick soul—as we saw above, one of the central motifs of Ukrainian Modernism—in favor of images of health, strength, and recuperation. This tack, ultimately, was neither a denial of subjectivism, emotionalism, or even pessimism, but rather an attempt at demanding from the suffering poet more dignity. One observes this in Hrytsko Chuprynka's assessment of Mykola Vorony.<sup>98</sup> While altogether respectful and appreciative of the older writer, especially of his "grace, music, [and] artistic form," Chuprynka complains about Vorony's piteous and suffering tone, stating "one must be proud in one's suffering."<sup>99</sup> Chuprynka regrets that Vorony's literary protest and rebellion were indecisive, too quiet, and not sufficiently bold.<sup>100</sup> Even so, more than a year later he admires Vorony for being an "aristocrat, patrician" who is far from the "mob" and does not seek the recognition of philistines.<sup>101</sup>

One reason Chuprynka himself was prized by the critics of *Ukrainska khata* was that his poetry generally avoided "weak-spirited mumbling."<sup>102</sup> Described as "a servant of beauty and truth, a fighter for the liberation of the soul from the embrace of the socially oppressive

95. Mykola Ievshan, *Pid praporom mystetstva* (Kyiv: Petr Barskii, 1910), 15.

96. Ievshan, *Kudy my pryishly*, 33. See also his "Na literaturni temy," *UKh*, 1910, no. 2, 122.

97. Note that Mykyta Shapoval (Sribliansky) wrote a poem entitled "Dusha bolyt" (The Soul Is in Pain), which appeared in *UKh*, 1911, no. 2, 109.

98. Hr. Chuprynka, "Mykola Vorony (Poetychni vrazhinnia)," *UKh*, 1912, no. 1, 22. Chuprynka recognizes Vorony as a "leading poetic figure, the first pioneer of free aesthetic young poetry, which moves farther and farther away from the clichés of Starytsky, [and] Hrinchenko, and escapes from the dirty embrace of those critics who carry the name 'knight of the dark night' [an allusion to Iefremov]" (p. 26).

99. *Ibid.*, 26. Chuprynka demonstrates this in his own poem, "Hordist spivtsia" (Pride of a Singer), *UKh*, 1910, no. 11, 647. There he states: "Мук я кинути не можу,/ Я люблю їх і тривожу,/ — в їх горить душа моя!/[...] Не оддам я за кохання,/ Море муки і страждання,/ Де топлю найкращі сни." [I cannot abandon my agonies,/ I love and cherish them—/ My soul burns inside them!/ I will not trade for love/ the sea of agony and suffering/ In which I drown my best dreams].

100. *Ibid.*, 24.

101. See Chuprynka's review of Vorony's "V siaivi mrii" in "Literaturni vrazhinnia," *UKh*, 1913, no. 6, 348.

102. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," 103.

monkey," Chuprynska's "mystically beautiful" poetry, it was said, "separates itself from life, with its noise and ugliness." "He wanders like a dreamer, not coming in touch with anyone or anything."<sup>103</sup> This aloofness, i.e., the ability to stay above the crowd and "protest with his entire being,"<sup>104</sup> as Ievshan wrote, was Chuprynska's endearing quality. In contrast, Oleksander Oles was taken to task for singing only about "personal pain and joy." According to Sribliansky (citing Franko), this placed him among the "invalids" of literature.<sup>105</sup>

On another occasion, both Sribliansky and Ievshan took Karmansky to task for publicly lamenting the lack of respect artists received in Galician society. While they shared his basic frustration and sentiments, the two critics could not accept that he chose to complain before the "street rabble."<sup>106</sup> Such behavior was fine for lackeys, but not for creative individuals.<sup>107</sup> Advised Ievshan: respect yourself, show a sense of pride.

It is clear that this particular trait of *Ukrainska khata* was less a repudiation of Modernism than a selective elevation of one of its major principles: individualism. Ievshan and Sribliansky were intellectually less inclined toward the passive and quiescent aspects of Modernism, preferring the pride, elitism, and intellectualism that characterized Kobylanska.<sup>108</sup>

We can better position *Ukrainska khata* on the broad chronological and ideological spectrum of Ukrainian Modernism if we examine the artistic limits beyond which it was not prepared to go. The journal, much like Ukrainian Modernism in general, had a fairly monolithic conception of art as Beauty. The "beautiful" subsumed to some degree also the notion of being "cultured." Art was a universal medium of communion among educated individuals (sensitive souls) rather than a formal object. Ievshan

103. Ibid., 101–2. See also Sribliansky's review of Chuprynska's collection "Bilyi hart" in *UKh*, 1911, no. 10, 498–9; M. Sribliansky, "Na suchasni temy," *UKh*, 1911, no. 2, 116; M. Ievshan, "Poeziiia Hrytska Chuprynsky," *UKh*, 1912, no. 11–12, 636; Iu. Budiak, "Hrytsko Chuprynska ('Ohnetsvit' — poezii)," *UKh*, 1910, no. 2, 111–17; and my "Anatomy of a Literary Scandal: Mykhail' Semenko and the Origins of Ukrainian Futurism," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 4 (December 1978), 482–3.

104. Ievshan, *Kudy my pryishly*, 51.

105. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," *UKh*, 1912, no. 3–4, 170. See also an earlier (negative) review by Sribliansky of Oles's *Knyzhka tretia* in *UKh*, 1911, no. 11–12, 590–1.

106. M. Ievshan, "Plach nad upadkom literatury," *UKh*, 1912, no. 1, 29, 30–1.

107. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," *UKh*, 1912, no. 2, 96.

108. Ievshan expresses many typical Modernist notions in a glowing review of Kobylanska. See his "Cherez kladku," *UKh*, 1913, no. 9, 545.

wrote: "Beauty is the same for everyone. Literature is the same for everyone."<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, partisan and ideological art was not art: "Of course, there is populist, proletarian, Catholic and Ukrainophile literature; but that is the point: this is 'literature,' it is not art."<sup>110</sup> The same argument held true when art betrayed a *formal* preoccupation or narrowness, thus becoming nothing but empty play. Not surprisingly, Ievshan lamented the "differentiation" of Ukrainian literature into ideological and formal camps:

Ukrainian literary life is moving in the direction of "de-centralization," it is fanning out; some kind of stupid "differentiation" is beginning. Various party grouping are spawning, *family interests take precedent over the noble emulation of individual servants of art*. [We face] group particularism, all kinds of "borders." ... As a consequence, even among us a literary industry is springing up, even among us literary movements and all manner of self-interest set the pace, *rather than the talented individual*.<sup>111</sup>

Ievshan also reacted negatively to those literary works and writers in Galicia who enjoyed "rising above the 'gray masses' with the aid of effective poses and more effective appearances."<sup>112</sup> A writer of this ilk "in order to rise above the 'mob,' ... acts like a comedian who demonstrates his 'tricks' before the public.... All this is loud, unpalatable, and an offense to dignity."<sup>113</sup>

Consequently, we have a very sad situation: Coming out in the defense of art, its rights and rules, we have *genuinely creative individuals of high intellect* as well as *comedians*, all kinds of *word fetishists*, people who are irresponsible for their actions. They join the warriors who struggle for art, they operate with identical words, promote the same slogans, and propagate the same values, but they do more harm to art than [art's] enemies: they compromise it, they soil high ideals with low instincts, they bring them into the marketplace, and are even capable of destroying a genius if he comes into conflict with them while trying to rid himself of them.<sup>114</sup>

Obviously, art is conceived in terms of great individuals, geniuses—not in terms of movements (styles), which are perceived as petty.<sup>115</sup>

109. M. Ievshan, "Ukrainska literatura v 1913 rotsi," *UKh*, 1914, no. 1, 39.

110. *Ibid.*, 40.

111. My emphasis. *Ibid.*, 49.

112. M. Ievshan, "Literaturni zamitky (Nainovisha liryka halytskoi Ukrainy)," *UKh*, 1913, no. 11, 698.

113. *Ibid.*, 699.

114. My emphasis. *Ibid.*, 698–9.

115. The following is a typical pronouncement by Ievshan: "In turning now to



Content (cultured, noble, idealistic, philosophical) and the dignity of the artist remain preeminent values. Buffoonery or any obvious focus on the medium itself was an affront to art's intellectual, sacred, and high calling ("For sacred poetry I eternally create ideals," wrote Chuprynka).<sup>116</sup> Ievshan avowed that self-conscious play with form was a sign of intellectual poverty. He warned against a Ukrainian art that might be "without ideas." "[When] bereft of content, [writers] take form for content and get pleasure from it," he wrote with disapproval.<sup>117</sup> This is not to say that *Ukrainska khata* was completely insensitive to form. Writers were taken to task for clichés and lack of originality. Sribliansky, for example, wrote: "The artistic device of our contemporary literature is allegory.... These are cheap effects.... In this respect, O. Oles has sinned most against our new literature.... It is time to understand that this has nothing to do with art. Can it really be that Ukrainians have not read the works of O. Kobylanska, Knut Hamsun, Ibsen, [and] Maeterlinck, and thus do not comprehend what is symbolism?"<sup>118</sup>

Such criticism, of course, also reveals much in terms of what constituted originality and what passed for literary authority in *Ukrainska khata*. The aesthetic here was anything but formalistic or devoted to experimentation. The preeminent civilizing role the journal attributed to art did not leave much room for deviation from time-tested "cultured" norms. Both content and form had clear boundaries for the critics in *Ukrainska khata*, and writers ventured beyond them at their own risk. Semenko's Futurism is probably the best example of how violently and irrationally the journal reacted to formalism, especially when it transgressed against "content" and violated the uniqueness of Ukrainian "national" culture by taking its cue from Russia.<sup>119</sup> Volodymyr Vynnychenko can serve as another instance of how some type of content (e.g., "tendentious" Marxism and decadent themes) could seriously offend *Ukrainska khata*. Even though Vynnychenko was recognized as one of the great writers of the period

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Shevchenko's aesthetics, I again do not wish to focus on narrow and dry formal issues; I again take the creative individuality of Shevchenko as my point of departure...." M. Ievshan, "Taras Shevchenko," *UKh*, 1911, no. 3, 154. See also his attack on "pointless play with words and form," in "Na literaturni temy," *UKh*, 1910, no. 2, 120.

116. "Chary poezii," *UKh*, 1913, no. 6, 324.

117. Ievshan, "Na literaturni temy," 119. Tovkachevsky suggests that one of the definitions of "decadence" is "a stylization of form [and] the neglect of content." ("Kudy my pryishly," 571).

118. Sribliansky, "Borotba za indyvidualnist," *UKh*, 1912, no. 3-4, 172-3.

119. For details see my "Anatomy of a Literary Scandal," 467-99.

and published in the journal, Ievshan maintained that the moment he began writing "in accordance with a [political] program," he stopped being a writer.<sup>120</sup> Sribliansky accused Vynnychenko of "imposing on art mandates that are alien to it,"<sup>121</sup> and objected to the "excesses" in his works, complaining about the sexual themes, their pathology, degeneracy, and unnaturalness.<sup>122</sup> It is interesting that in this instance Sribliansky shows a marked preference for Oles, stating that he "treats the problem of sex much more aesthetically, and therefore there is more poetry in [his work]."<sup>123</sup> Although a fervent exponent of individualism, Sribliansky concluded that Vynnychenko's variety of individualism was vulgarized, hypertrophied, and ethically repulsive.

*Ukrainska khata* is a good illustration of what were doubtlessly the core characteristics of Ukrainian Modernism. The journal inherited, summarized, and intensified many of the earliest aspects of the movement while setting in motion others that would continue to reverberate well into the 1920s. It shows that Modernism in Ukraine was a complex cultural discourse that affected the entire social order. Primarily, it reveals Modernism to have been a self-conscious movement by and for the intelligentsia that was determined to create a national culture. *Ukrainska khata* serves as an excellent barometer of literary taste on the eve of the differentiation of the artistic process. While unquestionably avant-gardist in its cultural and political stance, it also proved to be rather conservative in terms of style, form, and themes and unsuccessfully tried to stem developments at the margins of the Ukrainian literary process. Nonetheless, its profile is so clear that it helps set off these other, less dominant stylistic and ideological aspects of Modernism. It tells us that Vynnychenko readily tapped into Modernist elements that the critics in *Ukrainska khata* feared. It confirms that Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky exploited many mainstream Modernist themes and images (especially in works such as "Intermezzo" and "Tsvit iabluni") and did so in ways unmatched by other writers. It makes clear that Vasyl Stefanyk staked out a powerful and original position on the Modernist landscape. Finally, it is easy to conclude that the journal *Muzahet* (1919) was a direct descendent of *Ukrainska khata*, but Futurism, although inspired by it, was a cognizant rebellion against its stylistic and ideological dictates.

120. Ievshan, "Ukrainska literatura v 1913 rotsi," 40.

121. M. Sribliansky, "Literaturna khvyliia," *UKh*, 1913, no. 1, 35.

122. Sribliansky, "Borotba zaindyvidualnist," *UKh*, 1912, no. 2, 107. On Vynnychenko, see also Sribliansky's "Na suchasni temy," *UKh*, 1911, no. 3, 171-4.

123. Sribliansky, "Borotba zaindyvidualnist," *UKh*, 1912, no. 3-4, 171.



# Feminism, Modernism, and Ukrainian Women

*Maxim Tarnawsky*

The interrelations of the three elements delineated in the title of this essay are problematical. I shall begin with four paradoxes.

1. The contents page of the 1984 American reprint of *Перший вінок*, the 1887 anthology of women's writing, lists an essay by Natalia Kobrynska, "Українське жіноцтво в Галичині в наших часах." The original title of this important essay is "Руське жіноцтво в Галичині в наших часах." The reasons for this editorial change are obvious, and the decision to make it is understandable. But the change is symptomatic of a general problem in Ukrainian feminism and particularly with the Ukrainian women's movement at the turn of the century.

2. One of the principal goals of Ukrainian feminists at the turn of the century was, quite logically, to reveal the conditions that women endured in Ukrainian society. To advocate change it is necessary first to show a need for it. Naturally literature, particularly short prose, was a useful tool for describing existing social conditions. The use of literature as a tool in a social-reform action was particularly appropriate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because the prevailing literary style at that time, particularly in Ukrainian literature, was realism. What better tool for the feminist crusader could there be than a socially oriented literary style that put primary emphasis on the depiction of social conditions, especially the oppressed lower classes? But this fortuitous confluence of prevailing literary style with the need for feminist agitation put the movement at odds with the new literary trend, Modernism, that was developing at this time. Ironically, a social reform movement found itself tied to an outdated literary style.

3. Two of the most important leaders and spokespersons for the Ukrainian women's movement at the beginning of the twentieth century were Lesia Ukrainka and Olha Kobylianska. Their works offer a portrayal

of the various social, domestic, and personal difficulties Ukrainian women faced, as well as a reasoned, logical appeal for concrete steps to improve these conditions. But both authors are also heavily influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche, who is notorious as a misogynist and rarely considered a bulwark of feminist thinking.

4. The fourth paradox is really just a curiosity rather than logical contradiction. Feminism in Ukrainian literature at the turn of the century found its strongest advocates in men. Women writing at this time either do not take up the cause, took it up half-heartedly, diluted it with other issues, or were insufficiently skilled to do it effectively.

These four paradoxes capture many of the central characteristics of the women's question in turn-of-the-century Ukrainian culture. This is not to say that there is something unusual or peculiar about the development of feminism in Ukraine, but rather that this movement, like all cultural phenomena, can only be examined in its particular context.

The tension between the national question and all other social and cultural issues is a basic feature of Ukrainian history. The emendation of the title of Kobrynska's essay in the reprint of the *Перший вінок* anthology was the result of the nationalist sentiments of the editors in 1984. But the same sentiment is evident in the essay itself. First of all, as the title makes plain, the essay is about women of one nationality. There is no pretence of international women's solidarity. Kobrynska does not allow for one moment the possibility that Polish, Jewish, or even Polonized Ukrainian women living in Western Ukraine endure some of the same difficulties that Ukrainian women experience. This is not particularly surprising given the circumstances, but that is precisely my point. For a certain group of people the national question so fully dominated all spheres of thought and activity that the suggestion that things might have been otherwise is almost untenable. The term "Ukrainian women" is generally assumed to designate ethnic rather than geographic self-identification or even hereditary selection. This approach is underscored in Kobrynska's essay by her inclusion of both peasant and intellectual ethnic Ukrainian women. National solidarity overcomes class distinction, but not women's solidarity. The closest Kobrynska comes to women's solidarity occurs in her discussion of "Wandas," Ukrainian women who adopt Polish fashions and enter ethnic Polish society. This behaviour, she argues, is, at least in part, a misdirected but understandable attempt by Ukrainian women to escape Ukrainian patriarchal society. In a similar vein, a few paragraphs later, Kobrynska laments the additional burden placed on Ukrainian women by the growing popularity of higher education for Ukrainian men.

In recent times the national campaign for the development of a secular intelligentsia has raised the intellectual level, but it has had a negative impact on women's and family interests. A graduate of a [theological] seminary who has been ordained into the clergy often consumes his wife's entire fortune for the repayment of his debts. But at least he offers her support, and the demands on the resources of his own family are thereby reduced. But a student at a secular faculty often drains his family's resources to the last drop to pay for his own education and then goes off and marries a Pole or a German, leaving his sisters to the will of God and fortune, without any resources and without any preparation for gainful employment.<sup>1</sup>

It is not my purpose here to enforce any particular definition of feminism or to suggest that something is wrong or hypocritical in one stance or another. It is, however, a point worth noting that Kobrynska's ideas about seminarians and college students puts a lower value on Polish women than on Ukrainian women. Inasmuch as it appears as part of a political essay whose major function is to call attention to existing social conditions, it is merely a reflection of mundane reality. But to the extent that it reflects underlying intellectual principles, it is a marker of the cultural ambiguity of the women's movement in Ukraine. Can feminism and Ukrainian patriotism be reconciled?

The same ambiguity reflected in Kobrynska's political essay can be found in literary works, particularly in prose. In 1884, when her essay appeared, Modernism was not yet a movement to be reckoned with. The relationship between Modernism and feminism developed over time. The earliest works with a feminist undercurrent were realistic depictions of social circumstances. Modernist features slowly penetrated Ukrainian literature, and the women's question gradually entered a new stylistic environment. Good examples of this kind of work can be seen in Liubov Ianovska's novel from 1900 entitled *Horodianka*, or in Ievheniia Iaroshynska's 1903 novel *Perekynchyky*. Both works are still largely realist novels, although Iaroshynska's *Perekynchyky* has elements of psychological portraiture that stretch realism and anticipate Les Martovych's *Zabobon*. The authors of both works pay particular attention to the position of women in the society they depict.

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1. Natalia Kobrynska, "Ukrainske zhinotstvo v Halychyni v nashykh chasakh," in *Pershyi vinok: Zhinochyi almanakh*, ed. Natalia Kobrynska and Olena Pchilka, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Ukrainian Women's League of America, 1984), 92. (A review of this edition, by Marta Horban-Carynnyk, appeared on pp. 98–101 of the winter 1985 issue of this journal—Ed.)

Ianovska's heroine is Priska Husak, who was sent by her parents to work in the city during financially difficult times for the family. When she returns home eight years later, she is unfit for village life. Her arranged marriage with the village nincompoop is a predictable disaster. And here Ianovska shows her feminist stuff and allows her heroine, without the author's approval but with considerable sympathy, to leave her husband and take off on her own back to the city. The ensuing story is a tale of woe and misery reminiscent of the works of the English eighteenth-century moralist Samuel Richardson, whose notorious *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, despite the attention they gave to a variety of women's problems, are hardly feminist works. Priska endures one outrage after another. She is taken advantage of, punished, humiliated, and otherwise suffers all the troubles that an urban environment can throw at a single, poor, and defenceless woman. Combined with the additional difficulties arising from single parenting and disease, these troubles spell out an inescapable doomed circle of biblically melodramatic proportions.

The position of women in society is not the primary focus in this novel, but it is certainly a factor. Priska's arranged marriage, the discussions of wife beating, and the depiction of her life in the city all indicate that Ianovska is aware of the women's question as a distinct topic. But the central issue in this novel, as the title indicates, is the role of the city, the source and locus of all evil. Priska's fatal flaw was her early exposure to and infatuation with the city. Ianovska points out that this is part of a common pattern of sending girls out of the family to earn wages, but no particular emphasis is placed here. On the contrary, the village—its community and the family values it fosters—are presented as the epitome of virtue. The contrast of city and village in this work follows traditional patterns familiar in many cultures, not only the Ukrainian. The village is the source of family values and community support. The city is a den of iniquity and corruption where sinful temptations abound and neighbours cannot be expected to help in times of need. As Ianovska makes evident in her novel and as we all know from history, the Ukrainian city had the further quality of being foreign. Horpyna, Melashka, Hanna, Maksym, Danylo, and Trokhym live in the village. The city is inhabited by transplanted villagers, and its wealthier natives, such as the Bogoliubovs, the Steinmilchs, the Rybalkins, and the ever-present Leiba, are not ethnic Ukrainians. So, in the personal and ideological struggle that characterizes Priska's existence, the choice of freedom and personal growth is associated with sinfulness and denationalization. The polarity is pointedly repeated in the final pages of the story. Uncle Maksym has brought the dying Priska and her daughter, Halia, back to

the village. In answer to his accolade for the village, Priska still sings the praises of the city:

"Багацько ... багацько там добра!" мовила вдруге молодиця. "Книгарні, театри, музика, вволю світа, тепла, щастя, життя, достатків ... усе, чого душа забажає, все є в городі. Ні, не з дурного то розуму, дядечку, тікають люди з села."

Максим скипів.

"Ти таки своєї співаєш! Не покинула й досі норівів! Сама душа у тілі, а ще не каєшся...."

"Чого ж мені каятися? Чи людині не вільно шукати собі кращого життя?"<sup>2</sup>

Of course, when the choice is between freedom and Ukrainian patriarchal society, even near-feminists choose the Ukrainian village. Priska's dying wish is that her family never allow her daughter, Halia, into the city. In the space of a single page, Ianovska manages to subdue her protagonist's devotion to urban liberties.

Iaroshynska's *Perekynchyky* is another work that shows a similar opposition between feminist and ethno-national values. Once again, as in the case of Ianovska, the author is aware of the feminist dimensions of the issues she depicts; indeed, she explicitly targets some of them, but in the final analysis chooses to subordinate the feminist perspective to the national one. The complex Victorian plot line revolves around three young women and their boyfriends, husbands, and lovers. Two of the women are sisters. Ahlaia and Sofiia are the daughters of a dim-witted priest and his free-spirited wife. Ahlaia agrees to a loveless marriage with the blockhead Erakles to avoid the horrors of spinsterhood. Erakles eventually brings her home to her mother when he discovers she's pregnant with another man's child. The child later dies of diphtheria, and the couple are partially reconciled. Sofiia, the younger sister, avoids the dangers of imposed, loveless marriages and runs off with a handsome young preceptor. But he has no money, and her proud mother must swallow hard and do what she can to rescue her daughter. The sins of the mother, *protopopykha* Stefaniia, end up haunting her son as well when he falls in love with the diligent, intelligent, and virtuous daughter of a neighbouring landowner, only to discover that she is actually his sister. The sisters and their mother are contrasted with the third young woman,

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2. Liubov Ianovska, *Horodianka*, in her *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1991), 560. It is a little-known fact of Ukrainian literature that anyone with the name Maksym should always be trusted.



Anna, who is actually the orphaned granddaughter of Stefaniia's older sister.

Anna and her relation to Kost Antoniuk are the central focus of the story. Both of these young people are idealists who want to better themselves. Kost is a peasant's son who is studying medicine at the university in Vienna. Anna loses her chance to continue her education when her aunt, *protopopykha* Stefaniia, "borrows" her inheritance to help pay for Ahlaia's wedding. During Kost's visits back to his native village, he and Anna read Shevchenko and Fedkovych together. But Kost's own family treats him as a stranger and a "lost son." In their eyes he has become a пан, a member of the wealthy, privileged, and foreign classes. In Vienna Kost has, indeed, succumbed to the pernicious influences of the city. He falls in love with the daughter of a wealthy Romanian magnate and joins a Romanian student club and denies his Ukrainian background. Meanwhile Anna is left to suffer the indignities of the patriarchal village. But she befriends Oktaviia, her aunt's extramarital daughter, and together they lay idealistic plans for work among the benighted Ukrainian villagers. When Kost finally sinks to the bottom of urban depravity and eventually returns home to die, Anna inherits the role of a never elaborate married widow and selflessly dedicates her now loveless life to serving the *narod*. Her graveside oration makes clear the connection between the national and women's questions. Kost, she explains, fell victim to the consequences of a foreign education:

А чому в нас жінки та дівчата інакші—се має свій корінь у тім, що їх не вчать, які обов'язки мають вони зглядом суспільності, лиш яких прав вони мають домагатися від неї. Цілю пересічного жіночого життя є забава. З ким і як вона бавиться, се їй байдуже, аби лиш заповнити ненависний час, аби забити нудьгу і порожнечу. Чи стратить при тім свою честь, свою гідність, се байдуже, аби могла лиш затримати своє добре ім'я, аби перед людьми уходила за чесну. А се походить ще й з того, що в наших жінок замало патріотичного почуття; доки так буде, доти буде падати ще багато жертв на полі космополітизму, буде ще багато таких, що будуть чутися нещасливими.<sup>3</sup>

Iaroshynska plainly sees that the problem facing women is a result of social norms that restrict their role in life. Indeed, the boredom and emptiness she describes in women's lives goes a long way toward explaining the frivolity she chastises them for. But she does not see what Kobrynska saw in the case of "Wandas"—that entrapped women seek

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3. Ievheniia Iaroshynska, *Perekynchyky*, in her *Tvory* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1968), 350–1.

any means, sometimes foolish ones, of escape. Escaping, searching for liberty, is not something Iaroshynska allows. A woman must serve, and her role is doubly rewarding when her servitude is adopted as a model by men, as it is at the end of this novel by the *protopopykha's* son.

The relation between feminism and nationalism evident in Iaroshynska's and Ianovska's novels is characteristic of works by women written early in the Modernist period and largely in a realist style. Later works by younger women reveal a different perception of these issues. But even contemporaries such as Olha Kobylianska have a different sense of the issues involved. The key difference here is not in the view of the national question, but in the relative value of self-fulfilment. Kobylianska is an exceptional figure in Ukrainian literature, and not just there, precisely because she is a passionate advocate of personal liberation for women. Her novel *Tsarivna*, which was completed in 1895 before either of the two works examined above, is the most direct and most sensitive treatment of the women's issue in Ukraine at that time.

In *Tsarivna*, unlike other works, the notion that women suffer discrimination because of their gender is addressed directly. In the very first chapter, Kobylianska has the insufferable Muno, the male student who will bankrupt the family to get an education, announce to his sisters and cousin: "Мужчина то 'всьо', а жінка то 'нічо'. Ви дівчата від нас залежні, як ті рослини від сонця, від воздуха.... Ми надаєм вам змислу, поваги, значіння, одним словом, все."<sup>4</sup> This provocation establishes the framework in which the female protagonist of the novel exists. Kobylianska stages this scene in the presence of a number of women in order to contrast their varying reactions. Muno's mother laughs, his sister smiles. But Natalka Verkovychivna can neither ignore nor endure this injustice. Her entire life is a struggle to escape the constraints imposed on her by society, particularly those that arise by virtue of her sex. But Natalka does not battle on behalf of her gender. She does not fight for women's rights—she struggles for personal freedom. Where Iaroshynska presented a number of women and compared their various responses to discrimination, Kobylianska presents other women merely to dismiss them. Natalka is not a member of a group of oppressed individuals. She is an extraordinary individual with particular needs and difficulties. Her personal challenge is to discover a mode of existence that will not hinder her personal development but yet society will tolerate.

This approach to social ills is, of course, essentially Nietzschean. Kobylianska is more than casually indebted to the creator of the

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4. Olha Kobylianska, *Tsarivna* (New York: Surma, 1954), 27–8.

Superman. His name appears with some regularity in her works, including *Tsarivna*. This is not the place to discuss how accurately or how completely Kobylanska or any other east European writer in the early twentieth century understood the ideas of the German philosopher. But Kobylanska's notions of a general human malaise and of individuals who escape this malaise by rising above the social norm are clearly indebted to Nietzsche and are significantly out of step with basic feminist principles. Natalka Verkovychivna is not fighting for the equalization of women with men. She is trying to achieve her own full potential. Her ability to achieve this goal is blocked by many factors, only one of which is discrimination against women. Two other important factors hinder her development. One is nationality and the other is pride. The question of nationality is not given major attention in this work. Verkovychivna, like many of her literary predecessors, is drawn to the idea of service to her oppressed nation. But she must escape her ethnic milieu to win her freedom. She leaves the home of her uncle, takes a position in the home of an elderly Croatian woman named Marko, and eventually marries her son. Although Mrs. Marko and her son have a very positive attitude toward Natalka's devotion to her nation, in the novel this relation is seen as a necessary compromise between personal and national interests.

The most important compromise in the novel, the one that forms its central theme, is the one between personal ambitions and the limits and demands imposed by interaction with other individuals. In philosophical terms it is the gap between the self and the other. In social terms it is the conflict between the individual and society. In sexual terms it is the difference between instinct and accepted norms. In feminist terms it is the divergence between the struggle for liberation and the need for harmonious coexistence. All of these elements are subsumed in Natalka Verkovychivna's battle with pride. Throughout the novel Kobylanska shows her protagonist in circumstances where she must decide whether to compromise her ideals, whether to accept partial success rather than risk total failure. This is best illustrated in Natalka's relations with Oriadyn and Ivan Marko. In many ways Oriadyn is an incarnation of Natalka's sexual fantasy. On an instinctive level, he is everything she could wish for. But he is not an idealist. He does not embody all of the social refinements she prizes. In the final analysis, Natalka is frightened by her own sexuality and jumps to the other extreme. Her relation to Ivan Marko is characterized by his near-total physical absence. Like his mother, he treats Natalka with deep intellectual respect. Her idealism grows to extraordinary heights during her stay with Mrs. Marko. But Mrs. Marko dies, and her son turns out to be a man like all others. Natalka denies the physical attraction between them as long as she can, but eventually she chooses



"life" and accepts him as a husband. Intellectual idealism and sexual liberation are both rejected as extremes. Nietzsche and Darwin (or is it Freud?) are forced to compromise, as are nationalism and feminism and any other ism Kobylanska perceives as a unitary system. The aeolian harp Ivan Marko hangs for his bride in the orchard of their home is typical of Kobylanska's romantic symbols and her vision of balance and harmony. The proud and lofty image of a princess often repeated in the novel, and with which the novel ends, is balanced by the image of Natahka as a flower at her lover's feet. How could Kobylanska the feminist write: "'Марко!' кликнула вона півголосом і кинулась, як стріла по сходах до його—ні, не як стріла, але як рожа, кинена кимсь йому на зустріч?"<sup>5</sup>

Of all the women who addressed the women's question in Ukrainian literature at the beginning of the twentieth century, Lesia Ukrainka certainly had the clearest sense of the complexities and interrelations of this issue. This is hardly surprising. Whatever her skills as a writer, Lesia Ukrainka was one of the finest analytical minds in Ukraine at that time. But it is not intelligence alone that distinguishes her work. Her single-minded devotion to the intellectualization of all problems, coupled with her choice of a peculiar dramatic genre, distinguishes her works from those we have examined above. With Lesia Ukrainka, there is no risk that a theoretical issue will dissolve into mundane descriptions of social ills. The women's question is a real issue for her, and she addresses it head-on and explicitly analyzes its relation to other issues, such as the national question or the problem of personal happiness.

Lesia Ukrainka touches on the women's question in practically all of her dramatic works. In many of her plays, including *Kassandra*, *Lisova pisnia*, *Boiarynia*, *Rufin i Pristsilla*, and even *Kaminnyi hospodar*, feminism is explicitly contrasted with other ideological formulations in order to examine the problems and contradictions that arise between them. In *Kassandra*, for example, there are serious issues of state behind the betrothal of Kassandra to Onomai. Troy desperately needs fresh troops or it will fall. Onomai offers his army in exchange for Kassandra's hand in marriage. Kassandra is certainly a patriot, but she doesn't appreciate being sold as a commodity. Of course, Lesia Ukrainka complicates the issue with other considerations, but clearly feminist and patriotic impulses are at odds here.

Among the other issues involved here it is important to note two in particular. They form the basic thematic substance of this play and are

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5. Kobylanska, *Tsarivna*, 432.

usually the primary subject of Lesia Ukrainka's philosophical deliberations. Cassandra is torn between her allegiance to Truth and the variety of personal, familial, national, and social threads that tie her to her fellow humans. The higher value, which in Cassandra's case is defined as Truth, in other plays becomes either natural law (in *Lisova pisnia*), absolute love (in *Rufin i Pristsilla*), personal self-fulfilment (in *Kaminnyi hospodar*), or some other challenge to the simple value system her characters want to adopt. Lesia Ukrainka does not actually believe in any unequivocal values, but her intellectual universe is always populated with absolutes of one kind or another. The distance between these absolutes and real life, with its social interaction, is the basic subtext of all of her plays. In such an environment no choice can be made without compromise. Feminist values do not define social reality; they complicate it. In *Kaminnyi hospodar* feminist liberation becomes social entrapment. Every system of values restricts its adherents. The personal freedom associated with Nietzschean superiority cannot be reconciled with the limits that are placed on individual behaviour to achieve social equality.

The connection between feminism and Modernism in Lesia Ukrainka's plays is even more problematical. By traditional yardsticks she is not a Modernist at all. But her formulation of the women's question is certainly clearer and more central to her works than it was in the works of the writers examined above. Perhaps the fact that she is not writing prose helps her to escape the lure of description and concentrate on the ideological question. But the genre of intellectual drama she adopts is not associated with Modernist theatre.

Another unconventional dramatist, but one whose Modernist credentials are not in dispute, is Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Although Vynnychenko is not a champion of feminism, the women's question appears in his works with a clarity and focus that it does not receive from any of the women writers examined above. Whether because he was writing drama or because he was a man and a non-feminist, Vynnychenko allowed feminist issues to appear in his plays without ambivalence or qualification. Like Lesia Ukrainka, Vynnychenko often creates situations that will produce the intellectual conflict he is looking for. Since he frequently tackles the problem of sexual ethics, feminism is one side of the conflict he is trying to present. In plays such as *Zakon* or *Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid* the idea of women's equality is presented very forcefully. It is true that Vynnychenko then goes on to undermine this position and challenge it with a variety of weapons; nevertheless, feminist ideas have been given an explicit (if not exactly fair) hearing. When Ryta (the "black panther") runs away from Kornii Kanevych (the "white bear") in act two and spends an evening in a bar with her

husband's artist friends, feminist issues have been stated with considerable candour. But the cards are stacked against her despite the outcome in the café, where Kornii wins back Ryta in a game of cards. Vynnychenko will not give her freedom. But he has let her make her case for it without real interference.

Thus I conclude where I began. The relations among feminism, Modernism, and Ukrainian women are problematical and paradoxical. There is nothing actually very new in this. In her ground-breaking study of the Western Ukrainian women's movement, Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak says about as much just in her title, *Feminists despite Themselves*, which emphasizes the provisional, contingent nature of Ukrainian feminism.<sup>6</sup> My point has been to offer an illustration of how this worked in literature (rather than in social organizations) and to point to some of the complex ideological problems against which the Ukrainian women's movement struggled and still struggles.

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6. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988).

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# Modernism, the Avant-Garde, and Mykhailo Boichuk's Aesthetic

*Myroslav Shkandrij*

Mykhailo Boichuk (1882–1937) was one of the most important Ukrainian artists of this century. He was also a remarkable teacher and the organizer of a school of monumental painting that gained international recognition in the 1920s, winning awards and acclamation at competitions in Rome, Brussels, Venice, and other cities. Any serious investigation of the school's work became impossible after the arrest of its leading members in the terror of the mid-1930s, and it was not until 1991 that the first retrospective exhibition in sixty years was organized, at the Lviv Painting Gallery. It was accompanied by the publication of O. O. Ripko's catalogue.<sup>1</sup> In Ukraine today Boichuk has reacquired the pre-eminence he enjoyed in Lviv in the prerevolutionary years and in Kyiv in the 1920s. Annual conferences are devoted to his work. Yet, many questions concerning his art remain unanswered. How, for instance, can his aesthetic best be defined: as modern, medieval, avant-garde? Was it simply retrospective, a stylization of the archaic, "Rhamses the Second on the telephone," as Kazimir Malevich joked,<sup>2</sup> or an organic fusion of contemporary and past influences, as Iurii Sherekh has suggested?<sup>3</sup> What was Boichuk's relationship with the other artistic currents of his day that were committed to innovation? This article proposes some answers to these questions based on his own, recently published statements.

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1. O. O. Ripko, comp. *Boichuk i boichukisty, boichukism: Kataloh vystavky* (Lviv: Lvivska kartynna halereia, 1991).

2. Quoted in Oleksandr Naiden and Dmytro Horbachov, "Malevych muzhytskyi," *Khronika 2000: Nash krai*, 1992, no. 3–4, 229.

3. Iurii Sherekh, "Kolir nestrymnykh palakhtin ('Vertep' Arkadiia Liubchenka)." *MUR: Almanakh*, no. 1 (1946), 174.

Educated during this century's early years in Lviv, Vienna, Cracow, Munich, and Paris, Boichuk established a school of neo-Byzantine art in Paris in 1908, worked as an icon restorer during the prewar years at the Lviv National Museum, and in 1918 was invited to teach at the Ukrainian State Academy of Arts in Kyiv by the newly independent national government. He continued to lecture in the same institution (renamed the Kyiv State Art Institute by the Soviet regime in 1924) and trained many prominent artists.

Boichuk's school, in both its Paris and Kyiv variants, fused two main influences—primitivism (as expressed in Ukrainian folk painting) and Byzantine art, which had remained popular and widely appreciated in his country. Like Diego Rivera, with whom he is sometimes compared and whom he met in 1928, he drew on native traditions to create a distinct modern idiom.

All accounts agree that this laconic man was a brilliant and inspiring teacher. Yet there are few written records of his views. He himself published little. Most of this correspondence has been lost or destroyed, although some fragments have survived, notably his correspondence with Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and President Mykhailo Hrushevsky.<sup>4</sup> Conversations with Boichuk were recorded and published by Ievhen Bachynsky in 1952.<sup>5</sup> Particularly important for an understanding of his views are a series of notes taken in the early 1920s by his students. These "Lectures on Monumental Art by Professor M. L. Boichuk"<sup>6</sup> provide us with the most authentic and unmediated expression of his views. But it should be noted that given the postrevolutionary turmoil and Boichuk's past association with national figures such as Sheptytsky and Hrushevsky, the reader should not expect complete candour from this or similar documents. This article proposes an interpretation of the lectures, which were finally published in Ukraine several years ago,<sup>7</sup> with the aim of reconstructing Boichuk's aesthetic. It will be argued that he, like many of his generation, was a modernist with a political mission. Far from being an oxymoron, this conjunction of art and politics was the natural condition for most artists and writers in the century's early years. It was

4. See Liubov Voloshyn, "Lysty do Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptytskoho," *Obrazotvorche mystetstvo*, 1990, no. 6, 18–23; and O. Rybalka, "Mykhailo Boichuk — Mykhailu Hrushevskomu," *Obrazotvorche mystetstvo*, 1991, no. 6, 37–9.

5. Ievhen Bachynsky, "Moi zustrichi ta syliuety ukrainskykh maliariv i rizbariv na chuzhyni." *Novi dni*, 1952, no. 9, 16–21.

6. My translation of the "Lectures" follows this article.

7. "Uroky maistra: Z lektsii Mykhaila Boichuka v Kyivskomu khudozhnomu instytutu," *Nauka i kultura—Ukraina: Shchorichnyk*, 22 (1988): 444–51.



not without its complications, producing discontinuities and disjunctures in the work of some, but remarkable fusions in the work of others—Boichuk among them.

The extent of Boichuk's interaction with the movement known as *moderne* has been underplayed by later accounts of his Soviet period. The artist's ideas took shape at the turn of the century under the influence of a modernism that captivated young artists and writers throughout Central and Eastern Europe. During his five years in Poland (1899–1905), Boichuk associated with the Young Poland movement, meeting with Stanisław Wyspiański, Kazimierz Tetmajer, Tadeusz Miciński, Stefan Żeromski, and other prominent figures. Ukrainian members of this circle included Bohdan Lepky, Vasyl Stefanyk, Ostap Lutsky, Mykhailo Zhuk, Kyrylo Studynsky, and Kyrylo Trylovsky. In Munich (1905) Boichuk was a student of Franz von Stuck, the teacher of Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee; during his four years in Paris (1907–10) he associated with the symbolist artists of the Nabis Brotherhood and studied with Paul Sérusier. These international influences, however, have to be balanced against a strong nativist streak and, in particular, a sense of national obligation—a factor that distinguishes him from many west European painters.<sup>8</sup> His peasant origins and his education by patriotic Ukrainophile teachers in Western Ukraine gave Boichuk a sense of identity built on respect for tradition, his nation, and the countryside. Later, in the 1920s under Soviet rule, these nativist elements in his art and thought could only be articulated and developed to a limited degree; they often had to be justified in Marxist terms and against strong criticism. His desire to create a national school, while vigorously supported by much of the intelligentsia, encountered fierce opposition in some radical circles as a departure from “internationalism.” In the early 1920s, when he gave his lectures, he and his aesthetic were attacked precisely on the grounds that they refused to break with the past (they were seen as backward-looking, nationalist, and pro-peasant). Boichuk was compelled to elaborate his views on an art of harmony, integration, synthesis, and consolidation in both publicly staged and private debates with the left. As is evident from the lecture notes, the need to respond to attacks from radicals—in particular to the avant-garde's aesthetic of rupture—was a dominant concern for Boichuk. It is pertinent, therefore, to begin with an account of this counterposition.

The Revolution of 1917 gave rise to a number of radical trends, fashions, schools, and movements—some more eccentric and shorter-lived

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8. Ripko, 4.

than others—and a plethora of competing artistic and literary theories. Many young intellectuals associated with the futurists, constructivists, and suprematists were convinced that the citadels of reaction were collapsing around the world and that they were being called upon to develop a new civilization. Combative and self-confident, the first impulse they had was to embrace industry, technology, and the city while breaking with the what they saw as the older modernists' fetishization of subjective feelings, high art, and cultural continuity.

Among the more eccentric obsessions of the day were the desire to reduce all human responses to reflex reactions (called reflexology), and the attempts at overcoming embarrassment in the face of nudity. Proponents of the latter goal travelled on public vehicles wearing only a sash emblazoned with the words "Doloi styd!" (Down with Shame!). An intensely demystifying, analytic impulse of this kind was a common feature of many groups. It signalled a widespread desire to "rationalize," to get to essentials, to strip away from convention all decorative, local, and temporal accretions: cultural life was to be redesigned from scratch. In literature and the fine arts an exploration of fundamentals—of the basic morphology and syntax of cultural production—was under way. One commentator has written that the "concern with the immanence of matter, with the intrinsic power of the word, of the colour and of the sound lies at the very basis of the Russian [and ergo Ukrainian] Modernism."<sup>9</sup> Velimir Khlebnikov's poetics, which were related to the principles of cubism, and his search for a trans-sense language founded on speech sounds and the basic meanings inherent in the roots of words; Malevich's attempts to reduce painting to pure colour and shape; Roman Jakobson's theory of communication; the formalists' stress on literature as a sum of devices; futurist and constructivist art—all came out of this creative ferment and analytic urge.

Although the earlier, turn-of-the-century modernism had also been a major departure from received ways of thinking and feeling, the militant political nature of this later revolt suggested the need for another descriptive term: "avant-garde." In popular usage this refers to any self-consciously innovative work and is occasionally employed as a synonym for modernism: both terms signify heightened awareness of compulsive or catastrophic change in history, and both attempt to respond to new and rapidly shifting aesthetic visions. But modernism generally describes a search within innovation for a tradition of high art that might "tran-

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9. Benedikt Livshits, *The One and a Half-Eyed Archer*, trans. with an intro. and notes by John. E. Bowlit (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1977), 14.

scend or devalue the apparently disruptive social and historical change" that has generated the sensation of modernity.<sup>10</sup> It exhibits a sense of continuity with the past and desire for closure, completeness, and a sense of balance. The avant-garde, on the other hand, tends to find the tradition of high art oppressively confining and declares itself the harbinger of a radically new culture. Its purpose in embracing a self-conscious extremism is the destruction of all aesthetic and social conventions and the acceleration of society's move into the future.

The heroic age of the avant-garde, which spanned the years immediately preceding and following the Revolution of 1917, has been viewed with considerable sympathy by Western observers, who have often extolled its search for novelty and its drive to discover hidden structures and essential laws underlying cultural production. The movement exhibited great vitality, and its aggressiveness has usually been forgiven as the youthful arrogance inseparable from the impulse to change society's mores. Its supporters insist that an art that is innovative, demystificatory, or parodic modifies an individual's attitude to received ideas; that it provides moments of self-reflection that seduce away from Leviathan; and that by mocking established patterns of thought, rigid notions, and stereotypes, the avant-garde was subverting reactionary ideas and reforming consciousness.

More conservative East Europeans have challenged this assessment. Commentators with a commitment to tradition (Nadezhda Mandelshtam, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and Andrei Sinyavsky among them) have accused the avant-garde of an irresponsible flirtation with cultural nihilism and of complicity in the victory of Stalinism. Their critique, which draws, of course, on a retrospective awareness of what anti-traditionalism produced, levels its most intense attacks at the avant-garde's unique sense of political activism, its insistence that art move from representing the world to transforming it. The futurists and other radical artists demanded that art go beyond the reflection or contemplation of life and actually fuse with it in some essential manner.

This plank in their platform, along with the rejection of high art, constituted the dividing line between the avant-gardists and other modernists. Throughout the postrevolutionary decade, avant-garde manifesto after manifesto proclaimed the death of art as an emotional, subjective, contemplative category and its replacement with the purpose-

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10. Charles Russell, *Poets, Prophets, and Revolutionaries: The Literary Avant-garde from Rimbaud through Postmodernism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), viii.

ful aesthetic-political construction of the new society. Modernists, whether of prerevolutionary or postrevolutionary vintage, who had been nurtured on the idea of high art could not accept this. A distinction between these two terms appears, therefore, to be a useful way of separating writers and artists who emerged at the same time from the larger entity—modernism writ large, that is—the movement that began with the century and ended in the 1930s.

The myth of the avant-garde's innocence has also been challenged in a number of studies published in the West, and a new, less redeeming picture of its political involvement has emerged.<sup>11</sup> Their argument is that, far from avoiding power, the avant-garde demanded and claimed it for itself. At the practical level this meant offering service to the regime. Nadezhda Mandelshtam writes that Osip Brik, a leader of the Russian futurists,

turned his apartment into a place where his colleagues in the Cheka ... could meet with writers and sound out public opinion, simultaneously collecting information for their first dossiers.... Brik realized at the outset that the state would grant a monopoly to one or another of the literary movements that existed in those days, and he fought for this monopoly against numerous competitors.... In Party circles he had powerful sponsors, particularly among Chekists with artistic and literary inclinations.<sup>12</sup>

The theoretical justification that this collaboration produced is of primary interest and has been scrutinized in Boris Groys's provocative study. The chaotic life of preceding ages, the avant-garde claimed, had to be reshaped according to a unitary artistic plan; the artist, in alliance with the new political authority, would create a new, rational order. Like the Communist party, this artist had to "overcome the resistance" of materials (including "vestiges" in human consciousness). It was assumed that in the creator's hands most materials (both physical and human) could be made pliant, malleable, capable of assuming the form required. Zlata Lilina, Grigory Zinoviev's wife and director of public education in Petrograd, for example, called for the "nationalization" of all children and their removal from the oppressive influence of their families because they "like wax, are highly impressionable" and could be remade into "good,

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11. See Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); and Andrei Sinyavsky, *Soviet Civilization: A Cultural History* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1990).

12. Nadezhda Mandelshtam, *Hope against Hope: A Memoir*, trans. Max Hayward (New York: Atheneum, 1976), 171–2.

true Communists.”<sup>13</sup> The desire to eliminate all barriers between art and politics, to create a total art/politics, was eventually granted the avant-garde by the Party in the late 1920s. It was the avant-garde that originally invented the idea of “engineering human souls.” When they were given the go-ahead to do this, however, it was not to be on their own terms: the corporation held the blueprint and paid the engineers. “Stalinist culture brought out into the open the myth of the demiurge, the transformer of society and the universe, which, although it was presumed by the avant-garde, was not explicitly expressed in avant-garde artistic practice, and it set this myth in the centre of its entire social and artistic life.”<sup>14</sup>

This second, entirely mirthless view of the avant-garde describes its members as coauthors of a monstrous aesthetic-political project that later came to devour its creators. Such an appraisal destroys any apologetic picture of the movement as a coterie of brave individualists defending the rights of the personality and the virtues of individual freedom. In this second narrative it represents not the angelic force of creativity, but the demonic power of vandalism.

During the mid-1920s a broad cultural realignment took place within modernist ranks, detaching many adherents from previous alliances and setting up an opposition between supporters of high art and tradition on the one hand, and the avant-garde on the other. Many innovative writers and artists sensed the dangerous implications in the utopian, total-art project of the Soviet avant-garde and fought for a different orientation: a modernism that reaffirmed cultural continuity. In this sense modernism was a broad current that linked the 1910s with the 1920s and prewar figures such as Petro Karmansky with revolutionary ones such as Mykola Khvylovy (not to mention the more traditionally minded writers). This current, to which Boichuk belonged, was a major player in the polemics of the 1920s and has, since Communism's collapse and the Ukrainian declaration of independence in 1991, become influential once more. Why it took root in Ukraine and why it is again attracting interest has a great deal to do with the issues of tradition, nation, and countryside, but its positions initially had to be articulated as a disassociation from the avant-garde's aesthetic of rupture.

Boichuk, whose creative life exactly spans the period of modernism defined as the century's first three decades, also sought to introduce a

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13. Mikhail Heller and Aleksandr Nekrich, *Utopia in Power: A History of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present*, trans. Phyllis B. Carlos (London: Hutchinson, 1986), 61.

14. Groys, 113.



new sensibility. Like others, he had been attracted to the spontaneity and expressiveness of naive art forms. But his own interest in popular creativity stemmed from his study of Ukrainian icon painting and folk art and differed strongly from prewar Russian neoprimitivism, whose roots were in an urban grotesque. Boichuk's use of the primitive translated into an art that suggested a placid world order: controlled, contemplative, and gentle. Furthermore, he always remained a defender of high art, which he saw as the apex of the creative pyramid and linked to popular creativity through social demand.

Boichuk's approach to the modification of societal attitudes avoided shock therapy. He did not practice wholesale rejection, but accumulated and distilled past experiences: he believed that any great artistic accomplishment could only be built on the achievements of the past and should constitute a synthesis of generational experiences. His entire life became a sustained search for the great tradition, for archetypal patterns in Ukrainian culture, that could only be detected by studying *la longue durée*—time spans measured in millennia. He did not seek out the extravagant, eccentric, or estranged, but aimed at the common and representative.

These ideas on history, novelty, and commitment challenged innovators such as the futurists, constructivists, and suprematists. If one looks at three defining characteristics of the avant-garde—temporal dynamism, social antagonism, and aesthetic activism—in each case Boichuk's reformulates the issue by turning to history's lessons.

1. Temporal dynamism. Avant-garde artists perceived themselves as part of a modern culture that was constantly transforming itself and generating new art forms. They considered contemporary art superior to anything that the past had produced.

Boichuk refused to privilege the contemporary moment: "Can we claim for early twentieth-century art an exclusive place as the highest achievement in all human creativity? Of course not. Quite the contrary."<sup>15</sup>

Rupture for its own sake, in his view, led nowhere. The key question was the direction in which change was leading and who or what would do the leading:

[A]rt now finds itself ... faced with the following choices: (1) to remain attached to the existing (the backward); (2) to acquire something new that would take it out of its dead end, without a thought for the future (Lef<sup>16</sup>);

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15. This and all further quotations of Boichuk are from my translation of his "Lectures."

16. Acronym of *Levyi front* (Left Front of Art), a Russian futurist-constructivist-



or (3) to search for the true, correct path, taking support from certain givens (an active force) that can be found in definite landmarks scattered along art's long journey from primeval times through to the flowering of magnificent and diversified artistic cultures.

As for the charge that his work lacked the restless search for innovation, what Poggioli has described as "agonism,"<sup>17</sup> Boichuk replied: "Whenever someone is unsure what direction, path, to choose and thrashes around in the same spot or dashes in all directions, they are called 'multidimensional.' But when someone, having found, discovered, a definite path, resolutely pursues it, they will unflinchingly travel in one direction. This describes us too."

2. Social antagonism. The avant-garde saw itself as alienated from and critical of the dominant spiritual values of its day. Boichuk, too, rejected the materialism and positivism of the age. Like other modernists, he looked toward other periods that exhibited a spiritual harmony and unity denied his own. But the arrogance of revolutionaries and reformers who rejected the past in its entirety and saw no value in studying it appalled him: "In the last centuries, particularly in the last decades of our time, art has entered a labyrinth. There are, however, golden threads that will lead it out of this labyrinth. Accomplished works of art are the golden threads we have to grasp in order to find our way back into the light."

3. Aesthetic activism. The avant-garde believed that aesthetic disruptions and innovations would transform both consciousness and society.

This was a crucial issue. Boichuk, too, sought to educate the public aesthetically because he recognized the importance of social demand in shaping any art, but he sensed the fundamental irrationality in any attempt to treat individuals, their thoughts, and inner worlds as *tabulae rasae*, amorphous material to be ordered. The self-proclaimed artists-rulers who had set themselves above the crowd of ordinary mortals and were proclaiming their intention of reshaping everything that had hitherto seemed stable and immutable appeared to him cut off from meaningful social discourse. Theirs was "an Apocalypse grounded in dialectical materialism, devoid of divine intervention," where the idea of providence was "transformed into a historical law ordained by Marx."<sup>18</sup> Behind this maximalism Sinyavsky has detected an inverted religious feeling. Russian atheists, for all their stridency, had a religious psychol-

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formalist writers' group led by Vladimir Mayakovsky (1923–8).

17. See Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968, 1982).

18. Sinyavsky, 5.

ogy and fervour. They were resisters of God: "This partly explains the Bolsheviks' extravagant acts against sacred objects, as when they did not just remove the icons from the churches but used them to make floors for the village bath without even sanding off the saints' faces. Or when they lined them up against a wall and shot at them, as if ... the icons were living beings."<sup>19</sup>

This inverted religiosity may have contributed to the particularly violent antipathy some leftist currents felt toward Boichuk's art.

Respect for accumulated historical experience provided a corrective to this destructive impulse. Boichuk believed the creation of synthetic forms had to be "based on the observations of whole generations that have been passed down in traditions from ancestors to descendants."

The world was not a chaotic, amorphous place; its physical contours and the properties of its materials had to be slowly, painstakingly learned: "Novice artists ought to gain a practical education under the guidance of a master, study using the appropriate materials, and grasp the meaning of line and form. They should gradually become familiar with the essential properties of materials and the elemental laws of form."

Not all was mutable and malleable. The great artists of the past had pointed to recurrent cultural patterns and important constants, which could be detected through patient observation and diligent study: "Laws do not limit creativity, because the elevation (discovery) of new creative forms (expressions of creativity) enriches the laws themselves. Regulated patterns give creativity its power, constancy, and definition. Any unregulated pattern is temporary, short-lived, and shallow in its mass significance."

The demeanour Boichuk demanded of artists—sobre, courteous, and devoted—reflected his ideas on collaborative work and itself represented a challenge to the mores that dominated the bohemia of the 1920s.

John Bowlt has described Benedikt Livshits's makeup as the "superimposition of a Futurist 'stratum' ... on a Classical foundation."<sup>20</sup> A similar point could be made about Boichuk and indeed other putative revolutionaries of the day. Like Livshits, Boichuk differed from the avant-garde in his recourse to history and his respect for past masters. In the case of both artists these issues were the ones that led to a rejection of the avant-garde.

19. Sinyavsky, 11.

20. Livshits, 12.

Boichuk's aesthetic had taken form in the two decades preceding the revolution. Besides the influence of Ukrainian folk painting already mentioned, it had been shaped by a study of Assyrian, Egyptian, Greco-Roman, and Byzantine art. Boichuk's stay in Paris at the height of the experimental ferment of 1907–11 had introduced him to symbolism, fauvism, cubism, and other trends. While drawing on the experiments of others, however, he set his own course. His ideal from the first seems to have been a monumental art whose effect is memorably described in a letter to Sheptytsky: "I am deeply moved and amazed by the art of the Egyptians and Assyrians. They have shackled in stone the dreams of a secret beauty."<sup>21</sup> But his respect for great art was inextricably linked to the dream of a cultural renaissance in Ukraine. Both of his mentors, Hrushevsky and Sheptytsky (indeed Western Ukrainian intellectuals as a whole), expected him to play a leading role in a revitalization of the fine arts in Ukraine. The stress on the value of tradition was, therefore, simultaneously a result of the powerful attraction being exerted on artists by the national movement. Like other modernists who came to maturity at the turn of the century, he combined a European cultural orientation with a commitment to the goals of national liberation and reunification.

Initially many avant-gardists had been profoundly hostile to any mention of nationality. Livshits has written that he at first saw the futurists "as stateless Martians, unconnected in any way with any nationality, much less with our planet ... as creatures deprived of spinal chords, as algebraic formulae in the guise of people endowed with the wills of demiurges, as two-dimensional shadows, as perpetual abstractions."<sup>22</sup> The futurists may have agreed with Karl Marx's 1848 proclamation that "the workers have no country," but Boichuk and most Ukrainian intellectuals instinctively sided with Friedrich List's 1841 judgement that "between the individual and humanity stands the nation." Nationalism—to paraphrase Roman Szporluk—had its own approach to the dilemmas created by the confrontation of "freedom" with "organization."<sup>23</sup> Ukrainian modernism's dilemma was how to reconcile aesthetic freedom with national obligation. Not the least interesting aspect of Boichuk's modernism is how successfully he was able to combine these two strands.

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21. Voloshyn, 21.

22. Livshits, 39.

23. Roman Szporluk, *Communism and Nationalism: Karl Marx versus Friedrich List* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 9.

National considerations forced a reassessment of the conflict between the avant-garde and the traditional in the 1920s, in much the same way as it is forcing itself upon today's avant-gardists. This is not to say that Boichuk's view of art became in any way myopically nationalist or exclusionary:

Art seeks to root itself in the people among whom (in any given case) it has developed, but as soon as a work of art has been created, it becomes international. Can anyone scan those broad ranges and perceive where art is being *applied* and which masters are *creating* it? It is like water: it is present everywhere and is the same for everyone. Master artists, therefore, are to be found all over the earth, and it is foolish to speak anywhere of a narrowly-national achievement.

Boichuk was simply recognizing a fact that the avant-garde often denied: art manifests itself in a variety of national forms. In a predominantly peasant nation such as Ukraine, the valorization of popular creativity became an assertion of a peasant-national identity: "In times when art flourishes it penetrates and saturates all popular creativity, from architecture to dress (sewing, embroidery, etc.), and food (gingerbreads, Easter eggs, etc.); from poetry (words) to music it is present in popular celebrations (processions) and daily entertainments."

Social demand pointed Boichuk toward an art that spoke the vernacular (folk and Byzantine art) but aspired to the best in world art (in his estimation: the Renaissance, Giotto). Future Raphaels, he felt, would come out of strong local traditions as much as international ones. A justification for such a view could be found in Hrushevsky's first book, which not only painted the "individual physiognomy" of Kyivan cultural life (as distinct from that of other Slavic lands), but also argued that an embryonic national art existed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, created by native painters who had rapidly assimilated the lessons of Greek masters.<sup>24</sup>

The search for novelty for its own sake did not interest Boichuk, nor did the leap into the void, the breaking of paradigms—perhaps in the hope of ultimately discovering a great underlying paradigm of paradigms—appear to him a dead end. Malevich attacked him in an article written in the late 1920s, claiming that the art of the past had nothing to teach the future.<sup>25</sup> A comment by Boichuk delivered several years earlier

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24. M. Grushevsky [Hrushevsky], *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli ot smerti Iaroslava do kontsa XIV stoletiia* (Kyiv, 1891), 384.

25. See V. Malevych, "Arkitektura, stankove maliarstvo ta skulptura," *Avangard*, 1930, no. 6, 91–3.

and recorded in the "Lectures" appears to answer this charge: "There is nothing new under the sun; the most novel things are those that have been best forgotten." It is significant that Boichuk looms large in Malevich's correspondence and thoughts, particularly in the late 1920s and early 1930s, after the latter had decided to move back to Kyiv permanently. In this last, post-cubist period Malevich returned to painting the peasantry again, a fact that has led critics to suggest that "urbanism was only an episode in Malevich's biography and work" and that, in fact, his sympathies "hesitated between the town and countryside."<sup>26</sup> This same point had been made earlier by Valentine Marcadé, who speaks of a crisis that occurred in Malevich's worldview in the late 1920s following his renewed contact with Ukraine and its peasantry.<sup>27</sup> Malevich would visit Boichuk's apartment, where they continued their argument about the future art.<sup>28</sup> This leads one to suspect that they were closer in spirit than their polemical pronouncements would indicate. Both, after all, came from Podillia, and the original inspiration of both had been the icon and Ukrainian folk creativity.

It was the intersection of these two crucial movements, the avant-garde's drive for change and the national drive for consolidation, at a key juncture in their development, that produced the fissures and tensions in the work of modernists and avant-gardists alike. It is this dynamic also that makes Boichuk a complex and, in some respects, contradictory figure.

Perhaps most unaccountable is his "medieval" sensibility. Like the medievals, he aimed at an integration of values, a unity of the moral and aesthetic response to things. Art, in this view, had to instruct and to delight, but the conjunction was not to be overemphasized lest a sterile didacticism results.

Boichuk did, it appears, believe in an aesthetic of proportion, of harmony and symmetry, as his constant search for the "laws of great art" and "the secret codes of masterworks" attest. The art critic Borys Lobanovsky has speculated that the *Album* or *Livre de portraiture* of the thirteenth-century French architect Villard de Honnecourt, which is an example of the medieval ambition to discover with mathematical precision the rules of composition, was an influence on Boichuk.<sup>29</sup>

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26. Naiden and Horbachov, 214, 222.

27. Valentyna Markade, "Selianska tematyka v tvorchosti Kazymyra Severynovycha Malevycha (1878–1935)," *Suchasnist*, 1979, no. 2, 74.

28. Naiden and Horbachov, 229.

29. Heard by this author in conversation with Lobanovsky while in Kyiv.



Boichuk's ecological sanity and ontological humility before the primacy of nature was a medieval reminder to those who wished for "victory over the sun" that humanity is itself a part of a mysterious and unfathomable universe. Form, in short, was not only a resistance to, but also a compromise with material, structure, and discipline.

Boichuk's extensive study of medieval aesthetics, therefore, produced many unexpected insights into modernism; among them is what Umberto Eco has indicated as one of the most refreshing: "a method of combining Classical and modern conceptions of art."<sup>30</sup>

As already noted, Boichuk's work is symptomatic of a current. Mykola Khvylovy, perhaps the most important Ukrainian prose writer of the postrevolutionary decade, put forward in the mid-1920s a very similar critique of the avant-garde. Although at the beginning of the revolution he had called for "burning all the rottenness of feudal and bourgeois aesthetics and morals,... severing all links, denying all foregoing traditions,"<sup>31</sup> by 1925 he had emerged as a spokesman for cultural continuity.

The code words for Khvylovy's position were "contemplating reality" and "cognition," which he counterposed to the avant-garde's "changing reality" and "construction." In the 1920s writers were gradually compelled to subordinate aesthetics (cognition) to politics (construction), to refuse any romantic notion of art's "higher purpose," and to accept its role as the handmaiden of politics.

Contemplation and cognition, argued Khvylovy, were not frivolous pursuits of the leisured class, but humanity's attempts at comprehending and articulating its predicament. Art, in other words, was not a simply a sum of technical devices, but an attempt at grappling with life's imponderables, its overarching patterns and ultimate meanings. Like Boichuk, he argued that the great artistic achievements of the future would not reject the past, but would build upon its achievements. Greece, Rome, and the European Renaissance were not dead letters: they were signposts to the future. The energy of emergent nations in the East, fused with the rich intellectual traditions of Europe, would produce a surge in cultural production, a new Renaissance.

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30. Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 119.

31. Mykola Khvylovy, *The Cultural Renaissance in Ukraine: Polemical Pamphlets, 1925-1926*, trans. and ed. with an intro. by Myroslav Shkandrij (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986), 10.



This was not a novel idea. The Russian futurists also had a vision of "the experience of the West ... multiplied by the wisdom of the East."<sup>32</sup> But placing Ukraine, by virtue of its fused national- and class-liberation struggle, at the centre of this resurgence was a bold claim.

The programmes of Boichuk and Khvylovy strove for an interplay of innovation with tradition. They represented a cultural attitude with broad support. To Iurii Sherekh, Boichuk's connection to other arts of the 1920s appeared so organic that he even argued for a reading of the literary works of Khvylovy's circle (in particular Arkadii Liubchenko's "Vertep," which he interpreted as a condensation of this group's active romanticism) in the light of Boichuk's aesthetic: "The monumentality of a syncretic form, suffused with a vital spirit that soars toward heaven but simultaneously restrains itself through an essentially constructive, or even calculated, plan—if we define the medieval Gothic in this manner, then "Vertep"'s whole structure reminds us of a Gothic cathedral."<sup>33</sup> Boichuk's search for a monumental or epic form (taken up by the Ukrainian postwar émigrés of the 1940s in the call for the creation of a "great literature"), his focus on composition—both on the overall structure and the harmonization of line, colour and other elements—and his choice of generalized, symbolic images or archetypal ideas were all generated from the desire to synthesize a national experience.

It should be apparent why Boichuk's aesthetic is today still such a potent force. Its theory, like Khvylovy's, represented an intellectual justification for national culture. In much the same way as the avant-garde saw themselves as interpreters of Communism in the cultural realm, Boichuk and Khvylovy became theorists of the national difference in art. In the wake of Communism's collapse, this alternative programme now fills a vacuum.

Soviet Marxism, which postulated the proletariat as a force that transcended national identities and operated on a supranational scale, from the beginning viewed this counter-programme with suspicion. In 1933–4, when Stalin made a sudden change in nationality policy, proclaiming "local nationalism" the chief enemy, the path was cleared for a settling of accounts. On 13 May 1933, with famine raging in the countryside and mass arrests sweeping the country, Khvylovy shot himself. Boichuk was arrested in 1936. He was last seen sitting by the ruins of the twelfth-century church of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery, the second-most important architectural monument in Kyiv

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32. Livshits, 56.

33. Sherekh, 174.

after the St. Sophia Cathedral and a place Boichuk often took his students to study Byzantine art. It had been razed in that same year along with many other ancient churches ostensibly to make way for new government buildings (which were in fact never built). Boichuk was tortured, made to sign fabricated confessions, and finally executed along with other leading members of his school on 16 July 1937. The frescoes he and his students created in various parts of Ukraine were destroyed; some were sandblasted in order to completely disintegrate them. His students scattered throughout the Soviet Union to avoid arrest. Some survived. Their memoirs are now being collected, and from history's fragments the story of the Boichuk school is being recomposed.

# Mykhailo Boichuk's Lectures on Monumental Art\*

## *Basic Principles*

We understand the fine arts to be an organic unity of architecture, sculpture, and painting, but also of the arts of time and action (movement, word, sound).

It is a mistake to consider the work of any individual as the fullest expression of art's potential.

In times when art flourishes, it penetrates and saturates all popular creativity, from architecture to dress (sewing, embroidery, etc.), and food (gingerbreads, Easter eggs, etc.); from poetry (words) to music it is present in popular celebrations (processions) and daily entertainments.

Photography competes with contemporary naturalistic painting [and] optical illusions (nature, landscapes at various times of the day and under different lighting), while cinematography competes even more successfully with the contemporary illusionistic theatre.

We have become convinced that it is insufficient to observe the widest range of natural phenomena: they must be creatively transformed into synthetic forms and be based on the observations of whole generations that have been passed down in traditions from ancestors to descendants.

Novice artists ought to gain a practical education under the guidance of a master, study using appropriate materials, and grasp the meaning of line and form. They should gradually become familiar with the essential properties of materials and the elemental laws of form. In the course of collective work, they should familiarize themselves with the science of selecting, preparing, and utilizing raw materials, with the ability to choose and exploit tools; they should accept the elemental character of

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\* As reconstructed by Boichuk's students. Interpolations by the students are enclosed by parentheses and appear in italics; those by the translator are inside square brackets. The original document is preserved at the Kyiv Archive-Museum of Literature and Art, *fond* 356, *opys* 1, *odynytsia zberezheniia* 33.

materials and continually take this into account; they should reach an understanding of elemental laws and comprehend surrounding nature: stone, metal, clay, wood, the essence of colours, glue, etc. (all of which is more significant than may appear to those who are not knowledgeable).

They will be quite conscious of the fact that various linear marks made on a surface elicit different feelings. The character and place of a line determines the impression produced by it (horizontal, vertical, parallel, straight, curved, the triangle, the square; a snaking, wave-like line, for example, disturbs impressionable people. Similar effects can be produced by stereometric forms: spherical, cubic, cylindrical, etc.)

Artists qualified in their art will make use of lines to build a composition on a surface; of stereometric forms to find spatial solutions to sculptural and architectural problems; and finally of colours, which they will use on surfaces, in sculpture and architecture (if the natural colour of materials fails to satisfy them).

Everything has to be subordinated to the place and position of a given architectural whole, to its character, its content, and the goal for which it is intended. [Published in the journal of the Kyiv Institute of Plastic Arts in 1922.]

[Here follow Boichuk's words as noted down on various occasions, including his responses to attacks against his school. The earliest notes date from 20 January 1922.]

1. (*On the accusations that everyone thinks differently from us; that there are few of us, a mere handful; and that we have no prospects.*) When the winter ends, the flowers open: they are few, but we all know that spring will come and there will be thousands [more].

We ought to be happy that we are witnessing the beginning of an artistic springtime. There are not many of us, but we know that there will be a summer.

2. (*Concerning charges that the school killed individuality.*) Do not be afraid to lose your individuality. Look closely at those who produce the best work. One should not fear borrowing from another; instead one should make efforts—strive—to improve.

If one senses that something is missing in a composition, one should return to the work and try to improve it.

Collaborate on the same project. High achievement, the acquisition of skills and knowledge, all come from collective endeavour.

Individuality will express itself when a master reaches maturity.

3. (*On the question of bohemia and the issue of dissoluteness, both moral and physical, among artists.*) An artist should not search for inspiration somewhere in the heavens or create it artificially through the use of various narcotics and stimulants.

In the Middle Ages entire manuals were written instructing artists on how they should act [and] behave, and even what they should eat. There is a reason for this; it reveals a profound understanding of the importance of health in work.

Dissoluteness, the tautness of nerves that comes from the use of ether, cocaine, etc. is intolerable and disgusting. We should not have people like that among us, because they lack fresh, healthy feelings. They are doomed, they lose the talent for art.

We ought to be fresh, ought to restrain ourselves, because there are enormous tasks before us. We should remember this well.

We shall build cities, decorate buildings—we ought to create a Great Art. (“We” meaning all those who think and understand things the way we do and who will continue our traditions.) This is our creative path.

Within our workshop we should not tolerate people who are incompetent, mentally unprepared or who destroy themselves (morally or physically).

4. One method of study is the practice of making analytic sketches of formal solutions [to creative problems] by great artists in different periods—of discrete points and details—in order to gain an understanding of a work’s composition, its artistic solutions, and to investigate the elements of its artistic culture.

(4 March 1922)

(*On an incorrect appreciation of the analytic sketch as mere copying and on a nonserious attitude toward it.*) The analytic sketch is our way of reading. It is possible to look at a completed work, to be enthralled by it, and yet not understand it at all. If one were to break it down through an analytic sketch, initially by examining the links between basic elements and by revealing the rules of its compositional construction, one would read there such a wealth of wisdom that entire tomes [of theory] could not provide [as much]. The work’s date and origins we consider unimportant. Egypt or the Renaissance, a Novgorodian icon, or a piece of African folk art—all this is irrelevant.

Art seeks to root itself in the people among whom (in any given case) it has developed, but as soon as a work of art has been created, it becomes international. Can anyone scan those broad ranges and perceive where art is being *applied* and which masters are *creating* it? It is like water: it is present everywhere and is the same for everyone.



Master artists, therefore, are to be found all over the earth, and it is foolish to speak anywhere of a narrowly national achievement.

Do you think that Muscovites built the Moscow Kremlin? Or take, as another example, the range of Gothic buildings in France and other places. Who built them? Not the French and Germans alone. Various masters participated, and only a narrow sense of national "honour" blinds people of limited culture: they boastfully appropriate something that is the acquisition of all humanity, [that is] international.

Art does not end at any given place with any given fact. It is always on the move; it suffuses all nations and merely takes on a particular expression among different peoples. At the same time as the arts flourished in Italy, they reached a high level in France, and Germany, and Ukraine; and when the decline set in, it too made itself felt everywhere.

Therefore, in initiating a new artistic epoch with a search for new possibilities, we ought not to settle on one [historical period] alone; we ought to discover accomplished works in the artistic heritage of all ages and all peoples, and we should read, analyze, them in the same way that a musician "plays through" a musical work from a past age.

5. (*On the question of analyzing the primitivists in particular.*) In recent centuries, particularly in the last decades of our time, art has entered a labyrinth. There are, however, golden threads that will lead it out of this labyrinth.

Accomplished works of art are the golden threads we have to grasp in order to find our way back into the light.

6. The analytic sketch is the painstaking practical disassembling of a work of fine art through making a clear tracing of any given composition.

The sketch begins with the searching out of a form's essence and the construction of a compositional scheme, which is then studied thoroughly.

The approaches to construction can be various, but the basis task lies in discovering the rules governing connection in any given composition.

Making an analysis through the sketch is a serious and difficult undertaking, and therefore one has to begin practising on the simplest compositions and even on separate elements.

(A part is taken from the whole composition: the figure, for example, of a man, a horse, a wild animal, or a bird.)

Selection of materials for analysis should be done carefully, and to avoid confusion, the draftsmanship in the composition under study should be well-defined.

The analytic sketch should be made on a large scale whenever possible. The compositional scheme in a given form is outlined with simple lines (straight, clear) on a given surface. This scheme provides the canvas on which the composition is constructed.

Once the masses have been outlined, checked, and connected, the details pull together the form that is being drawn. During the filling in of surfaces included in the composition, the treatment of details is studied.

In taking the sketch to the required degree of completion, the artist experiences the composition, senses it, and acquires the appropriate store of knowledge that will lead him into the realm of high art and link him with a broad tradition....

Some self-confident people who have grown accustomed to the dilettantism of an age of decline do not acknowledge the value of the analytic sketch, viewing its practice as merely a form of copying.

Can we claim for early twentieth-century art an exclusive place as the highest achievement in all human creativity?

Of course not. Quite the contrary.

Official art has fallen into a deep decline, having lost its creative power and forgotten its high traditions.

Therefore art now finds itself (in terms of its historical development) faced with the following choices: (1) to remain attached to the existing (the backward); (2) to acquire something new that would take it out of its dead-end, without a thought for the future (Lef<sup>1</sup>); or (3) to search for the true, correct path, taking support from certain givens (an active force) that can be found in definite landmarks scattered along art's long journey from primeval times through to the flowering of magnificent and diversified artistic cultures.

Each person is free to choose their path. But (1) one cannot make a purse out of a sow's ear (the backward); (2) speculation is a waste of time and will hardly produce anything (Lef); and (3) it is most appropriate to search out the true path (the active force). Life itself confirms the appropriateness of such a course: the beginning, for example, of the so-called Renaissance age in Italy.

Artists of the twentieth century are in a better position than the masters of that age, for not only are the paths of ancient art directly accessible to them, but apprehension of the oldest, yet eternally young, and the latest artistic cultures, as well as of surrounding nature, the

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1. Acronym of *Levyi front* (Left Front of Art), a Russian futurist-constructivist-formalist writers' group led by Vladimir Mayakovsky (1923–8).

eternal source of creativity, are all based on conscious realization, not on mimicry.

It follows, therefore, that the above materials ought to be taken up and studied.

One should learn not just from the most recent, but from all masters. Although the old masters are dead, their eternally young art remains a vital force, and any artist who considers past creativity to be archaeology is profoundly mistaken—accomplished artistic works are not archaeology, but an eternally vital truth.

Contemporary artists will be real masters and creators of the Great Future only when they fuse with the extratemporal (the always existing) in world art, not through superficial literary familiarity (acquaintance-ship), but through the practical penetration (understanding) and the many-sided study of the creativity of artistic cultures, and when they approach this task not in the manner of an archaeologist who explains, classifies, [and] standardizes terminology and contributes notes—no—but as artistic masters who create with their own hands—create material values—and see in the creativity of ancestral fellow-artists not the values of the past (ancient values), but the vital value of creativity.

Having fused with artistic culture as a totality, these artists will no longer wander lost, but will travel a definite path, basing their creative work on the rich materials in the surrounding natural and human world, materials transformed by a developed artistic sensibility and given form in accordance with the artist's level of achievement.

7. (*Concerning the complaint that our workshop has a narrow, one-dimensional approach to art and that we are instantly recognizable by the similarity of our works.*) One hears charges that we as artists are one-dimensional. Whenever someone is unsure what direction, path, to choose and thrashes around in the same spot or dashes in all directions, they are called "multidimensional." But when someone, having found, discovered, a definite path, resolutely pursues it, they will unflaggingly travel in one direction. This describes us too. As long as one of our number remains on the same spot, they will be "multidimensional," but as soon as we become convinced about our goals, choose a definite path, then we have made a decision to pursue one direction.

There is no reason to deny this, and accusations of one-dimensionality should not disturb us. This is how life is and always has been: the "multidimensional" remain in one spot, while the "one-dimensional" (according to our opponents' definition) move ahead, pressing forward in a given direction.

This should not concern us. We know what we are doing, what our aims are, and sooner or later others will be compelled to travel in our footsteps.

8. (*Concerning the fact that some of us, while working on a composition, from a lack of understanding fall into a mechanical, forced artificiality instead of creating a synthesis of organic forms.*) Every form has to be worked from nature. It is particularly important that the figure whose composition is being elaborated be thought through to the end; ideally that it be seen and confirmed in nature, and not invented, in order to avoid creating nonsense.

(20 March 1922)

9. (*A reply to the student A. Naidych, who wanted all the assorted "wisdom" explained to him personally.*) What do you demand of me personally? I have no responsibilities toward individuals, but work with the whole collective. Everything will be achieved in collective work.

10. Rhythm is the severity of a composition's movement. The introduction of forms with varied rhythms into one compositional element destroys a work's harmonious construction.

Any changing of rhythms should be strictly graduated.

11. Plastic arts have their own constant laws (regulated patterns), just as do music or poetry (verbal art).

Laws do not limit creativity, because the elevation (discovery) of new creative forms (expressions of creativity) enriches the laws themselves.

Regulated patterns give creativity its power, constancy, and definition. Any unregulated pattern is temporary, short-lived, and shallow in its mass significance.

12. One ought to struggle against dryness; compositional forms ought to live, not mechanically repeat one another before collapsing into a tedious symmetry.

13. Architecture, in the treatment of its forms, resembles sculpture.

In its dimensions architecture requires an organism to be complete when viewed from various vantage points—when seen from below, from afar, or from the side.

14. There is nothing new under the sun; the most novel [things] are those that have been most thoroughly forgotten.

Art ought to benefit from experience, like all expertise and science. What would happen if people began inventing (discovering) new colours

without previously making a study of painting, making use of the knowledge that already exists?

Free people are those who think freely; they need not fear any material or image. They will not lose themselves. They will utilize everything, and the experience gained will act as a foundation for further construction.

It is better to use primary sources rather than to receive things thirdhand. Rooted in the harmony of forms one finds in early works are deeper wellsprings that are more appropriate for scientific analysis because they contain a greater degree of unmediated severity. The last (newest) layers have, over the course of their evolution, deviated from the correct approach (a fact that has also been ascertained in science); and one must be able to analyze phenomena in order to reveal deviations (loss of direction), and, with the aid of research, to lead the newest achievements to a correct (definite) path.

15. I think that we have no reason to fear history.... Our task is to reveal, decipher, and understand history....

16. Why do you act as though you were painting a board? One must have some degree of artistic feeling (sensitivity), sense. One can work freely, but one must also think.

17. Today, in our time, it is not the resolution of tasks at the highest level that gets recognition in art, but whatever is "understandable."

18. (*Against the gibe that we wish to transplant the past.*) The fear of submitting to influences while studying the past ... whoever thinks this way ... does not understand the primary forces of our epoch. Knowledge of the old (the past) is, on the contrary, indispensable as a corrective.

The new epoch is guaranteed the creation of its own forms because different economic conditions prevail, and not because we set out with the intention of creating something [new].

This text was translated [into Russian] from the Ukrainian original in the years 1928–30. The original typescript was returned to V[asy]l Sedliar in Kharkiv.

*Translated and edited by Myroslav Shkandrij*



# Russian Nationalism and Ukraine

The Nationality Policy of the  
Volunteer Army  
During the Civil War

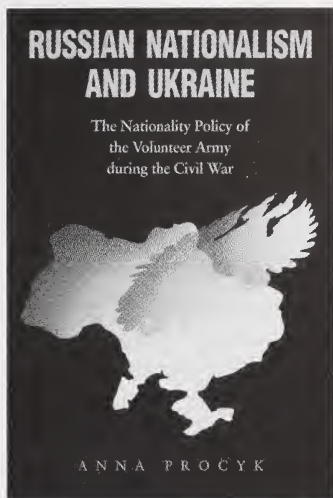
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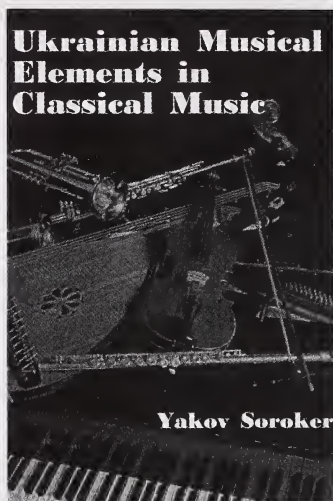
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# **The Conceptual Approaches of Ukrainian Political Parties to Ethno-Political Problems in Independent Ukraine**

*V'iacheslav Shved*

Among the main factors shaping the development of ethno-politics in the post-Soviet, independent Ukrainian state, a key role has been played by political parties and organizations. As of 1 January 1994, thirty-two political parties were officially registered with Ukraine's Ministry of Justice. A dynamic process that has occurred has been the formation of parties and organizations on a regional basis (for instance, in the Crimea) and according to ethnic affiliation. The "ethnic parties," which uphold the interests of a particular ethnic group, have become more active. Among them are the Russian Party of the Crimea, the Organization of the Crimean Tatar National Movement, the National Movement of Crimean Tatars, and several others.

The new parties, movements, and organizations that have become involved in the tense political struggle now occurring in Ukraine have faced a need to define their positions on the important and dynamic problem of ethno-politics. Thus it is natural that their political documents have devoted much attention to the Ukrainian state's ethnic policies and to their own ethno-political strategies and tactics. On the basis of their understanding of the role and place of the ethnic factor in society, the methods needed to realize the objectives outlined in their programs with regard to inter-ethnic relations, and the content and features of their conception of Ukraine's ethno-politics, Ukraine's political parties and organizations can be divided into four main groups—national democrats, liberals, nationalists or "national radicals," and neocommunists—with

four basic conceptions of what the Ukrainian state's ethnic policies should be.

The principal representatives of the national-democratic camp are the Popular Movement of Ukraine—or Rukh—and the political organizations that are part of the Congress of National Democratic Forces (KNDS), particularly the Ukrainian Republican Party (URP) and the Democratic Party of Ukraine (DemPU). These organizations can be seen as belonging to one group because (1) since their creation they have shared the same primary objective—Ukraine's full independence for Ukraine, which has been clearly expressed in their programs; and (2) their aim has been the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state that is democratic as well. In his speech to his party's Second Convention (December 1992), the former chairman of the DemPU National Council, Iurii Badzo, thus explained the essence of the national-democratic organizations and their characteristic combination of ethno-national ideology and democratic ideas:

As Ukrainian patriots, we have steadfastly advocated and continue to advocate Ukraine's complete state independence, a comprehensive rebirth and flowering of the Ukrainian nation, [and have been] against cosmopolitan manipulations of the idea of human rights. As democrats we not only uphold equal civil rights for all of Ukraine's nationalities, but we also reject Ukrainian chauvinism and take a critical position on undemocratic currents in the Ukrainian national-liberation movement. As patriots we strive toward the consolidation of [our] nation in the name of its state independence, but, being democrats, we clearly proclaim that the consolidation of [our] people is only possible on the basis of democracy in the name of a humanistic way of life."<sup>1</sup>

A third characteristic feature of the national democrats' theoretical principles and ideological conceptions is their acknowledgement of the decisive role of the ethnic factor in social processes. A press release issued at the 28 September 1990 URP press conference states that the history of humankind should not be viewed as a class struggle, but as the counterbalancing of nations, which are the creators of history.<sup>2</sup>

What are the fundamental principles underlying the national democrats' conception of ethno-politics in Ukraine today? Firstly, this conception, unlike any other, thoroughly reveals the essence of the nationality question in contemporary Ukrainian society. In Rukh's

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1. Iu. Badzo, *Na shliakhu stanovlennia ta samousvidomlennia: Zvitna dopovid holovy Natsionalnoi rady DemPU Druhomu z'izdovi 12–13 hrudnia 1992 r.* (Kyiv, 1992), 5.

2. "URP: Iakoi Ukrainy ii khochetsia," *Moloda hvardiia*, 5 October 1990.

program the nationality question is treated as a "question of the existence and development of the Ukrainian [ethnic] nation and other nation[alitie]s in Ukraine, [and of] their unification into a single social entity [sotsium] whose nucleus is [that] people [narod] that gave the state its name."<sup>3</sup> Thus, national democrats believe that, within the context of the nationality question, it is necessary not only to resolve the problems of the rebirth and further development of the Ukrainian people and all other nationalities that inhabit Ukraine, but also to ensure a qualitatively new standard for their coexistence in the state, for their integration into a "single social entity," that is, a modern political nation whose nucleus will be formed by the Ukrainian ethnoses.

The essential tasks the state faces in its ethnic policies stem from this premise. Rukh's program proclaims that "Rukh upholds the nationality policy of the Ukrainian state, which has as its aim the realization of the nation's right to self-determination and the right of national-territorial autonomy for [those] national minorities that do not have their own state outside Ukraine's borders, and the right to national-cultural autonomy for all other nationalities and ethnic groups."<sup>4</sup> It must be said, however, that with the exception of Rukh's program accepted by its Third Congress in March 1992, the programmatic documents of other national-democratic parties, including the DemPU and URP, deny the utility of national-territorial autonomy. The only exception they make in this regard is for the Crimean Tatars. But other Rukh documents do not elaborate this idea further.

The cornerstone of the national democrats' programs and theoretical principles is their notion of the ethno-national character of the Ukrainian state. Rukh's conception of state-building indicates that it views Ukraine as a nation-state with a multinational society. This conception presents the Ukrainian state as having evolved as a result of the realization of the Ukrainian ethnic nation's right to self-determination, which predetermined its right to create a sovereign nation-state and to determine independently the latter's organizational forms.<sup>5</sup> One of the main principles of the KNDS program is "the [ethno-]national character of Ukrainian statehood and the national self-determination of Ukraine with

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3. *Prohrama i Statut Narodnoho Rukhu Ukrainy (zminy ta dopovnennia, vneseni III Vseukrainskymy zboramy Narodnoho Rukhu Ukrainy 1 bereznia 1992 r.)* (Kyiv, 1992), 13.

4. *Ibid.*, 12–13.

5. "Kontseptsiiia derzhavotvorennia v Ukraini," in *Chetverti Vseukrainski zbory Narodnoho Rukhu Ukrainy: Kyiv, 4–6 hrudnia 1992 r.* (Kyiv, 1992), 4.



the broad participation of all national minorities.”<sup>6</sup> How do national democrats interpret the “[ethno-]national character of the Ukrainian state”? The essence of this concept was elucidated by Mykhailo Horyn during his speech at the KNDS Founding Congress: “We regard Ukraine as a nation-state. This means that in building it, our people will utilize its positive experience in nation-state-building, which in form (language, attributes, power structure, etc.) and content is Ukrainian. Ukraine is the state of the indigenous Ukrainian [ethnic] nation, but at the same time it is also the state of the Ukrainian political nation, that is, of all the citizens of Ukraine regardless of their nationality.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, the national-democratic conception of Ukrainian ethno-politics most often treats the character of Ukrainian statehood not in an ethnic sense, but from a state perspective that is common in modern, developed, democratic countries.

The national-democratic view of ethno-politics underpins the idea that the Ukrainian state must have a unitary form. For example, the conception of state-building adopted at Rukh's Fourth Congress states that in order to secure independence and full-fledged statehood, the structure of the Ukrainian state must remain unitary.<sup>8</sup> The DemPU program states: “We uphold the territorial integrity and indivisibility of Ukraine, [and] oppose the idea of its [having a] federative structure.”<sup>9</sup> The second main programmatic principle of the KNDS proclaims a unitary state structure for Ukraine with wide-ranging prerogatives for bodies of territorial self-government, and it disallows the federalization of the Ukrainian state because, under present conditions, a federative structure is not in Ukraine's national interests and would endanger its territorial integrity.<sup>10</sup>

The national-minority problem occupies a very important place in the national-democrats' conception of Ukrainian ethno-politics, and it has been elaborated much more substantially in their theoretical and political documents than in the documents of other political tendencies. The national democrats do not limit themselves to merely proclaiming the necessity of resolving the problems associated with the realization of the rights of all nationalities living in Ukraine. Instead, they have examined the national-minority problem on two planes.

6. “Prohramovi zasady Konhresu natsionalno-demokratychnykh syl,” *Samostiina Ukraina*, 1992, no. 31, 3.

7. M. Horyn, “Ukrainska respublikanska partiia — partiia budivnycha,” *Rozbudova derzhavy*, 1992, no. 3, 13.

8. “Kontseptsiiia derzhavotvorennia v Ukraini,” 5.

9. *Prohrama Demokratychnoi partii Ukrainy*, 6.

10. “Prohramovi zasady Konhresu natsionalno-demokratychnykh syl,” 3.

Firstly, they have analyzed the question of how the needs of the national minorities can best be satisfied. The differences among the various national-democratic parties on this issue have been examined above. At the beginning of 1992, Rukh's program still deemed ethno-territorial autonomy appropriate for the stateless ethnic groups in Ukraine. By 1994, however, the national democrats had rejected the possibility of such autonomy. The DemPU's program categorically states: "We oppose the creation of autonomous territorial constructs for the national minorities. These constructs lack a pragmatic justification and would restrict the legal rights of Ukrainians in such [autonomous] territories, complicate inter-nationality relations, and impede the process of the political consolidation of Ukraine's population."<sup>11</sup> Thus, the current national-democratic conception of ethno-politics allows only for cultural autonomy for Ukraine's ethnic minorities.

Secondly, the national democrats have analyzed concrete problems associated with the existence of the Russian, Jewish, and Crimean Tatar minorities in independent Ukraine. Rukh's program thus explains the essence of the "Russian question":

Rukh expects that Russians living in the Ukrainian state will remain supportive co-participants in the current Ukrainian national rebirth. [While] respecting the Russian language and culture and the age-old ties between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, Rukh feels that Russians can develop as a self-sustaining part of the *sotsium* of independent Ukraine only under the condition of the full flowering of the Ukrainian nation. A different course would lead to disastrous consequences for both peoples.<sup>12</sup>

As for other groups, Rukh's program states that "Rukh supports the rebirth of the Jewish community in Ukraine, [and] its cultural-national autonomy, and opposes anti-Semitism."<sup>13</sup> The national-democratic parties are unanimous on the Crimean Tatar question. They all support the Tatars' right to return in an organized fashion to the Crimea and their right to political autonomy within the Ukrainian state.<sup>14</sup>

The national-democratic conception of the state's ethnic policies stresses that efforts to implement the national minorities' needs should

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11. *Prohrama Demokratychnoi partii Ukrainy*, 6.

12. *Prohrama i Statut Narodnoho Rukhu Ukrainy*, 13.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, 13; *Prohrama Demokratychnoi partii Ukrainy*, 6; "Prohrama Ukrainskoi respublikanskoi partii: Pryiniata Ustanovchym z'izdom URP 30 kvitnia 1990 r.; dopovnena i vypravlena Druhym (2 chervnia 1991 r.) i Tretim (1 travnia 1992 r.) z'izdamy URP," in *Materialy Tretoho z'izdu Ukrainskoi respublikanskoi partii 1–2 travnia 1992 r., m. Kyiv* (Kyiv, 1992), 41.

not occur at the expense of diverting attention from Ukraine's rights as a state and from the obligations, existence, and development of the Ukrainian nation. The DemPU's program emphasizes that the primary nation that lent its name to the state (the Ukrainians) endured brutal foreign oppression for many centuries. The profound negative consequences of this oppression are evident in all the spheres of Ukraine's national life. The program states that because of this, "the Ukrainian nation requires special state support for its historical rebirth, especially [for its] language and culture, until such time as the Ukrainian language and culture assume their proper place in state life, elementary education, higher education, science [and scholarship], and the military."<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the national-democratic conception provides an expanded analysis of the essence and content of nationality problems in Ukraine, justifies the thrust of the current state's ethnic policies, and devotes much attention to the creation of an effective mechanism for implementing such policies. The national democrats fully support the ethno-national character of Ukrainian statehood, interpreting it most often from the perspective of the state. They examine national-minority questions in a detailed and concrete manner, analyze specific problems encountered by various ethnic groups and the ways in which their needs can most effectively be satisfied, and devote much attention to determining the optimal form of relations between Ukraine's indigenous nation and its national minorities.

Ukraine's liberal parties and organizations include the Party for the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine (PDVU), the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (SDPU), the Liberal Democratic Party of Ukraine (LDPU), the Liberal Party of Ukraine (LPU), the Labour Party, the Ukrainian Party of Solidarity and Social Justice (UPSSS), the Ukrainian Party of Justice (UPS), the Green Party of Ukraine, the Toilers' Congress, of Ukraine, the Citizens' Congress of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Party of Beer Venerators, and others.

The liberal conception of Ukrainian state's ethnic policies is based on the premise that the rights of the individual have priority over collective rights, including those of any ethnic group. The PDVU's program adopted in May 1992 stresses that the realization of a nation's right to self-determination and development cannot be exploited to restrict inherent human rights.<sup>16</sup> The Beer Venerators also uphold equal rights

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15. *Prohrama Demokratychnoi partii Ukrainy*, 5.

16. *Prohramni pryntsypy Partii demokratychnoho vidrodzhennia Ukrainy: Pryiniati III-m z'izdom PDVU, m. Luhansk, 23–24 travnia 1992 r.* (Kyiv, 1992), 3.

for all people regardless of their nationality and birthplace, as well as the unconditional priority of human rights.<sup>17</sup>

Ukraine's liberals deny the need for the Ukrainian state to have an ethno-national character. Instead they emphasize that the state "should safeguard equal rights for all Ukrainian citizens regardless of their nationality, race, skin colour, gender, language, religion, political or other beliefs, social origin, property [i.e., economic status], birthplace, or other circumstances."<sup>18</sup> The LPU's program asserts that "in [its] nationality policy, the party begins from the premise of the multinational composition of Ukraine, whose citizens have equal rights regardless of their national affiliation."<sup>19</sup> Initially the liberals believed that the most appropriate political system for Ukraine, taking into account the cultural, historical, and economic diversity and even uniqueness of its regions, is a federative state. Recently, however, the position of a number of liberal parties has shifted, and they now acknowledge that in the current stage of state-building the optimal political system for Ukraine is a unitary, decentralized state. Thus the UPS's program affirms that the UPS, while not discarding the idea of a federative structure, now supports the formation of a unitary, decentralized state with an autonomous Crimean republic, that is, a sufficient degree of centralized power alongside wide-ranging local and regional self-government based on the economic, demographic, and cultural particularities of a given territory, but with strict adherence to the principles of territorial integrity.<sup>20</sup>

In liberal opinion the main objective of Ukrainian ethno-politics should be the creation of conditions to safeguard the free development of all nationalities living in Ukraine and the formation on this basis of unity and harmony. The UPSSS's program declares: "We support the formation of a society in which each of its members, regardless of national affiliation or way of life, will have equal rights and equal opportunities, [and] will be able to agree proudly that this country is their native land, that here they are free and their work is as beneficial and appreciated as

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17. "Prohramna zaiava Ukrainskoi partii shanuvalnykiv pyva: Pryiniata Ustanovchym konhresom 4 kvitnia 1992 r.," in *Ukrainska partiia shanuvalnykiv pyva* (Kyiv, 1993), 3.

18. *Pershyi z'izd obiednannia 'Nova Ukraina': Prohramni dokumenty, statuty* (Kyiv, 1992), 16.

19. *Prohrama Liberalnoi partii Ukrainy: Pryiniata 03.06.1993 r. na I z'izdi LPU* (Kyiv, 1993), 4.

20. "Prohrama Ukrainskoi partii spravedlyvosti: Pryiniata Ustanovchym z'izdom UPS 19 hrudnia 1992 r.," in *Dokumenty Ukrainskoi partii spravedlyvosti (Spetsvyypusk)* (Kyiv, 1993), 1.

the work of any other member of this society."<sup>21</sup> The liberals' thinking is based on the premise that Ukraine's multiethnic society should become one of the main factors contributing to the stability and successful development of the Ukrainian state. The Party documents often refer to an "inter-ethnic commonwealth" and "inter-ethnic harmony."<sup>22</sup> The PDVU's program appeals to all of Ukraine's nationalities for ethno-linguistic tolerance.<sup>23</sup> Liberals gingerly deal with ethnic-based patriotism. The PDVU admonishes people to remember that such patriotism can lead to inter-ethnic conflicts and that every such conflict destroys the possibility of resolving Ukraine's vital problems.<sup>24</sup> The UPSSS's program declares that "while supporting the national rebirth of Ukraine and its people, we negatively approach any forms of propaganda promoting [ethno-]national superiority and condemn the abuse of [ethno-]national sentiments."<sup>25</sup>

In their programs, Ukraine's liberals have avoided using the term "national minorities," thereby underscoring the fact that they do not support the division of Ukraine's citizens into ethnic Ukrainians and others and that they support even less differentiating between Ukraine's indigenous and non-native populations. In the declaration adopted at its founding congress, the Labour Party proclaims: "We are convinced that the future of the multinational people of Ukraine is [found] in its unity, in the diverse distinctness of the cultures of the nation[alitie]s and peoples that inhabit our state."<sup>26</sup> The liberals uphold the right of all ethnic cultures in Ukraine to unfettered development. The fundamental article in the PDVU's statement of principles states that "negative trends and past arbitrariness [manifested] in [Soviet] linguistic and cultural policies cannot be corrected using the same faulty methods by which they were implemented."<sup>27</sup> On nationality and language issues, the liberal parties advocate being flexible and taking into account ethno-regional specificities. The LPU's program states, for example, that while the LPU

21. *Prohramni pryntsyipy Ukrainskoi partii solidarnosti ta sotsialnoi spravedlyvosti* (Kyiv, 1993), 4.

22. See *ibid.*; and *Deklaratsiia pro stvorennia Ukrainskoi partii solidarnosti ta sotsialnoi spravedlyvosti: Zatverdzhena Ustanovchym z'izdom partii 10 lypnia 1993 r.* (Kyiv, 1993), 1.

23. *Prohramni pryntsyipy Partii demokratychnoho vidrozhennia Ukrainy*, 3.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Prohramni pryntsyipy Ukrainskoi partii solidarnosti ta sotsialnoi spravedlyvosti*, 4.

26. *Zvernennia Ustanovchoho z'izdu Partii pratsi do Prezidenta, Verkhovnoi Rady, politychnykh partii i rukhiv, narodu Ukrainy*, 1.

27. *Prohramni pryntsyipy Partii demokratychnoho vidrozhennia Ukrainy*, 3.



recognizes Ukrainian as the official state language, it favours the resolution of language problems on a regional basis, taking into account the ethnic composition and interests of the local citizenry.<sup>28</sup> The Labour Party supports the introduction of a system of more than one official language, which would include Ukrainian, Russian, and other languages, depending on regional specificities.<sup>29</sup>

As is evident from the above, the liberals deny it is necessary for the Ukrainian state to have an ethno-national character; instead they maintain the necessity of a federative political system for Ukraine and advocate the establishment of inter-ethnic relations based on the tolerance, solidarity, and mutual respect. Ukraine's liberals vehemently oppose any and all manifestations of ethnic exclusiveness, intolerance, or mistrust.

The theoretical principles underlying the nationalists' position on Ukrainian ethno-politics are derived from the ideologies of the various historical currents of Ukrainian nationalism. The moderate nationalists—the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (KUN)—have acquired the moniker of democratic nationalism. The head of the OUN Leadership, Mykola Plaviuk, has stated that democratic nationalism constitutes the current ideological basis of the OUN.<sup>30</sup> Its adherents state that they oppose authoritarianism, xenophobia, and chauvinism. The most extreme nationalists—the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party (UKRP), State Independence of Ukraine (DSU), Ukrainian National Assembly (UNA), and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine (OUNU)—derive their positions from the interwar writings of Dmytro Dontsov and the 1930s concept of “natiocracy” [*natsiokratiia*]. The DSU's ideologues explain that the latter concept posits a political system based on “rule by the nation's Leadership—rule by the political aristocracy, which actively strives for the good of the nation,” and that “natiocracy,” above all, entails “the redistribution—peaceful or unpeaceful—of power for the benefit of the [ethno-]national elite.”<sup>31</sup>

Despite their ideological differences, both wings of the nationalist movement share several key principles. For both of them the “nation” is the most valuable entity and the central concept in their political

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28. *Prohrama Liberalnoi partii Ukrainy*, 4.

29. “Partiia pratsi: Prohramni pryntsyipy,” *Robitnycha hazeta*, 25 December 1992.

30. M. Plaviuk, “Ia bachu OUN v tsentrovii sferi ...” *Ukrainske slovo* (Kyiv), 11 May 1993, 4.

31. *Vseukrainske politychne ob'iednannia ‘Derzhavna samostiina Ukraina’ DSU: Dokumenty, statyi, adresy* (Stryi, 1992), 15–16.

philosophy. The KUN's First Congress asserted that the Ukrainian Nationalists view the nation as the highest and most valuable social structure and that this belief is their main ideological principle.<sup>32</sup> They treat the nation as an exclusively ethnic category. For example, for the DSU the nation is that ethnos that has attained its own statehood and governs itself and its national minorities: for it, the ethnic nation and the state are indivisible.<sup>33</sup>

For the nationalists the second-most valuable entity is the nation-state, which is indissolubly linked with the primary nation. At KUN's First Congress, the leader Slava Stetsko stated: "One's own [nation-]state is the [ethnic] nation's supreme political form of organization, and it [the state] is the only thing that can guarantee its [the ethnic nation's] sovereign rule on [its] national territory. Only one's own [nation-]state can ensure the conditions necessary for the free and all-encompassing development of national forces, and it guarantees present and future generations [their] evolvement and security regardless of the alignment of international forces."<sup>34</sup>

Another characteristic feature that all the nationalist tendencies share is their assertion that Ukrainian nationalism has a special role to play in the process of state-building. The OUN's program adopted at the Twelfth Great Assembly of Ukrainian Nationalists (May 1993) states that "the OUN is convinced that the current unfolding of Ukrainian statehood is indissolubly linked with the ideology of Ukrainian Nationalism. The nature and fate of Ukrainian statehood will depend on how quickly the ideology of the Nationalist movement will be propagated within all strata of Ukrainian society."<sup>35</sup>

On the issue of Ukraine's ethnic minorities, all of the nationalist factions are united behind the assertion that the state's current ethnic policies ignore the interests and needs of ethnic Ukrainians and that the state is more concerned with the minorities. A resolution adopted at the KUN's First All-Ukrainian Assembly, "Toward a Program of State-Building: Principles of the Policy Regarding Ethnic Minorities," states: "In Ukraine a situation continues to be maintained whereby the state[-constituting ethnic] Ukrainian nation remains in an inferior and discrimi-

32. *Na novomu etapi: Vybrani materialy z Pershoho zboru Konhresu ukrainskykh natsionalistiv* (Kyiv, 2-4 lytnia 1993 r.) (Kyiv, 1993), 13.

33. *Vseukrainske politychne ob'iednannia "Derzhavna samostiina Ukraina,"* 12.

34. S. Stetsko, "'Iedyno pravylnyi shliakh': Prohramova dopovid holovy Provodu Konhresu ukrainskykh natsionalistiv," in *Na novomu etapi*, 13.

35. "Prohrama Orhanizatsii ukrainskykh natsionalistiv: Pryiniata na XII Velykomu zbori ukrainskykh natsionalistiv," *Ukrainske slovo*, 25 June 1993.

nated position in its own state."<sup>36</sup> The spectrum of approaches for resolving the problems between ethnic Ukrainians and the minorities is fairly wide, but all of the approaches, including the most moderate, are based on the assumption that the ethnic Ukrainians should have a special status and special rights and responsibilities. The KUN's resolution mentioned above proclaims that only a sovereign [ethnic] Ukrainian nation "is, in reality, able to be the only guarantor of the eradication, on an ethnic and religious basis, [and] neutralization of inter-ethnic antagonisms provoked by foreign aggressors in Ukraine so as to facilitate their domination, and [the only guarantor] of the greatest possible harmonization of relations between the [ethnic] Ukrainian nation and ethnic minorities in Ukraine."<sup>37</sup> In other words, the ethnic Ukrainian nation functions in the role of an "older brother" or even "father" to the national minorities and, in the context of its special rights and obligations as the governing nation, is responsible for the fate of the minorities and determines their place and status within the state.

While the moderate nationalists have manifested a paternalistic attitude that integrates the idea of the ethnic Ukrainian nation's special status with its responsibility for the fate of Ukraine's other nationalities, the official position of the ultra-nationalist organizations such as the DSU, UKRP, OUNU, and UNA have been openly chauvinistic and xenophobic. The former DSU leader, Ivan Kandyba, has candidly stated that "We [the DSU] fully support the slogan, introduced by Mykola Mikhnovsky back in 1890, that Ukraine should first of all be for the [ethnic] Ukrainians, just as Russia is for the Russians, France for the French, Greece for the Greeks, and so on."<sup>38</sup> The head of the UNA Branch in Odessa, V. Mionchynsky, has maintained that "We [the UNA] do not need a declared state of 'peoples of Ukraine,' but a Ukrainian state in which the [ethnic] Ukrainian nation will not be one among many but will occupy a leading position."<sup>39</sup>

It is from this assumption regarding the "leading" and "special" status of the ethnic Ukrainian nation in the Ukrainian state that the ultra-nationalists approach minority problems and the relations between the indigenous ethnic Ukrainian nation and the other nationalities living in

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36. "Do prohramy derzhavnoho budivnytstva: Zasady polityky shchodo etnichnykh menshyn. Materiialy Pershoho Vseukrainskoho zboru Kongresu ukrainskykh natsionalistiv," *Shliakh peremohy*, 17 July 1993.

37. *Ibid.*

38. I. Kandyba, "Khto my?" *Neskorena natsiia*, 1992, no. 2.

39. V. Mionchynsky, "Spravedlyvist syly," *Neskorena natsiia*, 1992, no. 2.

Ukraine. They view the minorities as being unequivocally hostile toward ethnic Ukrainians and the Ukrainian state, as a "fifth column" and "foreigners" who should be monitored with "particular scrutiny" and subjected to special restrictions or, better yet, forced to leave Ukraine altogether. *Neskorena natsiia* has published statements such as

It is imperative to reconquer the lebensraum annexed by foreign newcomers [*prykhodky*]. It is imperative to progress from questions regarding how to deal with [those] national minorities that are hostile to us and their "democratic" apologists to direct retaliatory actions. We need to create such an unpleasant atmosphere for the Russian intruders [*moskovski zaidy*] that their unrestrained "love for Mother-Russia" will grow into an irresistible desire to pack their bags and say goodbye to Ukraine.<sup>40</sup>

A. Shcherbatiuk's writings are a prime example of such openly xenophobic views.<sup>41</sup> He believes that for Ukraine to enter the global arena, the ethnic Ukrainian nation must "unconditionally" destroy its enemies. The latter include "foreigners" and representatives of "parasitic foreign ethnoses." The principal way to get rid of them is through a "sudden" and "inventive" "campaign of terror." The primary instruments of such terror should be "Prophylactic Detachments" "inoculated with a severe militant psychology devoid of sensitive reflectiveness and based on the principle of racial purity."<sup>42</sup> Clearly there are parallels between such views and those of Nazism.

Thus, the fundamental features of the nationalist conception of Ukraine's ethno-politics are (1) the treatment of Ukrainian statehood exclusively in an ethnic sense; (2) demands for a requisite leading, special status for the ethnic Ukrainian nation, because Ukraine is, first of all, a state for the Ukrainians; and (3) the placing of certain possible restrictions on the rights and interests of the non-Ukrainian population. The most extreme nationalists have been openly chauvinistic and xenophobic.

In contrast, Ukraine's neocommunist organizations—the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU), the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU), the Peasant Party of Ukraine, the Union of Communists of Ukraine, and others—give priority to safeguarding equal rights and developmental opportunities for all ethnic groups living in Ukraine, maintaining and strengthening ethnic and religious harmony, and preventing all attempts at intensifying ethnic

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40. V. Rohoziv, "Vymoha chasu: Voiuiuchy natsionalizm," *Neskorena natsiia*, 1992, no. 18.

41. See particularly his "Osnovy sanatsii," *Neskorena natsiia*, 1993, no. 16.

42. *Ibid.*

and religious hostility.<sup>43</sup> They assert the necessity of the state's support for the ethno-cultural autonomy of all nationalities living on Ukrainian territory.<sup>44</sup> The CPU has stated that it "will in all ways [possible] advance the rebirth and cultural development of the Ukrainian people, of all nations and nationalities living in Ukraine."<sup>45</sup>

Neocommunist documents do not address the question of the structure of the Ukrainian state. Instead they emphasize the premise that "Ukraine's future has no prospects without close ties with the sovereign states of the former Soviet Union."<sup>46</sup>

The Socialists and Communists have paid special attention to the Crimean Tatar question. The 26 April 1992 resolution of the SPU's Presidium emphasizes that

in supporting the Crimean Tatars' inalienable right to the creation of state guarantees foreseen in Ukraine's Law on National Minorities and in relevant international agreements, we believe that it is particularly important for the Republic of Crimea to uphold the principle of the equality of these rights for all nationalities living on its territory. To ensure such equality, it is important to guarantee the Crimean Tatars' colonization in their former places of habitation and in such numbers as existed prior to their deportation [in the Stalin period], and [to guarantee] the creation of economic conditions by the state that would facilitate the easy social adaptation of the new settlers.<sup>47</sup>

The resolution does not specify whether the SPU proposes ethno-territorial autonomy for the Tatars. But it specifies that the SPU believes the status of the Tatars and other national minorities should be defined once and for all in the constitutions of Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea and should be actualized only in accordance with them.<sup>48</sup>

The neocommunist parties have focused much attention on analyzing the prospects for the development of the ethno-political situation in

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43. See *Materialy Ustanovchoho z'izdu Sotsialistychnoi partii Ukrainy 26 zhovtnia 1991 r.* (Kyiv, 1991), 3; "Programmaia deklaratsiia Sotsialisticheskoi partii Ukrainy," *Tovarysh*, 1993, no. 3; and "Za sotsialnu spravedyvist, narodovladdia, zakonnist, bezpeku liudyny: Platforma Sotsialistychnoi partii Ukrainy do vyboriv narodnykh deputativ Ukrainy 27 bereznia 1994 r.," *Tovarysh*, 1993, no. 52.

44. "Programmaia deklaratsiia."

45. "Prohramna zaiava z'izdu Komunistychnoi partii Ukrainy," *Tovarysh*, 1993, no. 32.

46. Ibid.

47. "Krym na shliakhu do referendumu: Z rezoliutsii Prezydii Sotspartii Ukrainy," *Tovarysh*, 1992, no. 2-3.

48. Ibid.



Ukraine and on the implementation of the state's ethnic policies from the perspective of what political forces threaten ethnic harmony in Ukrainian society. A resolution adopted at the SPU's First All-Ukrainian Conference expresses the party's concern about the significant increase in the number of supporters of nationalist ideology in Ukraine and that "steadily developing is the dangerous process of the transformation of the idea of national consciousness into a nationalist ideology with an imminent fascist perspective."<sup>49</sup> The resolution states that the intensification of the nationality question in Ukraine is a consequence of the policy of Rukh and the political forces under its umbrella, a policy based on Ukrainian nationalism and on confrontation with Russia.<sup>50</sup> The SPU's platform for the parliamentary elections of 27 March 1994 stresses that the SPU considers one of its main tasks in the sphere of ethnic and international relations to be a "decisive counteraction against nationalist manifestations and the [government's nationalist-inspired] administering of nationality policy."<sup>51</sup> In his analysis of the Ukrainian government's ethnic policies, the SPU's leader, Oleksandr Moroz, has stated that "the leaders of Ukraine are making a mistake with far-reaching consequences by allowing the interweaving of nationalism into the fabric of the state's nationality policy."<sup>52</sup> The result, in his opinion, has been ongoing resistance by the Russian-speaking population of the Donbas and southern Ukraine to this policy and its more imprudent measures, as well as intensified nationalist activity in the regions of Ukraine with sizable Russian populations.<sup>53</sup>

The Socialists' and Communists' positions converge with regard to the policy on the state language and the status of the Russian language in Ukraine. The CPU's 1993 election platform declares that the CPU "supports the demands of millions of [Ukraine's] citizens regarding granting the Russian language (alongside Ukrainian) the status of the second state language and granting official-language status to the languages of other ethnic groups in places of their compact settlement (in accordance with the decisions of the appropriate [regional] Councils of Peoples' Deputies."<sup>54</sup> The SPU's analogous platform expresses support

49. "Pro zahrozu natsionalistychnoho ekstremizmu ta natsional-fashyzmu v Ukraini: Rezoliutsiia I-oi Vseukrainskoi konferentsii Sotsialistychnoi partii Ukrainy," *Tovarysh*, 1992, no. 7.

50. Ibid.

51. "Za sotsialnu spravedlyvist."

52. O. Moroz, "Kudy idemo?" *Postup* (Kyiv), 1993, 281.

53. Ibid., 281 and 338.

54. "Za sotsialnu spravedlyvist i poriatunok dukhovnosti, za spravzhnie

for holding a referendum on the status of Russian as the second state language or an official language.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, in their fundamental principles regarding ethno-politics in Ukraine, the neocommunists give priority to guaranteeing equal rights for all people regardless of their nationality; stress the necessity of state support for the ethno-cultural autonomy of all ethnic groups living on Ukrainian territory; and claim that a threat to ethnic peace and harmony is posed by the nationalist political forces and by the way the state administers its nationality policy in deference to the nationalists.

In their attempts to increase their influence in Ukraine's governing bodies and society in general, the political forces active in Ukraine today have devoted much attention to elaborating their conceptions and have proposed the adoption of a number of laws governing ethnic relations. Despite their serious political differences, all of the most influential forces have advocated peace and harmony and have sought constructive ways to resolve existing problems. Their proposals and ideas were taken into account when the Declaration on Ukraine's State Sovereignty, the Declaration of the Rights of Ukraine's Nationalities, and the Law on National Minorities in Ukraine—which constitute the political and legal basis of the Ukrainian state's ethnic policy—were being formulated.

At the same time, a serious threat to stability and ethnic harmony in Ukraine has been posed by the ultra-nationalist groups. As the socioeconomic and political situation in Ukraine deteriorates, popular support for their positions might increase.

Societal changes and the further development of the multiparty system in Ukraine will result in a more prominent role and greater influence for the political parties in all spheres of life, including ethno-politics. For this reason, their positions and conceptions should be studied on an ongoing basis.

*Translated by  
Tania Plawuszczak and Marko Stech*

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narodovladdia i hidne liudyny zhyttia: Platforma Komunistychnoi partii Ukrainy na vyborakh do Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy," *Tovarysh*, 1993, no. 50.

55. "Za sotsialnu spravedlyvist, narodovladdia."

# CANADIAN SLAVONIC PAPERS

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## Reviews

Guido Hausmann and Andreas Kappeler, eds. *Ukraine: Gegenwart und Geschichte eines neuen Staates*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993. 402 pp. DM88.

This book is a collection of twenty papers, most of which were presented at the conference that was held from 31 October to 2 November 1991 at the Educational Centre in Bornheim and at the University of Köln. In the foreword, the editors stress the importance of the book, which "poses for the first time in German the most important problems of Ukraine and their historical backgrounds and thus undertakes the first step of (re)introducing Ukraine into scientific and public discourse in Germany" (p. 9). Because this task cannot be achieved by German scholars alone, scholars from Ukraine and Northern America were invited to contribute.

In the first paper, on Ukraine and the world today, Iwan Dsjuba (Ivan Dziuba), a leading Ukrainian intellectual, calls for the use of modern criteria and a sober and a critical approach to the study of Ukrainian history. He is followed by Jaroslaw Isajewytsch (Iaroslav Isaievych) and Frank Sysyn, who analyze the ethnic origins of the Ukrainian nation and its medieval and early modern legacy. Andreas Kappeler examines several important aspects of the Ukrainian national movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rudolf A. Mark makes some observations about Ukrainian state-building the Revolution of 1917 until the proclamation of independence in 1991. Frank Golczewski analyzes the political concepts of three Ukrainian non-socialist interwar émigrés, Symon Petliura, Viacheslav Lypynsky, and Dmytro Dontsov. Jaroslaw Daschkewytsch (Iaroslav Dashkevych) contributes a very provocative essay on Ukrainization in Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s. Of special interest is the discussion between James E. Mace and Stephan Merl on whether the famine of 1932–3 in Soviet Ukraine was the result of Stalin's anti-Ukrainian policies or of forced collectivization. Ernst Lüdemann examines the development of the Ukrainian dissident movement in the years 1956–91.

Half of the papers are on political, economic, ethnic, and cultural aspects of Ukrainian independence since 1991. Peter J. Potichnyj analyzes the emergence of a multiparty system, while Bohdan R. Bociurkiw illuminates the role of the religious factor in the context of the recent legal revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic churches. Roman Solchanyk and Wolodymyr Jewtuch (Volodymyr Ievtukh) discuss two overlapping issues in Ukraine, regionalism and the national minorities. Hans-Erich Gramatzki, Thomas Gärtig, and Yewhen I. Chmelewsky examine the perspectives and pitfalls of Ukrainian economic development since 1991. Bohdan A. Osadczyk-Korab analyzes the political and ecological implications of the Chornobyl disaster. Orest Subtelny reviews the state of modern Ukrainian historiography. Finally, Gerhard

Simon, in a very penetrating and thoughtful essay analyzes the recent development of Ukrainian politics in the context of "anti-revolution" in Central and Eastern Europe from 1989 through 1991.

Some of these papers are condensed expositions of the authors' earlier major publications (e.g., by Kappeler and Mace). They correspond to the editors' intentions: to generalize the existing views on Ukraine's past and present rather than to elaborate new ones. Therefore the book's contents will not be totally unfamiliar to specialists in Ukrainian studies. This fact frees reviewers from the need to engage in a detailed critique of the book. But something should be said about its contribution to the problem that practically every author addresses—Ukrainian nation-building.

There are two different and competing concepts of the Ukrainian nation. One is the ethnic concept, which treats Ukraine as a state of the Ukrainian ethnos. The supporters of the second—political—concept hold the view that everyone who lives on Ukrainian territory and displays loyalty to the Ukrainian state deserves to be a member of the Ukrainian nation. Both concepts have their own historical background (see, e.g., Isajewytsch's remarks [p. 44] that "*Rus*" and "*ruska zemlia*" had political and ethnic meanings), and both have retained their viability after 1991. In the words of Simon (p. 378), "the further success or failure of state-building will depend essentially on whether one is successful in turning, in the long run, the Russians in Ukraine and several million people who do not identify themselves unambiguously as Russians or Ukrainians into loyal Ukrainian citizens. The precondition for that to occur would be the strengthening of regional consciousness in the Donbas or in Odessa of belonging to Ukraine, which could replace national loyalty."

Most of the contributors explicitly support the second concept, which enjoys the status of being the official line in current Ukrainian politics. But they seem to have slightly misinterpreted the historical origins of both concepts. First of all, it seems to me to be totally incorrect to overburden V'iacheslav Lypynsky, an ardent advocate of the political concept, with responsibility for imbuing Ukrainian nationalism with a totalitarian outlook (p. 92) that is close to the anti-democratic etatism of Italian Fascism (p. 112). It is true that Lypynsky was a severe critic of democracy, especially of its concrete Ukrainian form in 1920 and 1921, which, corresponding to the ideology of nineteenth-century Ukrainian populism, proved to be exclusive in regard to some social and national groups. Nevertheless, it was Lypynsky who introduced the idea of social, political, and religious pluralism into Ukrainian political thought. It is noteworthy that in the 1930s and 1940s Lypynsky's ideology had a major impact on a group of young Western Ukrainian intellectuals (Ivan Lysiak Rudnytsky, Omeljan Pritsak, Eugene Pyziur, Vasyl Rudko, and others). After emigrating to the West they became proponents of Western liberalism and opposed all totalitarian tendencies in the intellectual and political life of the Ukrainian diaspora. Therefore Golczewski's accusation that the late Lysiak Rudnytsky allegedly failed to admit the proximity of Lypynsky's ideas and Ukrainian integral nationalism to Fascism (p. 113) seems to be unsound in the context of the historiographic legacy of "one of the Nestors of Ukrainian



historiography" (as Golczewski calls Lysiak Rudnytsky) and of the history of twentieth-century Ukrainian political thought.

Also controversial is the question of whether a definition of nationalism originating in the nineteenth century is relevant for contemporary politics in Ukraine. Lüdemann denies the "nationalistic" character of the Ukrainian dissident movement of the 1960 through 1980s, which reconciled its concern for its own people and culture with "eternal values." This statement reveals an understanding, which is widespread in the West, of nationalism as being something dangerous and xenophobic. A more productive approach would be to admit that there are different trends in nationalism and that some of them are not inevitably bad. Concerning the situation in Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the twentieth century, the way to democracy through the nation and nationalism, as Simon points out, "is without a doubt full of danger, but there is simply no other way of attaining it."

There are minor errors in the book. The issue of Ukraine's political independence was raised for the first time not by Iulian Bachynsky in 1895 (p. 95), but by V'iacheslav Budzynovsky four years earlier at the first congress of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical party in Galicia. Volodymyr Shcherbytsky held his position until the end of September of 1989, not until the summer of 1989 (p. 192).

*Ukraine: Gegenwart und Geschichte eines neuen Staates* reflects the somewhat optimistic spirit of 1989–91, a time of great expectations after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the breakup of the Soviet Union. Had its essays been written later, in 1993 or 1994, some of the statements and conclusions would have undoubtedly sounded a little bit different. The book reveals the real state of Ukrainian studies in Germany: although German authors cannot cover all the main issues of Ukrainian history, they are able to contribute new and very provocative interpretations. Since the time the book appeared, German historiography has taken further steps in that direction. But this does not diminish the editors' and authors' endeavours to present the first well-balanced account of Ukraine in German.

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I. S. Koropeckyj, ed. *Ukrainian Economic History: Interpretive Essays*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1991. xiv, 392 pp. Cloth US\$30.00, paper \$17.00. Distributed by Harvard University Press.

This volume largely comprises works first presented at a 1985 conference, hosted by the HURI, on the Ukrainian economy from the ninth to the early twentieth centuries. It contains fourteen papers, which are chronologically divided among the Kyivan Rus' period (three papers), the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries (four), and the nineteenth century (six). The authors, with the exception of Leonid Melnyk of Kyiv State University, hail from North American institutions.

At first glance, the reliance of most of the articles on published materials seems reminiscent of an earlier historiography when archives were inaccessible and fresh insights rare. Yet one quickly observes a determination by these scholars to raise new questions and to apply innovative approaches in order to offer new and important conclusions. In this they have been largely successful.

Overall, the volume considers economic issues that touch on various aspects of Ukraine, both rural and urban, including Eastern Galicia and central and southern Ukraine. It is, of course, not possible to highlight the findings of all fourteen contributions, even though most are worthy of comment.

Many of the works challenge long-held historiographical perspectives. Thus, in his chapter on the nomadic factor in Kyivan Rus's economic development, Peter B. Golden directly challenges the view that nomads constantly threatened the Kyivan lands. On the contrary, he maintains that the Rus' and Polovtsians had actually developed a highly symbiotic relationship that even included intermarriage between political elites. Thomas S. Noonan successfully demonstrates that the economic life of Kyivan Rus' was strongest after 1100, precisely when it has previously been described as in a state of rapid decline. On the contrary, it was during this latter period that Kyivan trade became more diverse, on both the local and international levels, as the city served as a major trans-shipment point for a vast network that stretched from the Mediterranean to the Near East.

Studies in this volume also repeatedly stress the complexity of Ukrainian history, which makes simple categorization impossible. This is most evident in Koropec'kyj's introductory chapter on the periodization of Ukrainian history, wherein he rejects previously imposed divisions in favour of one that recognizes the separate chronological and geopolitical divisions found in this history. His use of monetary circulation to substantiate his findings reflects the innovative nature of this entire volume. Boris P. Balan's examination of urbanization in Ukraine in the mid-nineteenth century successfully connects the issue of rural and urban Ukraine with the larger theme of the Ukrainian hinterland and the imperial Russian centre. For Balan, Ukraine's political subservience to Russia severely restricted the former's ability to develop an active manufacturing core before 1900.

The articles by Carol B. Stevens, Bohdan Krawchenko, and Robert E. Jones also explore the relationship between Ukraine and Russia. Stevens argues that the relatively modest grain trade between these lands before 1700 owed much to Moscow's desire to maintain an alcohol monopoly. Krawchenko reveals how Petrine mercantilist policies actually resulted in the deurbanization of Ukraine as trade was directed through Russian ports and cities. Jones describes how the Russian Empire's failure to construct an adequate infrastructure linking Ukraine and the Russian interior retarded the former's integration into the latter's economy.

Several of the contributions read more like introductory statements to new investigations. The conclusions reached in them are still tentative. Daniel H. Kaiser, for example, presents initial findings on the economy of Kyivan Rus'

based upon a reading of the short and expanded redactions of the "Pravda Russkaia." Stephen Velychenko suggests that the Baltic trade with the Ukrainian Cossacks in the early seventeenth century may well have been much stronger than has previously been believed. His chapter includes helpful references to those "city books and registers" and other records that will allow for the clarity needed on this important matter.

Near the end of his contribution, Velychenko asks: "Will the Communist party ever give the support necessary for such an extensive research project?" Times change. It does not appear in 1995 as if the Communist party will ever need to be consulted on any such projects. New forms of collaboration and research are now possible on Ukrainian economic history, and a new generation of scholarship is already well underway.

This volume provides a valuable introduction to that new scholarship. Overall, it is a useful work full of insights, and it suggests the future promise to be realized in an examination of the Ukrainian economic past. *Ukrainian Economic History* is well worth reading, and it would be quite useful at both the graduate and undergraduate levels.

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Oleksander Baran and Oleh V. Gerus, eds. *Zbirnyk tysiacholittia khrystyianstva v Ukraini, 988–1988*. Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1991. xiii, 282 pp. \$27.00.

Oleh W. Gerus and Alexander Baran, eds. *Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, 988–1988*. Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1989. xiii, 302 pp. \$27.00.

These volumes are among the numerous publications generated by the celebration of the millennium of Christianity in Rus'. They are the contribution of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada to these celebrations and treat exclusively Ukrainian topics. Only one article, by O. Baran in the Ukrainian-language volume, deals with the introduction of Christianity, specifically with the reasons that induced Volodymyr the Great to make Christianity the religion of his state. The rest of the articles, fourteen in Ukrainian and sixteen in English, mostly treat questions connected in some way with religion in Ukraine. Noticeable is the nearly total absence of articles dealing with major issues in Ukraine's church and religious life. The majority of the contributions deal with minor points (sometimes very minor ones, such as, in the English volume, picture frames) connected in some way with religious topics.

As is frequently the case with commemorative volumes, the two under review present little that is new or of scholarly value. One questions the inclusion of two articles (one in each volume) by I. Ohienko written over a century ago and long superseded, simply "out of esteem" to a former academy member. The Ukrainian article by H. Mukhyna on Ukrainian expressionism is interesting but unrelated to what purports to be the central theme of the volume, Christianity in Ukraine. Similarly unrelated are the Ukrainian articles by Iu. Knysh on the "mystery" of the use of the term "Rus'" in the ninth century and by M. Braichevsky on the political plans of Roman Mstyslavych, and the English article by R. Serbyn, "Some Questions of Rus' Unity (1140–1200) Re-examined." Besides having little to do with the legacy of Christianity in Ukraine, they treat much-discussed and controversial questions in a manner that is neither original nor adequately synthetical.

A few of the articles display methodology satisfactory from the viewpoint of modern scholarship, but give the impression of haphazard and selective annotation. The Ukrainian-language volume especially suffers from articles that clearly demonstrate their authors' biases and thus retard, rather than facilitate, an understanding of the Ukrainian Christian past.

The English-language volume abounds with typographical errors. But a few of its articles do rise above the generally low standard. They include R. Yereniuk's "Ukrainian Printing in the Kievan Metropolitanate and Ukrainian Hetmanate, 1686–1763," an article based on an examination of the sources that traces the gradual strangulation of Ukrainian religious printing by Russian censorship; and B. A. Struminsky's "Orthoepy of Ukrainian Church Slavonic and Ukrainian," an excellently researched and interesting, if concise, study of "proper pronunciation" in Ukraine from the eleventh through twentieth centuries.

In general, however, these volumes prove that the commemoration of important historical events is not served by scantily researched and carelessly put together volumes.

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Stephen Velychenko. *National History as Cultural Process: A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992. xxxvi, 283 pp. \$24.95.

History, like spoils of war, usually belongs to the victors, who in turn use it to legitimize their sweeping claims to contentious lands and peoples. Conversely, suppressed nations must recover their history to lend legitimacy to their identity. Indeed, long before an emerging non-state nation resorts to politics or force to

seal its fate, it must first engage in the conflict of ideas. History was a weapon of necessity for the Romantic poets and historians, the first champions of national revival. A. J. P. Taylor's biting aphorism that national poets and historians fight with intellectual ideas and thus receive only intellectual prizes may be true, but he underestimates the power of ideas and the centrality of historical myths.

In this fine study, Stephen Velychenko is not intent on rectifying any persistent historiographical sins or to provide an "objective" historiographic or *historiosophische* model of the past. Rather, his goal is to document objectively the evolving interpretation of the Ukrainian past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian (both academic and popular) survey and monographic histories. This he does comprehensively and chronologically, by country and by author, from the late Middle Ages to the turn of the twentieth century. Given the inherent complexities, he tends to focus on certain key events and issues pertinent to the history of the relations among the three nations. These include Andrei Bogoliubskii's sack of Kyiv in 1169, the Polish occupation of Galicia in the 1340s, the integration of the Ukrainian lands into the Polish Commonwealth in 1386 and 1569, the Union of Brest of 1596, the Cossack and peasant wars of 1590–1648, the treaties of Pereiaslav (1654) and Hadiach (1658), Cossack-Muscovite relations and the loss of Ukrainian autonomy (from 1654 to 1789), and the Haidamaka movement of the eighteenth century. The work is based on a large number of pertinent titles (160 chronicles and general surveys and 226 monographs and articles). The bulk of the material is divided into three parts, corresponding to each of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian historiography. The work also contains a conclusion, two appendices (one on tsarist censorship and Ukrainian historiography between 1828 and 1906, the other on pre-eighteenth-century Ukrainian cartography), several maps, and an extensive bibliography.

The study reveals some interesting albeit not surprising conclusions. Insofar as the Polish preoccupation with Ukrainian history is concerned, it proved broadly political in scope and context. Beginning with the medieval chronicles, the consistent view was that Ukraine was historically Polish by force of King Bolesław's mythical conquest of Rus'. Early modern Polish historiography, perhaps reflecting Jesuit orientations, condemned the Ukrainian Orthodox "schismatics" and supported the need for Christian ("Catholic") unity. Even the "liberal-republican" school of Lelewel and Moraczewski laid legal claim to Galicia, while the eighteenth-century "Cracow school" (as represented by Szujski and Lewicki) claimed that the incorporation of Ukrainian lands into the Polish state in 1386 and 1569 was "voluntary" and justified subsequent Polish incursions beyond the river San as *mission civilisatrice*. Admittedly the Khmelnytsky revolution and the failed Hadiach Treaty led to more diversified interpretation, but on the whole Polish historiography proved self-serving and tendentious.

The Russian interpretation of Ukrainian history, on the other hand, was consistently uniform in its "one and indivisible Russia" perspective. While Russian chronicles regarded the pre-Kyivan and Kyivan Rus' as the beginning of "Russian history," they remained largely silent on later Ukrainian history. Indeed, it was not until Count Uvarov's sweeping manifesto (reacting to the Polish Insurrection of 1831), that Ukraine and its past were wholly grafted with Russia



"from time immemorial." Uvarov's "pragmatic schema" rested not only on alleged dynastic (Riurikid) rights and ethnic homogeneity, but also on the myth of a metaphysical, irresistible Ukrainian "desire for reunion" with Russia. From that point to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Uvarov's whimsical interpretation of Ukrainian history became monotonously official, systemic, and monolithic. When Russian émigré historians wrote their pioneering surveys of Russian history for their American students, they laid the foundation for still prevalent American academic and—pace Strobe Talbott—political Russocentrism.

Because Ukraine was deprived of statehood and supportive elites, Ukrainian historiography underwent various interpretations, ranging from the early clerical and Cossack "traditionalist" histories (with their longing for the lost "Little Russian fatherland") to the populist and "state-centred" histories of the more recent periods. Despite great difficulties, such nineteenth-century scholars as Markovych, Kulish, Kostomarov, Antonovych, and Iefymenko offered diverse interpretations of the past and thus laid the foundation for professional Ukrainian scholarship. But the basis of modern Ukrainian historiography proved to be Mykhailo Hrushevsky's masterful "rational scheme" for the history of the Eastern Slavs (first published in 1904), which exploded a plethora of historical myths, ranging from "the striving for unity" to ethnic affinity between Russian and Ukrainians. Dispensing with the "one and indivisible" myth, Hrushevsky explained the historical relation between the two "Russias" purely in political terms and posited the linear progression of Ukrainian history from prehistoric origins to the present time. Though it was ignored by generations of historians, Hrushevsky's scheme has withstood all challenges and still provides a viable historical paradigm.

Velychenko's excellent study, along with his later albeit not particularly original or thorough book on Soviet Russian and Polish accounts of Ukrainian history, is nevertheless very timely: it puts into perspective the problems and complexities inherent in the study of Ukrainian history. Herein lies perhaps the only flaw: given the sheer volume of scholarly legacy left behind by Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian historians, the present study cannot be viewed as the definitive statement on the subject. Rather, it stands as an introduction to the murky realm of subjective historical interpretation and political exigency. Regardless of its limitations, it is well researched and presents the author's analysis logically and compellingly. Velychenko has demonstrated a marvellous grasp of three separate historiographies and should be commended for providing a cogent account of some fundamental yet, strangely, neglected areas of historical scholarship.

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Paul Bushkovitch. *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. vi, 278 pp. US\$39.95.

Paul Bushkovitch points out that despite the universal opinion that pre-Petrine Russia was a presecular society, little has been done to examine the social role of religion there. He distinguishes his subject from ecclesiastical and literary history, two fields that have received more attention. Even these fields languished during the Soviet period as the history of the Orthodox church and the religious literature of pre-Petrine Russia were examined only tangentially within ideological constraints.

In *Religion and Society in Russia*, the reader will find discussion of expected topics such as the controversy between "Possessors" and "Non-possessors" in the sixteenth century and the Old Believer schism and the conflict over Patriarch Nikon in the seventeenth century. The core of the book, however, is an argument on the changing nature of the Russian elite's relation to religious institutions and practices.

Bushkovitch maintains that the Russian church had been primarily a monastic church until the early sixteenth century. He sees the boyars as having fulfilled their religious needs by taking part in the observances of the court and by patronizing specific monastic communities, showing support for the holy fathers, and seeking cures from these holy men. In the sixteenth century the role of the monasteries declined just as the boyars withdrew their special support. At the same time, Russia went through an explosion of local cults associated with miracle cures effected not by holy monks, but by the relics at numerous sites of local cults. The accounts of the cured reveal a much humbler social constituency than were the earlier beneficiaries of the monks' ministrations.

Turning to the period after the Time of Troubles, Bushkovitch sees a renewed role of the court and its retainers in recasting Russian religious life. He asserts that the miracle cults were more carefully regulated. At the same time the religious revival at court, led by the Zealots of Piety, turned attention to issues of personal moral conduct, above all the questions of pride and avarice. He asserts that this turn toward moral issues, based on borrowings from Ukrainian Orthodoxy, above all the sermon, unintentionally prepared the Russian elite to engage the issues of the Petrine age by introducing new values and intellectual categories.

The volume suggests themes for the study of Ukrainian church history, albeit for a very different political and social context. In particular, it offers comparisons for study of topics such as the role of the Vilnius court in the life of the Kyiv Metropolitanate and the religious practices of the princely elite. It also points to the need for closer examination of the role of the monasteries in Ukrainian society, especially during their flourishing and increasing influence in the seventeenth century.

The monograph will primarily attract the attention of those interested in Ukrainian history for its discussion of how Ukrainian Orthodoxy influenced the Russian church and society. Bushkovitch sees Epifanii Slavynetsky and Simiaon

Polatsky as conduits of the sermon tradition of the Kyiv Metropolitanate to Moscow. He sees these preachers as emphasizing the moral issues paramount at the Russian court—avarice and pride—and not as introducing all the issues that concerned Ukrainian and Belarusian preachers, which included miracle stories and sexual morality.

Understandably, Bushkovitch devotes relatively little attention to Ukraine and Belarus, though he is obviously well read on their church and society. He has, however, advanced the study of Russian-Ukrainian religious contacts by searching for the contents of what the Ukrainian and Belarusian churchmen conveyed and the reasons for Russian adaptation. The argument is often more stated than proven, especially in comparing Slavynetsky and Polatsky to preachers who remained in Ukraine and Belarus. In addition, the reasons why the Ukrainian emphasis on sexual morality, asceticism, and miracle cults did not also transfer to Moscow are not clear.

Bushkovitch displays a breadth of interpretation and a high level of erudition. *Religion and Society in Russia* posits a changing situation in early modern Russian religious affairs and offers hypotheses on how they relate to society and the court. He has presented a new interpretation of Russian church and society that will surely provoke discussion and controversy.

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Olgierd Górka. *Ogniem i mieczem a rzeczywistość historyczna.*

Edited and annotated by Wiesław Majewski. Warsaw:

Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony, 1986. 263 pp.

In the mid-1980s controversy raged in Ukraine about the historical accuracy and civic patriotism of Pavlo Zahrebelny's novel about Bohdan Khmelnytsky, *Ia, Bohdan (spovid u slavi)*. Ukrainian writers and literary specialists such as Borys Oliynyk, V'iacheslav Briukhovetsky, Valerii Diachenko, and Mykola Zhulynsky took part in the heated debate. After enumerating all the source and factual errors, the historian Volodymyr Serhiichuk declared: "I am convinced that in this form the novel *Ia, Bohdan* in no way 'works' for [the purpose of] instilling, primarily in young people's consciousnesses, respect and filial reverence to historical sanctities. Rather, it awakens in them [youth] nihilism toward what is their own, native, leads them down devious paths of disrespect towards that in which we have rightly taken pride and take pride before the world" ("*Ia, Bohdan' z tochky zoru istoryka*," *Dnipro*, 1987, no. 10, 119). Regrettably, Serhiichuk did not draw the reader's attention to a similar Polish discussion of the 1930s, when Olgierd Górka's criticism of the historical accuracy of Henryk Sienkiewicz's classic nineteenth-century novel on the Khmelnytsky period, *Ogniem i mieczem* (With Fire and Sword), unleashed a storm of controversy. Serhiichuk

might well have pointed out that Górka's side of the controversy, first published as a book in 1934, had just become available in a new edition in 1986.

The new edition includes an account of Górka's life by Janusz Sikorski (pp. 5–8); a discussion of the significance of the book by Wiesław Majewski (pp. 9–14); the text and explanatory footnotes, chiefly of names and places (pp. 15–222); bibliographies by Urszula Olech of works cited by Górka, of the polemic of 1933–5, and of books dealing with Sienkiewicz's *Ogniem i mieczem* that appeared after 1933 (pp. 223–33); and a postscript of accounts of major events of the Khmelnytsky uprising from 1648 to 1651 by Majewski (pp. 234–61). Regrettably, there are no indices.

Without access to the sixty-two items by other authors cited in the bibliography of the polemic, one cannot fully understand why Polish historians such as Władysław Konopczyński, Marian Kukiel, Zygmunt Lasocki, Władysław Tomkiewicz, and Stanisław Zakrzewski engaged in such heated controversy about the historical accuracy of a novel published fifty years earlier. From Górka's responses, however, one gets some idea of the criticism. More important, one can sense how Górka's passion and, in particular, his rage against Jarema (Jeremi) Wiśniowiecki could arouse a defense of Polish "historical sanctities." In his argument Górka ranges from calls for historical objectivity to indictments of Polish political thought. Even his case for historical truth and against national mythology was not consistent. He accepted that *Ogniem i mieczem* had played a positive role during the age of Poland's partitions, but maintained that belief in the novel as history would not serve Polish youth well once Polish statehood had been restored (pp. 34–6).

Górka also based his argument on the need for Polish society to take into account the views of Ukrainians. He maintained that Polish historians had failed to come to terms with the considerable advances in research made by Ukrainian historians in the first third of the twentieth century. He asserted that Polish society had refused to examine the social and political realities of the Khmelnytsky uprising, preferring to accept the myths of Sienkiewicz and the outdated historical views of Julian Bartoszewicz and, in large part, Ludwik Kubala. Górka adamantly objected to the elevation of Wiśniowiecki to a Polish national hero, and he obsessively attacked the prince in every way he could. This attention to what he viewed as the false values of his Polish contemporaries may also be seen in his insistence that Sienkiewicz's hero, Michał Skrzetuski, was in fact an Orthodox Ruthenian. Górka hoped to strike out against contemporary Polish prejudice by making this assertion, but in doing so he placed himself in an indefensible position. He had better success in his challenge to those Polish scholars who sought to denigrate Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks by seeing the Tatars as the Commonwealth's major adversary. As an Orientalist, Górka had the tools to show that the enormous figures attributed to the Tatar forces were false and that Khmelnytsky had won his first battles with Ukrainian Cossacks alone. Górka also put into question the vastly inflated figures attributed to Khmelnytsky's forces and thereby portrayed the Cossack army as more effective than Polish scholars assumed it to be.



Many of Górka's arguments and responses to his critics consist of debates over dates, sources, and events. Indeed, in the fragment of the polemic that is published, it is striking how small factual points seemed as, or more, important than historical methods and conceptions. Only a careful examination of the total polemic could permit an accurate evaluation of the extent of the debate of broader issues, but Górka's emotional fervour and his fixation on small points indicate that such broader discussions did not predominate.

In his short introduction, Dr. Majewski does not analyze the entire debate or examine fully Górka's views. He merely mentions such issues as the glorification of Wiśniowiecki and estimation of the number and quality of Tatar cavalry, for which Górka provided beneficial correctives. A specialist in military history and an expert in the sources and evolution of the Cossacks, Majewski's major contribution is the postscript, where he sums up both the current state of knowledge and his own research about events such as King Władysław's plans for a war against the Ottomans and his designs on the registered Cossacks; the rebels' conspiracy and agreement with the Tatars (November 1647–March 1648); the battles of Zhovti Vody and Korsun (March–May 1648); the duel of Kryvonis and Wiśniowiecki (June–July 1648); negotiations and the Battle of Pyliavtsi (June–September 1648); Khmelnytsky's siege of Lviv and Zamość and the ensuing truce (September 1648–May 1649); the siege of Zbarazh (May–July 1649); the Battle and Agreement of Zboriv (August 1649); and the Battle of Berestechko (1651). These short essays provide a corrective to the statements of Górka and his opponents. Written without notes and tucked away at the end of the book, they are likely to be overlooked. They should not be. Many of them are the best up-to-date sketches on the events of the first four years of the Khmelnytsky uprising.

It is hoped that Urszula Olech's bibliographies will provide the basis for further study of the impact of Sienkiewicz's novel and the debate over Górka's contentions. The bibliographies must be used with caution, however, for they fail in one of the major criteria by which Górka judged Polish scholarship and society: attention to Ukrainian views. The bibliography of reactions to *Ogniem i mieczem* includes only one Ukrainian reaction, that of Antonovych. In the list of discussions of responses to Górka's essays, only Polish works are given. A controversy that is so well fixed in the minds of the generations of Ukrainians who lived in the 1930s surely had responses in the Ukrainian press and journals. (For Ukrainian reactions to Sienkiewicz, see Mykhailo Demkovych-Dobriansky, *Ukrainsko-polski stosunki v XIX st.* [Munich, 1969], 107–11.)

The reappearance of Górka's essays seems, unfortunately, to have been overlooked in a Ukraine that is grappling with the rebuilding of historical consciousness. One hopes that their new edition will have greater influence in Poland. It appeared just after the massive printing of Jan Widacki's panegyric to Wiśniowiecki, *Kniaz Jarema* (Katowice, 1984), a biography that lacked any of the scholarly attributes of the 1933 biography by Władysław Tomkiewicz, a participant in the Górka controversy. Although Olech lists the attempts of



numerous postwar Polish historians to demythologize the Poles' conception of the seventeenth century, Widacki's work demonstrates how potent the myths remain.

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Serhii Iekelchuk [Serhy Yekelchuk]. *Probudzhennia natsii: Do kontseptsii istorii ukrainskoho natsionalnoho rukhu druhoi polovyny XIX st.* Melbourne: Monash University, Slavic Section, 1994. 125 pp. A\$10.95.

This short book by a young Kyivan scholar deserves special attention. It is one of the first "swallows" of what promises to be a renewed spring of interest in Ukrainian intellectual history. Such interest is long overdue, after decades of tendentious Soviet scholarship that ignored the most vital issues of this history and distorted or even denied Ukrainian history in general. As was to be expected, now the field is open in Ukraine for new and fresh research. It is natural, perhaps, that the inspiration for this comes from the West—not only from the work of Ukrainian scholars who have lived and worked there, but from West European and American sources of theory and practice of what still goes by the name of "nationalism" or "nation-building."

The author's task was, in his own words, "to bring together concepts and evaluations of the Ukrainian national movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in contemporary Western historiography with corresponding views of Soviet and post-Soviet historical scholarship" (p. 9). This task is performed very skilfully in language that avoids modern scholarly jargon. Iekelchuk is well informed. He has a good knowledge of the works of Lysiak Rudnytsky, Pritsak, Szporluk, Himka, Subtelny, and other Ukrainian scholars in the West, as well as of theoreticians such as Hroch and Smith. He discusses them intelligently and does not refrain from critical commentary. The book has an almost encyclopedic character and will be of great use to students.

Iekelchuk does not stop there. Having traced the development of the Ukrainian national movement in the framework of modern models of nationalism, he offers a basis for further exploration of this field. Post-Soviet scholarship, which he represents, has only begun to fill in the important lacunae in Ukrainian intellectual history. A great deal of fresh research has to be done in this very complex area. The groundwork for it is being laid by studies like Iekelchuk's. Recently some very insightful articles have been published by Oksana Pakhlovskaya, Oksana Zabuzhko, and other younger scholars in Ukraine on the general and main currents of intellectual history. Iekelchuk's valuable volume has the advan-

tage of providing for future research the nitty-gritty of how to approach this fascinating field.

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Bohdan Struminsky and Marta Skorupsky, eds., with the assistance of Edward Kasinec and Natalia Livytska-Kholodna. *Materiialy do istorii literatury i hromadskoi dumky: Lystuvannia z amerykanskyykh arkhiviv, 1857–1933*. New York: The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1992. 813 pp.

When I received this volume, I was less than enthusiastic about it, to say the least. My initial impression was that it would be a boring collection of unimportant letters edited by Ukrainian émigré scholars for their colleagues' exclusive use. When I began reading it, however, my scepticism quickly evaporated. The more I read the more impressed I became, and by the time I finished the volume I had decided to recommend it to all my colleagues in Kyiv.

This book is a scholarly edition of letters pertaining to the history of Ukrainian culture and intellectual life in their broad socio-political context. It is divided into two major parts. The first part covers the activities of some of the most influential Ukrainian political and literary figures of the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The second deals almost exclusively with Natalia Livytska-Kholodna's circle of friends, that is, young Ukrainian émigré men and women of letters of the 1920s and 1930s. The two parts have very little in common. The prospective reader of the first part will most likely be an academic specializing in Ukrainian studies; the second part, with its extraordinarily vivid and open personal letters, may well attract a wider audience. In other words, we have here *two* books published under one cover and under a vague title. Both of them are interesting, and the latter is even exciting.

The first "book," which was edited and thoroughly annotated by Bohdan Struminsky with the assistance of Edward Kasinec, opens with a single letter from the outstanding Ukrainian scholar and writer Panteleimon Kulish. It also contains six letters from Mykhailo Pavlyk, three from Volodymyr Hnatiuk, and two each from Kyrylo Trylovsky, Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, and Bohdan Lepky. The letters were uncovered in several archival collections in the United States. All of them are of interest and importance for students of Ukrainian history and literature. The largest portion of the first part consists of fifty-four of Mykhailo Drahomanov's letters to Alexandra de Holstein (1841–1895), a Russian émigré translator and political activist residing in Paris, and to her husband Vladimir de Holstein (1849–1917), a physician Drahomanov consulted. As Marc Raeff has noted in his "Introduction—M. P. Drahomanov's Political Thought," the letters shed

interesting light on the crystallization of Drahomanov's political ideas, his publicistic efforts during his last years, and his scholarly work and teaching activities at the University of Sofia. They also afford us a glimpse into Drahomanov's private, personal world and document the sorrows and disappointments of his life as an émigré and his realization that the gulf between him and his homeland is steadily becoming wider and deeper.

The second "book" consists of letters written to Livytska-Kholodna in the years 1922–33. The editor, Marta Skorupsky, consulted Livytska-Kholodna herself in preparing the commentaries to the letters, some of which are very personal. Some of Ievhen Malaniuk's letters reproduced in the book are of a high aesthetic quality, and they broaden the body of the author's published non-fictional works. Olena Teliha's letters are notable for her openness in discussing moral matters and personal links. Dmytro Dontsov's correspondence consists, on the contrary, almost entirely of short business letters to Livytska-Kholodna. The letters written by the above individuals and others in the volume by Iurii Lypa and Andrii Kryzhanivsky shed light only on fragments of their authors' lives. Together, however, they compose a mosaic that depicts the young, émigré literary elite's concerns.

This collection offers material of interest to both Ukrainian specialists and general readers. Unfortunately, the editors' valuable annotations are in English only. Consequently they will not be accessible to readers unfamiliar with that language.

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Paul Robert Magocsi. *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe*.

Cartographic design by Geoffrey J. Matthews. Toronto:

University of Toronto Press, 1993. xiv, 218 pp. \$85.00.

This atlas is the latest instalment in the multivolume History of East Central Europe published by the University of Washington Press under the general editorship of Peter F. Sugar and Donald W. Treadgold. As such, it adheres to the chronological framework as established for the whole series (ca. AD 400 to the present) as well as to its geographical framework (from the Baltic in the north through the Balkans in the south, from the German-Italian linguistic border in the west to the political borders of Russia/the former USSR in the east). The latter, eastern limit of the geographical framework, as interpreted loosely in the series as a whole and strictly in the volume under review, includes only a part of Ukrainian territory, namely the Western Ukrainian regions (Bukovyna, Galicia, Transcarpathia) and the Right Bank.

The eighty-nine maps, divided among fifty chapters, present a great deal of information with clarity and economy. Readers familiar with *Ukraine: A Historical Atlas* will recognize in this volume the same style that distinguished the earlier Magocsi-Matthews collaboration. In selecting topics for cartographic depiction, Magocsi emphasized political-administrative, socioeconomic, cultural, and ecclesiastical history. There are no maps of decisive battles and no maps devoted to the nineteenth-century revolts (e.g., the Polish insurrections, the Greek and Serbian revolutions). The overall choice is judicious, and some of the maps are outstanding (especially the maps of the development of German law cities; of the evolution of German settlement; and of population movements, 1944–8). Some maps whetted the appetite for more. The fine map of Jews and Armenians in East Central Europe, ca. 1900, made me wish that a related map had been prepared for the early modern period; this would have been especially appropriate in the case of the Armenians, who were a largely spent force in the region by the early twentieth century. Similarly, the map of the Greek Catholic church, 1900, made me wish that there had been a map showing the overall historical extent and geographical evolution of Uniatism, beginning in the early modern era. Finally, the map of canal and railway development before 1914, which is a fairly standard theme, could have been imaginatively complemented, I thought, by a map showing the development of the post from the late eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth; the institution of the post is probably the most underrated factor in East Central European history, considering its crucial role in the diffusion of information and ideas during the age of “national awakenings.”

The level of accuracy in the maps is, as far as I could determine, very high. I found few typographical errors. Substantive errors and omissions that I noticed were all fairly minor, considering the complexity of a volume of this sort and its chronological and geographical scope. If one reads the entry on “Printing” in the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, one sees that it would have been possible to add a few printshops to the map concerned with education and culture through the eighteenth century. The atlas omits to mention an important territorial transfer that occurred in 1740, namely, Prussia’s appropriation of Silesia from Austria (although the change is reflected in the maps). The university in Istanbul is omitted from the map of cultural and educational institutions before 1914. The list of academies of sciences, art, and learning on p. 102 has only one entry under the heading Ukrainians, namely Lviv (1873). This undoubtedly refers to the Shevchenko Society, founded in 1873 as a literary-publishing society; the years 1892–3, however, would have served as a more appropriate date, since that is when the original organization was transformed into the Shevchenko Scientific Society in name and in fact. Moreover, there should also have been an entry “Kyiv (1907)” to reflect the establishment of the Ukrainian Scientific Society. These are, I repeat, minor criticisms within the context of so ambitious a project, and overall the atlas is a reliable compendium of historical-geographical information.

In East Central European history, of course, there is a great deal of contradictory and controversial interpretation, and I can imagine that most readers of this

atlas will take issue with one point or another that Magocsi makes in the text accompanying the maps. I am sure, for instance, that the Balkan medievalist John V. A. Fine would not endorse the brief account of Bosnian Bogomilism given on p. 42. Most Ukrainian historians will have difficulties with the sharp distinction Magocsi draws between Ukrainians and Carpatho-Rusyns (among whom he includes the Lemkos of Western Galicia). Although Magocsi's distinction is fairly consistent throughout the atlas, it is particularly noticeable in the chapter and map on ethnolinguistic distribution, ca. 1900. The *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* differs in this respect quite markedly from the earlier *Ukraine: A Historical Atlas* (cf. in the latter volume the equivalent map of the ethnolinguistic setting of the Ukrainian lands). Perhaps the reason for the change is that the Ukrainian atlas appeared in 1985 (with a revised second printing in 1987) and the East Central European atlas in 1993. At least this is what Magocsi suggests in the volume under review: "Finally, some groups, because of their geographic location, had the potential to develop into distinct entities. By the twentieth century, some or most members of these groups had been absorbed into the ethnolinguistic group with whom they were most closely related—Wends becoming Slovenes, Kashubes becoming Poles, Carpatho-Rusyns becoming Ukrainians—although in the case of the Kashubes and most especially the Carpatho-Rusyns, since the revolution of 1989 there has been a revival promoting the idea of a distinct national identity" (p. 97).

The preparation of this atlas involved a prodigious amount of painstaking labour, and the result is a major scholarly achievement of international stature in the East Central European field. All who research and teach in the area will have their burden lightened as a result of the appearance of this work. Once again one of Magocsi's works merits a prominent place on the reference shelf.

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Janusz Gruchała. *Rząd austriacki i polskie stronnictwa polityczne w Galicji wobec kwestii ukraińskiej (1890–1914)*. Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 1988. 147 pp.

As the title indicates, this is a study of the Ukrainian politics of the Austrian government and Polish political parties in Galicia in the quarter century before the outbreak of World War I. It opens with an introduction discussing the historiography of the subject and a first chapter sketching the historical background of the Ukrainian question in Galicia. The main text focuses on the Ukrainian-Polish rapprochement of 1890–4 (the so-called New Era); attempts by "moderate" Ukrainian politicians to continue the New Era into the late 1890s; the effect of the 1902 agrarian strikes on Galician politics; the reform of the parliamentary suffrage (1905–7); the Ukrainians' demands for their own university



and for electoral reform with respect to the Galician Diet; and Russophilism. All these are important issues in Galician Ukrainian history that have not received the scholarly attention they deserve.

Gruchala has researched his theme in the relevant Austrian archives, in manuscript repositories in Poland, and in the Galician Polish press. He was not able to use the major collection of relevant documentation, the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv, nor did he consult the Galician Ukrainian press. Perhaps the latter omission accounts for a certain lack of understanding of the Ukrainian position on various issues and a tendency to label the majority of Ukrainian politicians as "radicals." Some of Gruchala's interpretations might have been modified if he had developed more of an inside view of the Ukrainian movement. Gruchala is at his strongest when he delineates the stances of various Polish political parties and currents and explains how they diverge from those of the central Austrian government and military. Historians of Ukraine will find much of interest in this monograph.

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Dominic Lieven. *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815–1914*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. xvii, 308 pp. US\$15.00 paper.

How did an old elite adapt to a new world? More specifically, to what extent were the German Junkers responsible for the rise of Nazism, the Russian nobles for the Revolution of 1917, and the English elite for a civilized transition from aristocratic oligarchy to liberal democracy? These are the basic questions the author poses in his comparative study of the Russian, German, and English nobilities. The conclusions he reaches are not unexpected: given their well-developed socioeconomic system and constitutional traditions, the English elite was well placed to adapt to, even to guide, the transition to modernity and the concomitant decline in its own influence; the Junkers did rather well in retaining their socioeconomic status in an industrializing society, and their responsibility for the rise of Nazism was probably no greater than that of the intellectuals, industrialists, and clerical leaders; and the Russian nobles, closely tied to a state that was increasingly alienated from society, were bound to sink with that state.

Lieven's study is not the first to apply a comparative approach to the study of nobilities, although it is one of few that deal with the subject in the context of the modernizing nineteenth century. As in all comparative studies, the crucial question is what one chooses to compare. Why did he include the Russian, German, and English nobilities in the comparison, but not the powerful Polish, Hungarian, or Spanish elites? Lieven argues that he chose his samples because their countries had a global impact. Fair enough. But one suspects that biographical factors also played a role: the author is an English scholar who is also a scion

of Baltic German barons in the Russian Empire. Lieven's comparison of the sources of wealth, education, cultural characteristics, and career patterns of the three nobilities is interesting and informative; and the insights it provides fully justify the comparative approach. Given the broadness of the topic, however, it is inevitable that many issues have been neglected. For example, in discussing the Russian nobility it would have been useful if Lieven had treated its unique relationship to the intelligentsia; and in view of the fact that the nineteenth century was the golden age of ideologies, an additional chapter on the nobles and ideologies, especially nationalism, would have been greatly appreciated.

For the specialist on Ukraine, the book has several points of interest. Lieven notes that the Left Bank had one of the highest concentrations of large landowners—almost exclusively ethnic Russians—in the empire. This implies that the old *starshyna* families of the region were unable to expand their holdings and that obtaining vast lands depended almost exclusively on court connections, as the holdings of the few magnate families of Ukrainian origin such as the Bezborodkos and Kochubeis seem to indicate. It is strange that Lieven does not discuss the great Polish magnate families in the Right Bank, such as the Potockis, Czartoryskis, Branickis, and Zasławskis, nor include them in his list of great landowners in the empire. The author provides several informative paragraphs about the nobles' role, or rather lack of it, in the industrialization of southern Ukraine and about the rise of "sugar barons" such as the Tereshchenkos and Kharytonenkos. From the Ukrainian historian's point of view, perhaps the most useful aspect of this well-written comparative study is that it highlights some of the unique features of the elite that administered the empire of which Ukraine was a part.

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George Y. Shevelov. *The Ukrainian Language in the First Half of the Twentieth Century (1900–1941): Its State and Status*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1989. vi, 242 pp. US\$23.00. Distributed by the Harvard University Press.

Readers acquainted with the history of the Ukrainian language know that the majority of inconsistencies and contradictory aspects of literary Ukrainian stem mostly from the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Yet this period, though not historically remote, has been investigated insufficiently by Ukrainian historical linguists. On the one hand, this lack of scholarly enquiry can be attributed to the proscriptive character of official Soviet linguistics. Preoccupied by the investigation of the "mutual enrichment of languages in the USSR," it limited the study of the historical aspects of the development of the Ukrainian language to contrasting two of its stages: before 1917 and in its present state. This gave the impression that all gains resulted from the steady progress achieved in

the monolithic Soviet period. On the other hand, the evaluation of the language's development, which should have included analyses of the stimulating and hampering influences of extra-linguistic factors, seemed for many years to be practically impossible to accomplish: linguistic data did not exist, while official statistics for the period concerned were either unavailable or simply unreliable. Consequently George Y. Shevelov, a world-renowned Ukrainian linguist, undertook research aimed at reconstructing the social history of the Ukrainian language in the first half of the twentieth century. The result is this book. It is an important contribution to Slavic linguistics.

Shevelov investigates the Ukrainian language "in its internal development and in its relations with the languages of nations that ruled in the Ukraine," i.e., Russian, German, Polish, Hungarian, Czech, and Romanian. To overcome the lack of statistical and direct linguistic evidence, the author expertly examines indirect, extra-linguistic data. He investigates his subject by (1) analyzing the constitution and other legislative documents that were designed to regulate language policy in general and Ukrainian language usage in particular; (2) examining the state of public education, book publishing, and the activity of Ukrainian cultural organizations, i.e., data that provide evidence about the quantitative results of official policy on the status and social functions of the Ukrainian language; and (3) surveying the primary linguistic works, such as grammars, dictionaries, and orthographic rules, published during the period, which manifest the qualitative aspect of the language's development.

The book begins with an outline of the historical development of the Ukrainian language up to 1900. Shevelov compares the status of Ukrainian under the three states that occupied Ukraine and shows that legislative differences did not prevent the imposition of various restrictions on the public usage of the Ukrainian language either *de jure*, as was the case in Russian-ruled Ukraine, or *de facto*, as in the Western Ukrainian lands ruled by Austria and Hungary. As a result, the only social stratum using Ukrainian in the Russian- and Hungarian-ruled regions of Ukraine remained the peasantry, while its use among the intelligentsia there was the exception. In all urban centres the language of everyday communication was that of the ruling nation.

An important supposition made by the author, which needs further investigation, is that there were two centres of Ukrainian language standards in the making, namely, the vernacular of the Kyiv and Poltava regions in Russian-ruled Ukraine and of the Lviv region in Austrian-ruled Galicia. The Galician variant, in the view of contemporaries, notably those in Russian-ruled Ukraine, was more prestigious and functionally more developed. The changes in tsarist language policy that occurred under the pressure of the growing revolutionary movement (1903–5), the revival of national consciousness, and the oppressive measures introduced by the government after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution affected the development of literary Ukrainian in the decade before the First World War. Shevelov convincingly exposes the dual, contradictory nature of this period and the true, guiding motives of tsarist policy. On the one hand, we see the rise of a

Ukrainian faction in the State Duma, the introduction of the Ukrainian language as a political issue, the formation of a Russian Academic Commission (1905) to resolve the question of publishing in Ukrainian, the removal of the tsarist prohibition on Ukrainian books and newspapers (1906), the establishment of the first Prosvita popular-enlightenment societies in Russian-ruled Ukraine, and the publication there of the first Ukrainian dictionaries and other works discussing problems of Ukrainian language development. On the other hand, the only books in Ukrainian the tsarist government allowed to be printed were those that helped in enlightening the peasantry (Ukrainian schools, however, were not allowed). In terms of the number of publications, the language of the second-largest nation in the Russian Empire stood eighth in 1912, after Russian, Polish, Yiddish and Hebrew, Lettish, Estonian, Tatar, and Armenian. The dominance of the theory of a tripartite "Great Russian" (i.e. Russian-Ukrainian-Belarusian) nation in governing circles prevented the attainment of an equal status for Ukrainian even with the languages of smaller nations in the empire.

The struggle for Ukraine's independence (1917–20), despite its brevity and the incompleteness of changes that took place then in the use and internal structure of Ukrainian, brought "substantial, and in many respects crucial" advances in the language's status. "Indisputable achievements" were the inclusion of Ukrainian in the spheres of public and official communication and its functional diversification. The drawbacks and lack of standardization that existed as the language's functionality expanded were reflected in Ukrainian publications, whose number was constantly growing. The foundation of a government commission on the regulation of orthography and the publication (in 1919) of the principal rules of Ukrainian orthography, the appointment of a Terminological Commission, and the publication of an unprecedented number of dictionaries (though not always of high quality) were the first measures aimed at standardizing Ukrainian. The elaboration and regularization of terminology, which was one of the most important tasks of the day, was based on the revival of terms used in the Cossack Hetman state and in Ukrainian dialects; in other words, it was influenced by historical and ethnographic romanticism. Because of the high level of Russification in the educational establishments, the transition to Ukrainian as the language of instruction was planned as a gradual process: existing institutions were to be preserved intact, but a parallel network of new, Ukrainian ones, including the Academy of Sciences, was organized.

Shevelov devotes the greatest attention to the first two decades of the Soviet period, which are discussed in chapters on Soviet Ukraine before, during (1925–32), and after (1933–41) Ukrainization. Bolshevik terror against anyone suspected of being an opponent of the Communist regime (in 1918) was replaced by a policy of tolerating the use of Ukrainian. The possible supremacy of that language over Russian was excluded in the Code of Laws on Public Education in the Ukrainian SSR (1922), the Criminal Procedure Code (1922), and other documents; instead, "two generally used languages" were recognized. Russian continued to dominate in the administration and in publications. In 1919 the ratio



of Ukrainian newspapers to the Russian ones in Ukraine was never larger than a half, and from 1917 to 1924 they averaged only one-third and fell to one-fifth in terms of circulation. Once again Ukrainian was recognized as being mostly the language used by the peasantry, who, according to Communist ideology, were a less progressive class than the proletariat. A general attitude of subordination to anything Russian was widespread. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was poorly subsidized, and this led to a decline in its publications (none in 1920, three in 1921, and two in 1922, compared to twelve in pre-Soviet 1918 and 1919). Ukrainian schools managed to survive mainly in rural areas. Despite regulatory attempts by the academy's Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language (which had only one (!) paid worker in 1922), which presupposed as the main source of lexical innovations the application or modification (in meaning) of dialectal words, the language became open to Sovietisms in the form of loan translations or borrowings.

A new turn in policy, known as Ukrainization, took place in 1923 after the Twelfth Congress of the All-Union Party and the Ukrainian authorities issued decrees officially recognizing "that the formal equality of the two languages most widespread in the Ukraine, Ukrainian and Russian, as applied so far is insufficient." Shevelov underlines that there were various reasons for revamping the language policy, such as the rise of an ethnic Ukrainian urban intelligentsia, the growth of the ethnic Ukrainian cohort in the Party, and the policy of industrialization, which from the very beginning was connected with population migration and shifts. But the main reason for change stemmed from the international political ambitions of the Soviet regime. After the Bolsheviks' expectations of revolution in the industrialized countries did not materialize, they shifted their attention to the colonial countries as those that could cause the downfall of capitalism. For these countries they designated Ukraine as a model territory where the nationality question had been harmoniously solved. Ukrainization was enforced not for the sake of promoting the widespread use of Ukrainian, but mainly for a cosmetic purpose, to "show off" the "nationalized" bureaucratic system. The policy had a very narrow social basis: the village population and Ukrainian intelligentsia did not need to be Ukrainized, while the industrial workers were indifferent to it.

Shevelov discusses the policy's evident and hidden sides. The first was manifested in the growth of Ukrainian schools (which numerically started to reflect the proportion that ethnic Ukrainians constituted in the republic's population); in the Ukrainization of the central Party organs and popular press (which reached 87.5 percent in 1932); in the greatest growth in years of textbooks and manuals published in Ukrainian; and in the release of important lexicographic works, such as Borys Hrinchenko's Russian-Ukrainian dictionary (supplemented by Serhii Iefremov and Andrii Nikovsky) and twenty-seven new terminological dictionaries. A special place in this period is occupied by the attempt to achieve the normalization of literary Ukrainian in both Soviet and Polish-ruled Western Ukraine. Shevelov provides a general overview of the



spelling innovations introduced by the Ukrainian Orthographic Conference held in Kharkiv in 1927; he concludes that though the new orthographic rules were often compromise solutions that followed neither of the two orthographic traditions (e.g., rendition of foreign *l* and *g* as *l* and *h* in words of Greek origin and as *l'* and *g* in loanwords of Latin and Modern European origin), Ukrainian spelling and morphology had been "never before codified in such detail and precision." In lexicographic works the trend to purge Russian patterning from literary Ukrainian began developing: Galicianisms and dialectal words with modified or elevated meanings and neologisms derived from existing morphemes were admitted into the standard vocabulary stock.

The hidden side of Ukrainization was marked by the dissolution of cultural organizations (e.g., the writer's organizations Vaplite and MARS) and suppression of prominent Ukrainian cultural figures not directly subordinated to the Party. Their replacement with organizations and mediocre functionaries loyal to the regime undermined the prestige of Ukrainian culture. Although Russian-speaking bureaucrats had to undergo a minimum level of Ukrainization, they quickly saw that the use of Ukrainian was a pretence. For the ordinary urban dweller the entire policy was a "kind of comedy."

Characteristic of the Soviet period were the neglect of the natural laws of language development and the exploitation of the Ukrainian language as a tactical means of achieving ideological goals. The latter could not but have negative effects that far outweighed the positive aspects of Ukrainization.

Ukrainization ended without any official declaration and as abruptly as it had started. The reasons for the shift in policy were the intensification of collectivization and the possibility of upcoming war. Pavel Postyshev's appointment as second secretary of the CP(B)U in 1933 marked the beginning of the political turn. Stalin's new campaign against "local nationalism" took the form of a man-made famine, aimed at breaking the resistance of the peasantry, and the nearly total destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. As a result, in the cities Ukrainian began to be used officially only on sanctioned occasions, and the enhancement of language standards through literature, cinema, and theatre became almost impossible. Instead, the search for "sabotage" in linguistics(!) led to the revision of spelling. A new orthographic code was instituted unexpectedly without any public discussion or necessary preliminaries. It introduced or corrected 126 orthographic rules as the starting point of the "evolution" (a process that would last for decades) of literary Ukrainian according to norms existing in Russian. Politically the situation became worse after the adoption of the 1937 Soviet Constitution, which left practically no legislative rights for the Ukrainian parliament and said nothing about the languages of the republics except for the right of "school education in the native language." The critical point was the coup d'état that occurred in Ukraine in the summer of 1937, when all members of Ukraine's Central Committee, Orgbiuro, and Control Commission were arrested. The non-existence of the Soviet Ukrainian government for the next five months is, in Shevelov's view, indirect evidence that the very existence of the Ukrainian

republic was at stake. Though formally their existence was preserved, measures to undermine the status of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture continued and reached their culmination in the postwar years.

It would not be an exaggeration to state that Shevelov's study is unique and long overdue. It reveals fully pages in the history of the Ukrainian language that were available only in unsystematized, chaotic, and scattered fragments to the postwar generation of Soviet Ukrainian linguists and interested readers. The author's profound analysis, original approach, and new suppositions and conclusions make his book a classic that will be compulsory reading for every researcher of the history of the Ukrainian language. Although Shevelov's study deals with developments that occurred fifty to a hundred years ago, in the light of recent events in Ukraine its relevance is undiminished. It provides historical proof that the language problem in Ukraine is not something that can be solved simply by decree.

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Myroslav Shkandrij. *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation: The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992. xii, 265 pp. \$24.95.

*Modernists, Marxists and the Nation* addresses the fundamental ideological tendencies in twentieth-century Ukrainian cultural history: modernism, socialism, and nationalism. The issues of national identity, literary traditionalism, and the creation of a "high" culture constitute the culturological background to its main subject, the Literary Discussion of the 1920s. The latter was not only an expression of the passions of the national rebirth: it reflected the widespread desire to develop a full-fledged Ukrainian culture and literature, but also the socialist dogmatism, Bolshevik totalitarian mind-set, and literary functionalism of the time.

English-language readers familiar with Mykola Khvylovy's *Cultural Renaissance in Ukraine: Polemical Pamphlets, 1925–1926* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986), which was translated and edited with an introduction and notes by Myroslav Shkandrij, can now, through Shkandrij's new book, consider Khvylovy's writings within the broad contextual framework of the literary and ideological struggle that occurred in Ukraine during the 1920s. Here Shkandrij examines, perhaps for the first time, the Literary Discussion of 1925–8 as a full-fledged cultural process in all its aspects—literary, ideological, organizational, and artistic. His study resounds not only with the voice of Khvylovy, the fundamental "reflex" of the polemic, but also with the voices of Khvylovy's opponents, fellow travellers, and sympathizers. The book functions like a script. It has its own dramatis personae (the "Olympians," Neoclassicists, avant-gardists, members of Hart, and supporters of *prosvita*) and dramatic

conflicts (the "Olympians" vs. the *prosvita* supporters, the Neoclassicists vs. the nihilists). It also contains an examination of additional episodes (the chapter on "Organizational Defeat") and the author's own digressions (e.g., on parallels in art and on émigré echoes of the Literary Discussion).

The study is clearly historiographic in nature, inasmuch as its principal theme is the history of Ukrainian culture as it was shaped during the 1920s. Having conceptualized the Literary Discussion as a full-fledged cultural process, Shkandrij discusses not only its sources and chronology, but also its hidden aspects.

In light of the author's comprehensive, multidimensional presentation, his book should appeal not only to readers in the English-speaking world, whom it introduces to the political and cultural history of twentieth-century Ukraine, but also in Ukraine. It differs from the joint monograph written by a group of scholars at the Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, *20-ti roky: Literaturni dyskusii, polemiky* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1991), in that it analyzes the Literary Discussion from the perspective of problems encountered in the literary process of the 1920s and correlates questions addressed in the debates with culturology, the theory of prose, and journal criticism of that decade. By generalizing the Literary Discussion and conceptualizing it as he does, Shkandrij portrays it as the principal, fundamental event in the development of Ukrainian cultural consciousness in the 1920s, an event that addressed the main issues of modern Ukrainian culture—tradition, creative freedom, and "high" and "mass" culture.

Shkandrij points out that a single purpose linked the writers of Urbino, Vaplite, and *Literaturnyi iarmarok*. It may be characterized as the development and structuralization of Ukrainian culture and literature. In this regard, it would have been worthwhile if he had analyzed Khvylovy's attitude to early Ukrainian modernism, when a discussion of national, modern, and even "proletarian" art first took place (in the journal *Dzvin*).

Compared to the early modernist period in Ukraine, the fundamentally new cultural context of the 1920s arose from the interweaving of often contradictory intellectual currents—Marxism, nationalism, and literary avant-gardism. This interweaving was manifested most markedly in the short-lived fusion of literature with Marxist ideology known as "proletarian literature."

The compatibility of Marxism, nationalism, and avant-gardism was illusory. As such it spawned a substantial intellectual and cultural polemic within the framework of the newly consolidated Soviet "socialist culture." The latter could not expand through complete, autonomous structures resembling, at a distance, the dialogues of medieval culture on the eve of the modern era. In the twentieth century a new cultural dialogue—one based on the notion of an official culture that could be regulated and systematized—took place. The nature of its literature and its subordination to political ideology (in this case, that of the Bolsheviks) are obvious. As a result the powerful cultural "explosion" expressed through the Literary Discussion, which could have given further impetus to various cultural

movements and orientations, gradually came under the control of the Party, which reduced it to the struggle between two ideologies and two opposing systems, "proletarian-socialist" and "bourgeois-nationalist."

Perhaps the underpinning of the Literary Discussion derived, on the one hand, from the antagonism that existed among the various ideologies that were artificially integrated to create Soviet "socialist culture," and, on the other, from the impossibility of developing valid autonomous structures for the various fledgling (traditional, avant-garde, peasant, proletarian, "mass," and "high") cultures. The universal, utopian model of a unitary culture based on rationalism and the Enlightenment found its affirmation, as well as its demise, in Soviet socialism.

During the Literary Discussion the artificial symbiosis created by "proletarian literature" was debated from different points of view by various, even opposing, groups (from Proletkult to Vaplite) and underwent a considerable evolution. Shkandrij emphasizes that in Hnat Mykhailychenko's conception of "proletarian literature," national and Communist traditions were still nonantagonistic. The goal was the creation of a literature that would be simultaneously national, modern, and proletarian. Hart's thesis of "proletarian literature" was already substantially ideologized, and it resulted in the emergence of the theory of two cultures: one proletarian and Russian, the other peasant and Ukrainian.

In this way the neocolonial content of the proletarian-literary synthesis and its growing functionalism were manifested. The concept of proletarian literature was gradually reduced to Communist ideology and then to organized functionalism, wherein subordination to Party resolutions was formalized through writers' organizations controlled by intellectuals who were professional Party functionaries. Shkandrij illustrates the various ways the idea of proletarian literature could be interpreted besides official functionalism. In the 1920s it was linked with the utopian ideal of collective creativity (camouflaged in Urbino's symbolism), with Pluh's "massism," and with the internationalist ideal of world unification (Serhii Pylypenko, for example, proposed the use of the Latin alphabet for writing in Ukrainian).

The Literary Discussion, which was launched by Khvylovy in 1925, also manifested the evolution of a postcolonial consciousness. The latter was represented first and foremost in Khvylovy's pamphlets. The re-evaluation of the role of the metropolitan culture, the search for other, different forms of national-cultural identity (the correlation of the Ukrainian national rebirth and the "Asiatic Renaissance"), the raising of the level of cultural professionalism, the appeal to nature ("Romantic vitalism"), and even the assimilation of European cultural ferment (the Faustian psychological type)—all illustrate not only the loud criticism of the culturally provincial, backward "Little Russian" complex, but also Ukraine's anticolonial cultural potential.

Shkandrij's study raises the issue of the clash between mass culture and elitist culture that the European *moderne* embodied. "Massism" and the "Olympians" marked the constitution of an indigenous modern structure in Ukrainian literature



as well. It is important, however, that systemic questions (i.e., of the type of culture) were leading questions in the 1920s. This is confirmed by the fact that for Khvylovy a "European" individual psychology and classical humanist ideals, and not a new form, were the principles on which a "high" national culture was to be built.

Despite his claim that the creation of a new artistic school was the central issue for Khvylovy, Shkandrij is forced to state that questions of literary form were not, after all, of primary importance. Furthermore, considering that "culturo-sophical" questions constituted the fundamental backdrop to the Literary Discussion, his monograph insufficiently elucidates the problems connected with formal searchings (pp. 63, 78, 82). I note in passing that he provides a very interesting analysis of the language Khvylovy used in his pamphlets, "the unfamiliar intonations of a young urban Kharkiv intellectual" (p. 55).

Regarding the role of futurism, Shkandrij limits himself to stating that it was an artistic practice that gradually became integrated with functionalist art and even assumed the role of political censorship. He also does not explore the question of the Neoclassicists' "grand" style. Recognition that for the Neoclassicists "the principle of the universality of art and the inner freedom of the artist" was "a *sine qua non* of any creativity" (p. 73) does not yet allow one to relegate the Neoclassicists to other neoclassical movements in twentieth-century literature. One has to bear in mind not only the ideological dimensions of this phenomenon, but also the aesthetic ones.

Shkandrij consciously set a historiographic framework for his study. After all, the Literary Discussion was conducted "within the bounds of cultural history" (p. 63). He accordingly organized his topography, with straight and intersecting lines linking Kyiv, Kharkiv, Lviv, and Moscow, Europe and *prosvita*, and the Communist centre (the Party) and its periphery ("*red prosvita*"). His monograph is both a travel guide to this topography and an anatomy of the cultural anti-utopia of the 1920s as it unfolded in Ukraine.

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David R. Marples. *Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992. xix, 228 pp. \$34.95.

The history of this book is somewhat unusual. In the author's words: "In the year 1987, I had prepared my original [doctoral] thesis for publication under the title 'Soviet Rural Expansion: The Collectivization of Western Ukraine, 1944-50.' Although this manuscript had reached the camera-ready stage, I withdrew it from publication because of the spate of new information coming from the Soviet Union. My feeling was that the book would be badly outdated and would require



immediate revisions" (p. ix). Having committed what timid academics might consider infanticide, David R. Marples decided to publish a more broadly gauged study of Stalinism in Ukraine—in Western Ukraine in particular. He intended "to offer in-depth analysis of some subjects," such as collectivization (in chapters 6, 7, and 8) and also "some new insights or tentative answers to historical problems, such as the question of German-Ukrainian collaboration" (p. xi). He cogently argues for sharing one's preliminary conclusions now: "A new era is dawning in Soviet studies, but it is not easy to decide how best to approach it. One could await access to the most valuable documents and archival material for a decade or they could be made available tomorrow. The scholar, however, feels obliged to provide some analysis from the information currently offered" (p. xii). The book was, of course, completed before the break-up—or temporary break-up—of the Soviet Union and even before the Ukrainian declaration of independence in August 1991. What certain experts lost by Marples not publishing a full-fledged monograph on collectivization in Western Ukraine, more broadly oriented experts and intelligent lay readers have gained by the reorientation and restructuring of the original idea for his book.

The chapters on collectivization read well and are based on solid research. In general, Marples has a knack for the felicitous phrase, which helps to overcome the inherent dryness of agricultural policy issues. The major political importance of the 1940s collectivization was that it was implemented unimaginatively by transferring the methods developed in Soviet Ukraine and elsewhere in the USSR in the 1930s, but without a genocidal terror-famine (at least, according to this reviewer); and that the new collective farms were large but inefficient and lowered the living standards of western Ukrainians, which, in turn, helped them to become critical of the regime even more than they would have been in the absence of collectivization. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, of course, disgruntled western Ukrainians provided the shock troops for the political drive to independence.

What about the newer parts of the book? Chapter 5, on "Khrushchev, Kaganovich and the 1947 Crisis," is a model for sensitive Kremlinological analysis. Marples makes a good case for not exaggerating the differences between Kaganovich and Khrushchev while Kaganovich was running Ukraine as CPU first secretary from March 1947 to December 1947, but he admits that Khrushchev's position was less than stable. Chapter 4 ("Wartime Collaboration in Ukraine: Some Preliminary Questions and Responses") is a fair-minded attempt to set the stage for a full, book-length inquiry into wartime collaboration between the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and certain German authorities. There is a crying need for a comprehensive treatment and a joint international scholarly exploration of the subject, particularly after the painful but ultimately promising preliminary settlement of the Ivan Demyanyuk case. (At the time of writing of this review, the highest court in Israel released Demyanyuk from custody because there was substantial doubt that he was indeed the brutal "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka, even though he had been sentenced to death by a

lower court in Israel; and the U.S. Supreme Court has let stand without comment a Federal Court of Appeals decision sharply condemning the procedure special U.S. prosecutors had used to extradite Demyanyuk to Israel for allegedly being "Ivan the Terrible.") Chapters 2 and 3 ("Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia under Soviet Occupation in 1939–1941" and "World War II in Ukraine") are quite good, except for a proofreader's error on p. 25: it is clear from the subsequent text that Beria's decree on the deportation of Polish military settlers was dated 29 December 1939, not 1940.

In more general terms, the author is to be strongly commended for his decision to work with incomplete evidence as it became available to him from 1987 through 1990. A new Ukrainian study by Ivan Bilas, *Represyivno-karalna systema v Ukraini, 1917–1953: Suspilno-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz* (two vols., Kyiv: Lybid and Viisko Ukrainy, 1994), has gone over some of the same ground as Marples, but with access to archives in Kyiv, Lviv, and Moscow. By and large, Bilas confirms Marples's preliminary judgment, especially on the severity of the famine of 1946–7, which Bilas even calls a terror-famine (*holodomor*). Compare Marples, p. 83, and Bilas, vol. 1, tables 7 and 8 on pp. 354–55: 3.2 million ill; 298,518 persons hospitalized; 101,637 dead; and 130 registered cases of cannibalism. Compare, above all, the two authors on the size of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). On p. 69, Marples correctly says that the official figure for the total number of UPA members—90,000—is "much too small." On p. 181 of vol. 1 (vol. 2 is a collection of pertinent documents), Bilas cites an official report dated 16 January 1946. It states that from February 1944 until 1 January 1946 alone, a total of 39,773 "Chekist-military" operations were conducted in Ukraine; 103,313 "bandits" were killed and 110,785 were detained; 8,370 OUN members were arrested; 15,959 "active guerrillas" were arrested; 50,058 "bandits" surrendered and asked for amnesty; 13,704 deserters were detained; 83,284 draft evaders were detained; and 58,488 deserters surrendered and requested amnesty for a grand total of 443,960 persons. (Bilas also offers an account of captured arms and ammunition, including one U-2 [?] plane.)

Above all, I wish to emphasize that Marples showed good judgment in publishing information on the basis of the not quite fully opened archives under Gorbachev's semi-*glasnost*. Some archives in Ukraine may have been opened further, but others have been closed. For instance, on pp. 186–7, Bilas, a Soviet-trained jurist and police professional, who in 1993 received a doctorate from the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, complains that as late as December 1991, with the permission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of newly independent Ukraine, as many as 1,913 volumes of files and documents pertaining to the operations of the NKVD-MGB Internal Security Troops in Western Ukraine from 1943 to 1951 were transferred for safekeeping (and possible burial?—Y.B.) to the Central Archives of the MVD Internal Security Troops in Moscow. Whoever is willing to wait until the last archives are opened, may wait forever.

If this reviewer has one small reservation with respect to the broader aspects of the book, it pertains to Marples's siding, in chapter 1, with those conservative

Western historians who attempt to deny that Stalin was practising genocide against the Ukrainians in the famine of 1932–33. First, as he himself points out, “Stalin’s almost pathological distrust of Ukrainians was well known” (p. 88), as was, I should add, his distrust of the Jews. Second, there is the public document, unearthed by Robert Conquest and James E. Mace, of Stalin’s 1925 attack on the Yugoslav Communist Semich for refusing to regard the nationality question as being, in essence, a “peasant question” and for ignoring that “there is no powerful national movement without the peasant army.” Third and foremost, there is Stalin’s careful coordination of a mass attack on the Ukrainian peasantry with an attack on the cultural and political elite, beginning with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) show trial of 1930 and ending with about twenty-nine more alleged opposition and terrorist groups being “discovered” and repressed throughout the 1930s. Before the SVU trial, OGPU interrogator Bruk said to defendant Matushevsky, as related by Helii Sniehirov, “We have to put the Ukrainian intelligentsia on their knees. That is our job. Those whom we will not put on their knees, we will shoot.” If this is not genocide in Lemkin’s comprehensive meaning of the term, as distinguished from the more specific Holocaust, what is?

The difference of opinion in the treatment of Stalin is important in that it leads Marples to a somewhat harsh characterization of the extreme Ukrainian integral nationalists fighting in the UPA (especially in the conclusion, pp. 167–70). Far be it from me to gloss over the cruelties committed by some OUN members. I am also uneasy that in the interest of redressing the old balance, Bilas cites archival documents on some very nasty actions by Soviet security forces without citing authentic documents on the excesses committed by the OUN. But when everything is considered, many historians and political scientists in today’s Ukraine will agree that Stalin and his successors committed physical and cultural genocide against the Ukrainian people and that patriotic Ukrainians basically fought for national survival. Before long, even conservative historians will have to realize that there are distinct parallels between the genocide against the Jews and the genocide against the Ukrainians, and that legitimate comparisons can be made between the armed independence movements in both nations.

The work at hand is a thoughtful major effort to come to grips with Stalinism in Ukraine in the 1940s and with the reassertion of Ukrainian integral nationalism in Western Ukraine—explicitly in the 1940s and, by implication, today. It is well done. It is also particularly welcome in the light of archives that were opened from 1987 through 1990 but, alas, closed again in 1991.

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Alexander J. Motyl. *Dilemmas of Independence: Ukraine after Totalitarianism*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993. xvi, 217 pp. US\$17.95.

Taras Kuzio and Andrew Wilson. *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence*. Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1994. xiv, 260 pp. \$34.95.

The last decade has seen extraordinary developments in Ukraine as the tightly controlled fiefdom of Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, that most loyal servitor of the Brezhnev-era Soviet state, reconstituted itself as an independent state and embraced the legacy and symbols of the short-lived Ukrainian People's Republic. A full history of this epochal change will likely not appear for decades, for the archival sources, memoir literature, and specific studies its author(s) would need to draw upon are simply not yet available. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility of current perceptive studies of this momentous decade, and Kuzio and Wilson's and Motyl's works are outstanding contributions in this regard. They will probably remain standard texts for many years to come.

The two works are substantially different in focus and approach. *Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence* is an examination of the events—more specifically, the stages of development—leading to the declaration of Ukrainian independence (and its subsequent confirmation by referendum) in 1991. *Dilemmas of Independence* examines the challenges facing the new Ukrainian state (as well as their genesis) and some of its first steps as an independent nation. Covering different ground in distinctive manners, the two works complement each other well, and they deserve to be read in tandem.

*Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence* is a study of the dynamics of Ukrainian independence. Its major premise is that on its own the nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia would have been unable to realize state independence. Once political conditions were liberalized in Ukraine as a result of the Soviet policy of *Glasnost*, the intelligentsia was able to generate a strong and wide-spread movement of national and democratic protest. But ultimately it had to co-opt the existing state elite to a more openly national-communist and then independentist position in order to realize its broader objectives. The events the book portrays are interpreted within a framework established in the introductory chapter, "Theories of Nationalism and the Soviet Ukrainian Context." This approach pays dividends in the long run, as it helps to underline the distinctive stages of development on the road to independence, allowing the reader to recognize the significance of events that might otherwise have seemed minor in the broader scheme of things. In this regard it is useful to compare this work to a Ukrainian-language study that covers much of the same ground, Oleksii Haran's *Ubytyi drakona: Z istorii Rukhu ta novykh partii Ukrainy* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1993). The latter work is an intelligently written account of the rise of the Popular Movement in Support of *Perestroika* (popularly known as Rukh) and other Ukrainian political



parties that provides a wealth of factual information and keen observation. Nevertheless, it does not have a unifying theme and therefore reads as a chronicle of and reflection on recent developments.

After a background chapter on the history of Ukraine and truly or potentially divisive aspects of its society, Kuzio and Wilson deal with the years preceding Gorbachev's rise to power. They conclude that those years produced a variety of dissident and oppositionist currents in Ukraine that were kept under close check and unable or unlikely to coalesce into a movement that could threaten the stability of the state. They then go on to examine the regrouping of the Ukrainian dissident movement in the more liberal atmosphere of the Gorbachev years, initially around the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (the spiritual successor of the earlier Ukrainian Helsinki Group). By the latter part of 1988 some clear gains had been realized by the movement: unofficial groups (*neformaly*) such as the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia, the Ukrainian Culturological Club, and the Lev Society had been established; discussion of issues such as language and cultural development and the crimes of the Stalin period became public; and people were mobilized around ecological issues (particularly in the wake of the Chornobyl disaster). The movement, however, was still largely limited to the intelligentsia and focused on legal and cultural (i.e., not overtly political) issues.

Kuzio and Wilson go on to examine the consolidation of the movement in late 1988 and 1989 with the establishment of Rukh, the spread of the "unofficial" movement beyond the intelligentsia to workers, Rukh's initial forays into more open political activity with the all-Union elections of 1989, and then its development into a mass movement in 1989 and 1990 with the fall of Shcherbytsky, the establishment of the Democratic Bloc in the March 1990 elections, the emergence of political parties, and the spread of the *neformaly*. The democratic opposition, however, was not strong enough to enforce its will on the state, because it had the support only of approximately 25 to 33 percent of the population. It did benefit, however, from growing support from a wing of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) that increasingly recognized the importance—or utility—of concentrating on republican concerns as the Soviet state imploded. Finally, the abortive Moscow coup of August 1991 compelled the CPU to adopt an openly independentist position.

Kuzio and Wilson should be commended for a concise and insightful study that makes extensive use of journalistic sources. But their work does have some shortcomings. The first is that the study is limited almost exclusively to developments in Ukraine, and the broader context of how events there stood in relation to the former Soviet Union is absent. While omission of such information does not affect the quality of the work per se, its inclusion would have been useful. More pertinent is the relatively minor attention paid to the CPU apparatus. More often than not it is discussed in the context of reacting to the democratic movement; the emergence of a national-communist current within it is not dealt with as extensively as it might have been. (Ironically, this is reflected in the



authors' choice of illustrations: all the photographs are of opposition events and personalities, although there is a caricature of Leonid Kravchuk the "nationalist" arm-wrestling Kravchuk the apparatchik on the dust-jacket). Consequently, the study is not about Ukrainian politics per se during the last decade, but rather about the rise of the independence movement in Ukraine. The authors portray the independence movement rather mechanically. They do not provide a real examination of the personalities involved (i.e., biographical sketches and assessments of the actual roles specific individuals—rather than faceless groups—played in this historical drama), and the story moves along with a certain sense of inevitability. Finally, the book has small errors and omissions that deter from the overall quality of the book. For example, the year of the independence referendum is given as 1992 rather than 1991 (p. 1); Volhynia oblast is misspelled ("Volhynid") in the tables and in the text; full first names are not always given; and not all individuals mentioned in the text appear in the index.

Motyl's *Dilemmas of Independence* is a substantially different work. As mentioned earlier, it covers a different time frame, picking up the story of Ukraine at the point where Kuzio and Wilson leave off. More significantly, it does not dwell on the details of events, but seeks to highlight the essence of recent developments—to make sense of the chaotic situation in Ukraine following independence—by focusing on "the big picture." Finally, it has no heroes per se (whereas Kuzio and Wilson clearly portray the independence movement as "the good guys"): it attempts to look at the Ukrainian situation in realpolitik terms.

Motyl brings a more sophisticated viewpoint to his work even though his tome does not have the same cohesion as that of Kuzio and Wilson's. *Dilemmas* reads somewhat as a transcript from an informal (albeit lengthy) briefing on the present (i.e., 1992) state of events in Ukraine. There is a general order to the presentation of the material, but the book tends to jump—sometimes abruptly—from one topic to the next (and not always within the confines of the stated heading or subheading). That said, it must be acknowledged that Motyl's observations are genuinely insightful and that he manages to examine the major issues facing post-independence, post-totalitarianism Ukraine in a direct and thought-provoking manner. It is a sketch that sometimes rambles, but ultimately it provides an outline and the significant details of the big picture.

The central theme ostensibly is that "the collapse of [the Soviet] empire encourages rapid and fundamental change" while, at the same time, "the end of totalitarianism ... thoroughly undermines that ability of post-Soviet elites to adopt radical policies and of the post-Soviet populations to withstand them" (p. 51). But this theme is not pursued rigorously throughout the work. Rather, it serves more as a springboard for introducing broader issues for examination. It is only in the concluding chapter, "Dilemmas for the West," that the book's major thrust—that Western powers must adopt a more rational and equitable approach to the manner in which they deal with Ukraine—becomes clear. This issue is broached in the preface, where the author suggests that "current American and West European policies toward the USSR's successor states are the worst that one could

imagine" (p. xiii), but any broader discussion of policy recommendations is shelved until Ukraine's post-independence situation has been examined in all its complexity.

Motyl sets the stage in his introduction, which examines the questions of "Why Ukraine Matters" and why Ukraine has until recently remained an "Unknown Country." It provides some basic background information about Ukraine and some pivotal issues affecting it (language, regional differences, the Crimea, religion); assesses the interplay between Ukraine and Russia ("the two countries define each other in a way that few others do" [p. 3]); and makes a pitch as to why the West should be concerned about developments there. This is followed by an opening chapter that provides a thumbnail sketch of Ukrainian history and the events leading up to independence. While written to suit the later material in the book, the chapter works well in its own right: the author manages to make interesting what is often a perfunctory piece of writing (i.e., on historical background).

Chapter Two, "Overcoming the Legacies of Empire and Totalitarianism," provides the take-off point for subsequent exposition. Motyl looks at the essential dilemma Ukraine faces, requiring (and desiring) immediate wide-ranging change while "lack[ing] virtually everything required for a modern society" (p. 54). A discussion concerning the likelihood of Ukraine and other "successor states" developing into successful nations follows. They are then ranked in a table (p. 58, *Factors Facilitating and Obstructing Reform in the Post-Communist States*) that is indicative of the major strength of this study: Motyl offers a definite opinion (in this case quantified) about specific issues. The discussion then moves toward another crucial issue—how to develop a state, the rule of law, a civil society, and a democracy in the wake of the USSR's dissolution. Motyl notes that while the citizenry, the elite, and the West may demand that these be undertaken simultaneously, this is unlikely given Ukraine's present (post-totalitarian) condition. After a discussion of these matters, he suggests that it would be best for Ukraine to sequence these changes in the order presented above (p. 70), and then examines the manner in which Ukraine is likely to proceed (noting that the order suggested is actually being put into effect).

The subsequent chapters pick up and expand on some of the themes introduced earlier: establishing a national identity that is all-inclusive of "the people of Ukraine" (which, notes Motyl [p. 81], is at least being attempted in good faith by both state authorities and leading political groups); dealing on an even keel with a post-totalitarian Russia in an atmosphere of extreme tension and mistrust, Ukrainians being "completely, almost congenitally mistrustful of Russians" (p. 103), and Russians resentful of their rejection by Ukrainians (stereotyped as "sly and lazy" [p. 101]); creating a viable economy in a situation in which rapid change would create major social and political unrest while slow (or no) movement would inevitably lead to economic decline (p. 127), and in which the existing expertise, institutions, and procedures "needed to run, let alone transform, [the] economy" are woefully lacking (p. 137); and establishing a

postcolonial political elite capable of the policy-making and administration required of an independent state in the wake of years of the CPU apparat functioning as cogs in the Soviet machine. These chapters form the main body of the book, and Motyl offers a myriad of observations and opinions about each topic. In some cases one might disagree with him quite strongly, as in the case where the manner in which the Ukrainian army was established is presented as a "mistake" by Ukraine (pp. 108–9). But these are minor quibbles in light of the number of issues that Motyl deals with succinctly and level-headedly.

The final chapter of *Dilemmas* argues that the West—in particular the United States—has to change its perception of and (non-)policy toward Ukraine. Motyl notes that throughout the twentieth century the West's policy to Eastern Europe has been one of recognizing the status quo. Some relatively minor attention was granted Ukraine after the Second World War because it constituted a potential source of the USSR's destabilization, but "Western policymakers had only declarative statements to make regarding Ukrainians and other non-Russians" (p. 177) rather than substantial policies. Ultimately, however, it became far more convenient for the West to deal with a "maximally centralized union" (p. 179). This led to a myopia in the face of the changing realities of Eastern Europe, reflected in an inability to appreciate the independent line being taken by the Ukrainian and Belarusian representatives at the United Nations in 1990–1, the total inappropriateness of President Bush's "Chicken Kiev" speech in Ukraine's capital on 1 August 1991, and the self-serving assessment that the Commonwealth of Independent States might successfully function as an ersatz USSR. Inertia had established "a continued preference for dealing almost exclusively with or through Moscow on important issues" because "the non-Russian successor states still did not matter" (p. 179). Motyl goes on to note (pp. 182–3) that such a stance is no longer defensible on either moral or geopolitical grounds (i.e., present American policy is contrary even to *realpolitik*), and he offers a number of policy options for future consideration.

Motyl's book is now slightly outdated. Since the time it was written there have been substantive changes in American policy toward Ukraine, and the focus of many of the issues it deals with has changed. Nevertheless, as a starting point for looking at the state of post-independence Ukraine, it remains a valuable work.

The two studies under review benefit from the fact that they have a specific reference point—the declaration of Ukrainian independence. This affords them a certain coherence that was not possible in works written before the declaration of independence. For example, David Marples's *Ukraine under Perestroika: Ecology, Economics and the Workers' Revolt* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1991) provides a credible and informative account of the manner in which ecological issues provided an impetus for political mobilization in Ukraine (the "workers' revolt" aspect is actually relatively minor to his account and relegated largely to a single chapter). In his conclusion, however, he can only note that "there is a definite and vibrant spirit in Ukraine, and that this spirit has grown and flourished during the Gorbachev years" (p. 223). The ultimate consequences of

these developments had not yet made themselves clear. Solomea Pavlychko's *Letters from Kiev* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992) likewise examines developments in Ukraine as they are were unfolding. The letters (written to Bohdan Krawchenko in Edmonton in 1990–1 and translated by Myrna Kostash) are the observations of a “political insider” that reflect the concerns and attitudes of Ukrainophile activists in a manner in which an academic study could not. (For example, see Pavlychko's comment [p. 51] about the CPSU's strong insistence on signing a new Union treaty by the end of 1990: “This is frightening, although there are many who don't believe it's possible now to draft a treaty that would satisfy all parties”). As a whole they constitute fascinating reading and provide many valuable insights.

The quality of Kuzio and Wilson's and Motyl's studies becomes particularly evident when they are compared against some of the thumbnail accounts of Ukraine that have appeared as former Soviet watchers have retooled to examine Russia and the successor states. In instances in which the authors had previously recognized the importance of Ukraine in Soviet affairs, the results are fairly credible (e.g., the chapter on Ukraine in *New Nations Rising: The Fall of the Soviets and the Challenge of Independence* by Nadia Diuk and Adrian Karatnycky [see the review in this issue—Ed.]). More commonly, however, the accounts tend to be banal, and some (e.g., Daniel C. Diller, ed., *Russia and the Independent States* [Washington: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1993]) are riddled with inconsistencies and errors.

The two studies under review could also serve a non-academic function, for they clearly establish the fact that the pro-independence movement in Ukraine was democratic in spirit (having originated out of the human-rights movement) and inclusive in its sense of nationhood. As such they could serve as useful reference works for the Western media, which (particularly in the immediate post-independence period) have frequently presented an unbalanced “radical [UNA-UNSO style] nationalism” or “potential anti-Semitism” angle in their reports about Ukraine. It is somewhat surprising that Motyl, who has in the past examined Western media coverage of Ukrainian affairs (e.g. his “Soviet Union through the Eyes of the *New York Times*,” *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 4, no. 2 [Fall 1979]), did not—even briefly—note some of the questionable aspects of Western reporting about Ukraine today.

As time moves on and the situation in Ukraine continues to change, the two works under review will become historical perspectives rather than accounts of recent developments. Their usefulness, however, is unlikely to diminish, for they will surely provide future authors with good studies upon which to expand.

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Anatol Kaminsky. *Na perekhidnomu etapi: "Hlasnist", "perebudova" i "demokratyzatsiia" na Ukraini*. Preface by Myroslav Prokop. Munich: Ukrainskyi vilnyi universytet, 1990. viii, 624 pp.

In this sizable monograph, Anatol Kaminsky attempts to chronicle a brief but important period. To a large degree he has succeeded. Unlike in his earlier books, which were primarily theoretical in nature, here he engages in only a few theoretical expositions.

This is the first book on *Perestroika* (Ukrainian: *perebudova*) in Ukraine. Perhaps its greatest achievement is that it provides, in part or in full, a great deal of the information and documents about Ukraine that Radio Liberty had amassed. For his effort Kaminsky deserves the gratitude of current and future historians. His sources include, first and foremost, documents and information issued by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS), its Kyiv and Moscow correspondents, the Ukrainian Press Service (Paris), and the Popular Movement of Ukraine in Support of *Perestroika*, or Rukh. Kaminsky also extensively consulted reports from the central (Moscow) and republican (Kyiv) mass media. The same cannot be said, however, about the publications of the so-called unofficial groups and organizations.

The sequence of the book's fourteen chapters reflect Kaminsky's intention to show in what circumstances *Perestroika* and democratization began in Ukraine and how Ukraine's national rebirth gained momentum and transcended the limits the Party had originally imposed. He describes this momentum in several chapters on the various national-democratic organizations that arose and examines developments in various spheres, from language politics to church affairs. The time frame of the events described is, in most cases, from 1987 (1986 in the case of the language question) through 1990.

In the first three chapters Kaminsky shows that there was no *perebudova* in Ukraine during the time that Volodymyr Shcherbytsky remained first secretary of the CPU, despite what Gorbachev had proclaimed in Moscow. One could concur with Kaminsky's view that Gorbachev long avoided taking concrete steps toward resolving the nationality question in the USSR. Proof of this, in Kaminsky's opinion (which I share), can be found in both Gorbachev's and Shcherbytsky's negative attitude toward Rukh (p. 175). *Perebudova* progressed little under Shcherbytsky's successor, Volodymyr Ivashko. Kaminsky does show, however, that Ivashko was able to reach an understanding with national-democratic leaders; in fact, they praised each other (see p. 23).

Kaminsky devotes three chapters to the official-language issue. They are the most interesting part of the book. In them Kaminsky thoroughly investigates the positions of the government and the unofficial groups and emphasizes the role that Ukrainian writers and poets (especially Dmytro Pavlychko) played in the struggle that resulted in the adoption of Ukrainian as the state language. He shows that the Ukrainian national-independence movement, which gradually asserted itself within all strata of Ukrainian society, arose from the struggle over



the language question. But the language law adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in October 1989 was a half-hearted measure that secured the existence of Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism in Ukraine for many years to come. The law's flaws became especially apparent during the last few months of *perebudova*, and they are clearly outlined by the author (pp. 122–3).

An important elements in the book's structure and its presentation of events are Rukh's emergence and activities. Kaminsky leaves it up to the reader to judge the documents of Rukh's founding congress and the counter-arguments of its opponents in the government and Party apparats and in the mass media they controlled. It should be noted that the counter-arguments were weak. What was successful, however, was the Party's tactic of undermining Rukh's ideas by introducing for public discussion "The Complex Program for the Development of Ukrainian Culture in the Period Up to the Year 2000." Kaminsky unequivocally states that this was an attempt by the Party, particularly by Leonid Kravchuk (then a department head of the CPU Central Committee), to neutralize Rukh's influence (p. 178). Many prominent figures took the bait. It should be noted, however, that at that time (as archival materials show) a large number of reform activists, especially those who also occupied official positions, vehemently opposed Rukh. Kaminsky names some of them. Unfortunately there are many others, and these people, for the most part, now occupy even higher posts than they did then and call themselves Ukrainian patriots, at least in public.

In describing the events surrounding the creation of Rukh, Kaminsky does not avoid examining the attitudes of various activists toward certain ideas and actions from the point of view of their personal relations and true feelings (see, for example, p. 176), or the demands that Volodymyr Iavorivsky made, insisting that they were necessary for attaining independent statehood (p. 205). Kaminsky correctly points out that Rukh was, from the beginning, a unique hub in the national-independence movement's organizational and political activity (p. 228). Rukh's founding congress and the breakaway of a large number of national-democrats from the CPU convincingly show that the Party was incapable of thwarting, taking over, or controlling Rukh (p. 287). It is my belief that after September 1989 no one in the CPU seriously considered doing so. But the Party still tried to impede the consolidation of Rukh's power by using both legal and, most probably, illegal methods and tactics.

Among the other organizations that were active in Ukraine at that time, Kaminsky focuses on the UHS. The facts he assembles portray this organization, which was founded by former political prisoners, as it truly was: the driving force behind the national-democratic movement. It was the UHS that elaborated Rukh's strategies and tactics and educated the leading cadres for other new unofficial organizations. Kaminsky discusses the differences of opinion within the UHS leadership on the fate of the organization at the beginning of 1990 (p. 369).

Kaminsky best elucidates the significance of Memorial not by describing at length its establishment, but by stating that its task should have been not only filling in the "blank spots" in Ukrainian history, but, in particular, concentrating

efforts on delineating how Ukraine had a completely sovereign history (p. 410). This task remains more than relevant in Ukraine even today, and not only for Memorial.

Another set of issues, which are most fully elaborated in the book, are those surrounding the revival of the Ukrainian churches. Kaminsky should have made it clear, however, that when he is discussing the Ukrainian Catholic church, he is referring to what is called in Ukraine the Greek Catholic or Uniate church. His study of developments in church politics has led him to conclude that (paraphrasing one church leader) the religious movement has been an integral part of the Ukrainian independence movement.

Kaminsky describes controversial issues such as the UHS's support for a federative system for Ukraine and the restoration of an autonomous Crimean republic. These proposals were later repeated (along with the possibility of long-term bilingualism in particular regions of Ukraine) by V'iacheslav Chornovil in his 1989–90 campaign for election to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (pp. 352–3, 389–91). Here it is worth considering what Chornovil said about an entirely different subject: at Rukh's founding congress he stated that the congress had been postponed for a year (p. 254) and this delay might prove disastrous for the Ukrainian nation. That at the time there were both erroneous and correct approaches to burning issues is now abundantly clear.

Throughout the book Kaminsky presents the facts and leaves readers to make their own conclusions. The lack of analysis can probably be explained by the fact that the book was completed in 1990. Consequently it lacks a logical turning point. (The 1990 elections cannot be considered as such.) In addition, Kaminsky does not clearly delineate the initial events of *perebudova*. Perhaps Ukrainians living in the West are better informed, but Ukraine's inhabitants are quite unfamiliar with them.

Kaminsky provides a detailed account of events in Kyiv and Lviv, but he barely mentions developments elsewhere in Ukraine, except in his discussion of church matters. This is a flaw common to all current books about the last decade in Ukraine. Kaminsky refers only in passing to Kharkiv, Zhytomyr, and Vinnytsia. Yet, the geographical scope of *perebudova* was much wider. We are now able to state unequivocally that it encompassed all of Ukraine in one way or another.

The logic of the author's presentation is not always sound. For example, the national-democratic movement in Ukraine developed as a single entity and not, as he suggests, as separate organizations. This can be said of both the UHS and the Ukrainian Language Society, which played particularly important roles in the 1990 electoral campaign. More often than not the most active figures in these and other organizations were the same people.

For some reason, Kaminsky limited himself to describing issues that are almost always concerns only for ethnic Ukrainians. Consequently he hardly mentions the general democratic currents that remain influential in eastern and southern Ukraine or the reaction of Ukraine's Russian-speaking population to *perebudova*. He mentions the trade unions only in passing and says nothing at all

about the powerful workers' movement, the force that made it impossible for the government to suppress the national-democratic opposition. Kaminsky also says almost nothing about Rukh's politics and activity apart from discussing its program. In most chapters, only the leaders of the independence movement and its chief opponents are discussed, while other activists and rank-and-file members are ignored.

The book's inadequacies can be attributed partly to the sources Kaminsky consulted and partly to the haste with which he wrote the book. Given his earlier, theoretical accomplishments, I am somewhat surprised by his weakness of his conception of the sequence of events in Ukraine and by the absence of a general conclusion. Instead Kaminsky writes simply that "Ukraine was moving into a new stage in its national development" (p. 622).

Despite its flaws, *Na perekhidnomu etapi* is a valuable book. Its unbiased and, at times, discreet description of events and personalities will be of interest and use to both students of Ukrainian history and readers at large.

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Marko Pavlyshyn and J. E. M. Clarke, eds. *Ukraine in the 1990s: Proceedings of the First Conference of the Ukrainian Studies Association of Australia, Monash University, 24–26 January 1992*. Melbourne: Slavic Section, Department of German Studies and Slavic Studies, Monash University, 1992. xvi, 278 pp. A\$19.95.

This volume contains twenty-two presentations in English and Ukrainian by scholars from Australia, Canada, Ukraine, and the United States that address issues in Ukrainian culture, literature, linguistics, and economics. Despite the diversity of subjects and approaches, the presentations share deep concerns about issues of national identity and culture and speak to Ukraine's difficult relationship with Russia. In view of the number of presentations, their brevity, and the limitations of space, this review will primarily address shared approaches or topics rather than discussing each individual presentation.

By far the most crucial point raised in virtually all of the presentations is Ukraine's struggle with its tsarist and Soviet colonial legacy. Russia's historical dominance has left its mark on virtually all spheres of Ukrainian life—from economics to language and culture to the very sense of identity of its people. The present volume mentions the Ems Ukase (1876), the Soviet policy of the "brotherhood of peoples," cultural and linguistic Russification, and Ukraine's economic exploitation as specific examples. The resulting sense of derivation and provincialization experienced by Ukrainians is acknowledged by virtually all of the participants in their discussion of this legacy, a discussion framed by the opposition colonial and postcolonial.

Most of the presentations deal with literature and culture, the revival of which are deemed critical to the ethical, spiritual, and social rebirth of the Ukrainian nation struggling to overcome the colonial legacy and its many stereotypes (Ivan Dziuba, Halia Kosharska, Jiří Marvan). Many of the authors explore Ukraine's confrontation with its colonial legacy in terms of a post-modernist model, that is, as a struggle against the dominating voice/authority of Soviet Russia that sought to define and suppress the voice of other cultures (Marko Pavlyshyn). This model has also been adapted to an examination, from the point of view of feminist theory, of the tension between the colonial and anticolonial literary myths in a novel by Valerii Shevchuk, who offers a postmodernist reconciliation of the Ukrainian identity (Anna Berehulak). It also implicitly underlies Ukrainian pop and counterculture satire of the Soviet past, the Party, and stereotypical responses within Ukrainian society (Romana Bahry). Postmodernist criteria are also applied to a consideration of Ukrainian émigré literature, which is viewed as a discourse on ethnicity within a dominant, master discourse, whose underlying assumptions and power to shape the former are called into question (Sonia Mycak). It is also assumed in a postmodernist reassessment of modernist presuppositions, thus challenging national and universalist concepts of modernism (Tamara Hundorova).

The question of modernism is raised in another respect. Several authors view the Modernist-Populist polemic of the early twentieth century as a paradigm for the debates over cultural orientation and national identity. Efforts by Ukrainian Modernists to free literature from civic and patriotic duties and to achieve a literature of a world or west European standard were attacked by Populists as abandoning traditions of native Ukrainian culture and art. The Populist position is seen as an outgrowth of the struggle to sustain a Ukrainian identity in the face of a perceived threat from foreign influences (George Grabowicz). The question of identity is also central to Mycak's Freudian and Foucaultian approach to émigré literature, as she claims that Ukrainian émigré writers in the United States and Canada have focused on a return to their homeland (the mother, in Freudian terms) and have been incapable of forging a new ego identity in their new country. As a result, argues Mycak, no Ukrainian writer has become successful in English literature.

The question of identity, it is argued, was asserted more pointedly as Ukraine moved toward independence. The changing political climate in Ukraine from the late 1970s and into the 1980s was accompanied by an increasing assertion of a Ukrainian national consciousness that is reflected in questions of ethical self-examination in literary works such as Lina Kostenko's *Marusia Churai*, which comments on the present under a thinly veiled exploration of the past (Kosharska). After independence, the links to both the colonial and postcolonial mode in the Ukrainian identity can be openly explored in all their complexity, as Berehulak illustrates in her examination of Shevchuk's use of magic realism and myth in *Dim na hori*. She suggests that the key to this new identity lies in Shevchuk's postmodernist concern with language.



The centrality of the language as an essential marker of Ukrainian identity is addressed by a number of authors. The conscious and systematic Russification of the Ukrainian language and its relegation to secondary status at the hands of the Soviet regime are pointed out by Roman Danylak, Ihor Ostash, Marvan, and Olesia Rosalion. Examinations of the orthographic dictionaries of 1928, 1933, 1936, 1939, 1960, and 1991 illustrate the tug-of-war between Ukrainian efforts to defend the language as separate and distinct and Russian efforts to restrict its sphere of use and to blur the differences between Ukrainian and Russian and thus further the assimilation process. The need to free Ukrainian from its narrowly defined domain and reintroduce it into all spheres of life, Ostash suggests, should be achieved through increasing its status, not through authoritative or legislative means, otherwise Ukraine runs the risk of repeating offensive Russian language policies. A hopeful sign of the rising status of Ukrainian, according to Marvan, is its growing recognition in the international arena. Hope for the future success of Ukrainian is bolstered by the increased use of native languages—an anti-colonial trend already evident in India and Algeria—and by the predicted levelling of the dominance of English through the rise of competing voices, for example, German (Ostash).

The volume also includes two specifically linguistic studies: one by J. E. M. Clarke, which examines the +[n] subconjugation pattern in Ukrainian verbs, and the other by Linda Sydor, which considers prosodigmatics (accentuation patterns). Both engage in a focused analysis and offer criteria for classification of the linguistic material examined.

Questions about the Ukrainian economy and its prospects for the future are addressed in three presentations. Michael L. Lawriwsky examines the state-owned enterprise (SOE) as an economic institution, pointing out its inefficiencies, its need for subsidies, and its inability to compete with market forces. He recognizes that removing SOEs would result in social chaos and suggests corporatization from the top down and privatization of small businesses from the bottom up as the best model for Ukraine. Wolodymyr Motyka largely agrees regarding the inefficiencies of the present system, but acknowledges that privatization and denationalization require time and traditions to achieve agreement and that, at present, both are absent in Ukraine. He suggests that Western aid and sound government policy are required to rectify the negative effects of the former economic imbalance between Ukraine and Russia. The problem of privatization and denationalization is also addressed by Serhii Serbin, who shows that present laws and steps taken by the government are slow and frequently contradictory. He suggests that the best model for Ukraine would be not a capitalist one, but a socialist model—Swedish, Canadian, or Australian—still to be determined.

As several authors suggest, many of the problems of identity, culture, and economy are the consequence of Ukraine and its people having been split among many lands, governments, empires, and cultures. As Grabowicz and Savchak point out, Ukrainian culture is a hybrid rather than unitary culture. Having achieved independence, Ukraine needs to avoid an extreme reversal of orientation



toward, or excessive imitation of, the West (Grabowicz). This point is also made by both Dziuba and Savchak, who argue against an outright rejection of Russian culture, since it would again distort an understanding of Ukraine. The question is particularly relevant, because Ukraine's attainment of independence could lead to similar authoritarian domination of, and lack of concern for, minorities living in Ukraine (Pavlyshyn).

While the authors do not offer predictions about the future, they caution against particular dangers as Ukraine sets forth on its own path of development. Several mention the benefits for Ukrainian culture of maintaining a balance between its past, Russian orientation and its present, unhindered access to the West (Dziuba, Grabowicz). Concerns about the future composition of Ukrainian culture, as exclusively ethnic or as inclusively multicultural, have given rise to fears in the West of Ukrainian nationalism. As Oksana I. Grabowicz points out, however, an understanding of the psychological and cultural factors contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Union shows that Ukraine is undergoing a process of national rebirth and nation-building, and not of nationalist intolerance and domination.

The major issues touched upon in this volume testify to the new and open dialogue of a society with itself, engaged in redefining its own identity and reassessing its cultural orientation. The volume does not pretend to thoroughness (many of the presentations are rather too brief); and significant aspects remain untouched, for example, history and political science. Instead, the volume discusses the possibilities of a national rebirth balanced between past fears, both real and perceived, and the determination to forge a sovereign Ukrainian state without falling into the postmodernist paradigm of an authoritarian voice suppressing diversity in its own culture and population.

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Nadia Diuk and Adrian Karatnycky. *New Nations Rising: The Fall of the Soviets and the Challenge of Independence*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1993. viii, 292 pp. US\$14.95.

If one looks for works on the post-Soviet successor states, one inevitably finds that most of them are Russocentric (like most former works on the Soviet Union) and sometimes biased in favour of what was previously called the "Moscow centre." Diuk and Karatnycky's book is a pioneering one in the sense that the authors have shifted the accent from the "centre" to the "peripheries," that is, away from Russia and toward the newly independent non-Russian states.

With the exception of the first two chapters, which are devoted to issues that all of the republics of the fallen superpower have shared and to the totalitarian legacy they all inherited, the book is organized geographically and gives a closer

look to Ukraine (chap. 3), the Baltic states (chap. 4), Caucasia (chap. 5), and Central Asia (chap. 6). Russia is examined last (chap. 7) in order to move away from Russocentrism, which the authors obviously dislike, and to stress Russia's diminished significance in current realpolitik.

For some reason Diuk and Karatnycky chose not to discuss Belarus, and in their book that republic thus remains the most hidden of all the hidden nations in the former USSR. In the last chapter they compare the new states' foreign and domestic policies, devote much attention to their political regimes ("democracies and dictatorships," pp. 258-62), and provide background information, if not direct advice, to Western decision-makers regarding international aid, formulating and implementing foreign policy, and determining priorities. It is in that chapter that the authors' sympathies toward Ukraine as a "buffer state, depriving Russia of its capacity to return to superpower status" (p. 272) are clearly revealed.

The chapters describing the specific countries or regions of the former Soviet Union are certainly the best. They are well written, informative, and scrupulously attentive to details, which are provided for a wide range of subjects, from history to architecture to current popular trends and fashions. Readers are given an opportunity to visualize day-to-day life in the newly independent states and to compare their customs and traditions, political institutions, and national symbols. The authors make even deeper cross-cultural comparisons, delving into internal problems, as in the case of Ukraine, where divisions between its western and eastern parts are profound and have far-reaching political implications.

The first two chapters seem to me to be less successful because of the authors' conceptual framework and rather unsound argumentation. *New Nations Rising*, which continues their examination of problems they began in an earlier study, *The Hidden Nations: The People Challenge the Soviet Union* (1990), makes two basic points: (1) the main sources of democracy in the Soviet Union and the main causes of the downfall of the old regime there are the various ethno-national independence movements; and (2) the Soviet system was, in essence, the last great Russian empire, which brutally subjugated and exploited all the nationalities for the benefit of the dominant Russian ethnic group. These arguments are repeated throughout the book, but especially in the first two chapters ("Nationalism and the Fall of the Soviets" and "The Rulers and the Ruled: The Economics of Inequality") and in chapter seven ("Russians: Democracy or Empire?"). Both propositions, however, raise questions more than provide answers.

First of all, I cannot share the authors' position that ascribes unconditional positive value to ethnic nationalism. That phenomenon has given rise to Italian Fascism, German Nazism, conflicts, and imperialism throughout the world. Yet, only Russian ethnic nationalism provokes the authors' wrath. Non-Russian ethnic nationalism, which may certainly be credited for contributing to the collapse of the "Empire of Evil", should also be held responsible for a dozen xenophobic, local wars waged in Central Asia, Caucasia, and Moldova. Moreover, "the positive, prodemocratic role played by the reemergence of national pride and patriotism in what had been the USSR" (p. 274) has resulted in the disfranchise-

ment of forty to fifty percent of the voters who happened to belong to ethnic minorities in Estonia and Latvia, countries praised by the authors for being the "vanguard of independence" and in the "forefront of all movements for democracy" (p. 113) in the last years of Soviet rule.

Secondly, just as mainstream, Russocentric Sovietologists, who used to be inattentive to the non-Russians of the Soviet federation and prejudiced against them, Diuk and Karatnycky are also biased, but diametrically so. They view nationalism in Ukraine and the Baltic states as good and justified but Russian nationalism as "fascist" and "racist." They even cite Russian writers' allusions to the Rus'ians' victory over the Mongols in 1380 as racist manifestations. They constantly depict Russians as ruthless exploiters of the "conquered people" of the former Soviet Union—those unfortunate nations that "tended to lag behind in almost all indices" (pp. 61–2).

Yet, at the same time the authors acknowledge that most members of the "metropolitan nation" have led "impoverished, poor, hungry lives" that are "less than idyllic" and "far from privileged" (p. 57).

Therefore one can not be but somewhat surprised when one is told that "in no realm of personal and professional lives did non-Russians enjoy a significant advantage" (p. 55) and then be presented with a picture of day-to-day life in the Moscow where "the high-rise apartments were stuffy and dilapidated," "the elevators and hallways frequently reeked of urine," and "grim-faced, plodding citizens, many of them living on the verge of a desperate poverty, trudged along the cracking, muddy sidewalks" (p. 216). If this was the situation in the "imperial metropolis," one shudders to think what life was like in the "periphery." Kyiv, however, greets us in the book with traditions and a culture that "shines through" and with people who "still walk with a spring in their step and [with] happier countenances than in Moscow" (p. 81). The "fairy-tale town" of Tallinn in Estonia, the "beautiful city" of Vilnius in Lithuania, and the "delightful parks" in the Kazakhs' capital of Alma-Ata—all of them separately and together—are presented by the authors in an image that bears little resemblance to the widespread view of life in the suppressed and exploited colonies of the despised Russian "centre."

Still, any value judgment is subjective by definition. Let us, therefore, proceed to the facts. The authors extensively cite statistics, going back and forth between the figures for the Russian Federation, with its multiethnic population of almost one hundred distinct nationalities and ethnic groups, and those for the ethnic Russians in Russia proper and in the other republics of the former USSR. But substituting one set of figures for the other can sometimes create misunderstanding, especially if the Russian Federation is improperly treated as an ethnically homogeneous Russian state and if social privileges are confused with national ones. Thus, when statistics indicate that the Russian federation has the advantage, the authors forget to mention that ethnic Russians constitute only four-fifths of its population. They also do not mention that the alleged "privileges" of ethnic Russians living in the other (post-)Soviet republics were shared by members of the titular nationality and other ethnic minorities.

Reliable Western sources (*USSR Facts and Figures Annual*, ed. Alan P. Pollard, vols. 14–15 [1990–1]) provide a different account of relations among the Soviet republics. For example, if we use them to compare the growth of industrial output in 1980–7, we see that the RSFSR clearly lagged behind Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and most of the other republics except Latvia, Estonia, and Turkmenistan (14: 396–7). Similarly, consumer-goods production was higher per capita in all of the European non-Russian republics (Georgia and Azerbaijan excluded) than in Russia proper. In the last years of Soviet rule light industry produced fewer goods in Russia than in Belarus, Georgia, or Moldova, let alone the Baltic republics or Armenia, which had been more than two times more productive than Russia (14: 398). This is hardly an example of internal colonialism. The volume of paid services delivered in 1986–7 (per inhabitant) was equal for Russia and Ukraine, which both yielded to Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (14: 400). The Baltic republics were ahead of the others in following years as well (15: 486–7). On average, the biggest volume of services was in Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, and Georgia. Ukraine and Russia, with equal levels, were both in the middle of the scale. The inhabitants of Georgia, Latvia, and Estonia had better access to public-health services than Russia's; there were more doctors per 10,000 inhabitants there than in the unlucky "metropolis" (14: 405, 15: 488).

I could go on with such comparisons and provide more data to prove a thesis that eludes the authors of *New Nations Rising*: if the USSR was an empire, it was an empire without a metropolitan state or a truly imperial nation. The "colonizers" were recruited from all ethnic groups and social strata on the basis of political and ideological criteria, thereby making the Soviet *nomenklatura* an elite that consisted of people "without a motherland." Presenting the Soviet Union as subject to unqualified imperialist Russian dominance, as the authors do, is an oversimplification. Diuk and Karatnycky write about redistribution. Here again, we have different, reliable statistics. To estimate the extent of redistribution, one should compare the relative weight of each republic's contribution to the USSR economy with the proportion that its population comprised in the population of the USSR as a whole and with the percentage of state-budget revenue it retained (15: 503). In such a comparison the RSFSR appears as the greatest loser, producing only 61.1 percent of the USSR's net material product while retaining only 55.3 percent of state-budget revenue. Ukraine comes second from the bottom, with 16.3 and 15.9 percent respectively, while Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia once more have the advantage, managing to get more than they actually produced.

The authors' statement that ethno-political movements were the chief agents in what happened to the Soviet Union in the years 1989–91 seems to me to be both true and false. It is true in the sense that nationalism channelled mass protest and dissatisfaction into an integrated stream, moulded those spontaneous phenomena into an organized political force capable of destroying the old system, and helped to (re)shape post-Soviet realities. It is false because the deepest

sources of the Soviet crises were social, not national; and because the very idea of national secession and self-determination was perceived by the democratic Russian movement throughout the USSR and by most of the Soviet population as meaning political, not ethno-cultural, self-organization on a regional basis as a solution to the disintegration of the impotent all-Union (not Russian!) "centre." That is why the majority of the ethnic Russian and Russian-speaking population of Ukraine and the Baltic states voted for those republics' independence.

Its mistakes and biases notwithstanding, *New Nations Rising* is interesting and provocative. It provides valuable information on the history, traditions, daily life, and political institutions of the new post-Soviet states in Europe and Asia. In the case of Ukraine, it combines data on population, territory, industry, and culture to draw a vivid picture of the country, which, despite all the difficulties it has encountered throughout its history, has preserved a distinctive place in human civilization. The authors' account is comprehensive, discussing subjects such as architecture, the symbols of culture, the Chornobyl disaster, the ecological crisis, and the social and political features of the newly independent state building its own armed forces and developing a sovereign foreign policy. Their encyclopedic scope (without "scholarly" pretentiousness), journalistic zeal, and attentiveness to detail help us to ignore the book's fallacies. *New Nations Rising* will provide genuine satisfaction to the reader whose interest goes beyond the scholastic models found in (post-)Sovietological literature.

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Olesj P. Benyukh and Raisa I. Galushko. *Ukrainian Phrasebook and Dictionary*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994. [x], 206 pp. US\$9.95.

Now that closer contacts between the West and Ukraine are being established, the need for a simple phrase book for travellers or business people has become urgent. This book attempts to fill this void. It begins with a phonological commentary and then gives a series of useful expressions for various situations. Such manuals, to be sure, have already appeared in print in Ukraine in the past, but those books had a rather limited distribution and are not particularly useful in light of post-independence developments. Benyukh and Galushko's phrasebook is unique because it attempts to deal with the new situation, and it gives some helpful comments about the little details of life (e.g., the different types of restaurants, making long-distance telephone calls) that have been missing from similar earlier publications.

The authors start off on the wrong foot, however, by transliterating and transcribing *r* as *g/geh* (p. 1), and continue doing so throughout the book without any further comment. The reader is told to read this letter like the *g* in "goat" (p.



2). While Ukrainian *r* is a voiced pharyngeal fricative, a sound not found in any standard variety of English, surely rendering it as *h* would bring the Anglophone reader much closer to the original. The authors ignore the fact that beginning with the 1990 edition of the official Ukrainian orthography (*Ukrajins'kyj pravopys*) the letter *r* for the voiced velar plosive /g/ has been restored to the alphabet, so the misrepresentation of *r* as /g/ is a serious error.

Unfortunately, this is only the beginning of a distorted picture of Ukrainian. The authors claim that there is regressive assimilation of voicing in Ukrainian and that voiced consonants are unvoiced in word-final position (p. 2). While these phenomena are present in many Slavic languages, they do not operate in Ukrainian, as any authoritative Ukrainian (even Soviet) grammar will attest.

The vowel changes outlined in the section on stress (p. 4) are exaggerated, to put it mildly. The rounded mid-back vowel *o* may indeed be raised slightly in unstressed position, but only in the syllable immediately before a stressed *í*. Thus *один* is pronounced (in the authors' transcription) "ohDIN" after all. The changes of unstressed *ε* and *я* to *í* are not acceptable in standard pronunciation.

In the section on consonants the authors blithely give the pronunciation of *в* as *v* (p. 2), ignoring the fact that such pronunciation is possible only immediately before (front) vowels. In all other environments the voiced bilabial fricative [β] is heard. Thus *вчора* is pronounced more like "WCHOrah."

No special comments are made about the pronunciation of voiced affricates *дж* and *дж*. Likewise, the name of the Ukrainian letter *й* is not "ee-korotke" (p. 3) but "yot." Indeed, such a name makes no sense in Ukrainian.

The impression that one gets from this introductory section and the resulting transcription throughout the book is that it was written by authors who are not familiar with standard Ukrainian and speak it with a heavy Russian accent.

When single words are given in the phrasebook, they are generally capitalized. This creates an inaccurate picture of the language, although in sentences and phrases capitalization is handled correctly.

There is a need for a good Ukrainian phrasebook for English speakers, but because of the serious errors mentioned above and many others, this is not the work to fill this void. Caveat emptor!

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Zirka Derlycia. *Everyday Ukrainian: A Practical Basic Course*. Guilford, Conn.: Audio-Forum, 1993. xii, 330 pp. + 10 audio cassettes. US\$195.00.

After many years of waiting, while manuals for languages from Albanian to Yoruba were being marketed by Audio-Forum, a manual for Ukrainian has finally been published by this firm. Unlike the other Ukrainian materials on the market,

which were written solely for classroom use, Derlycia's manual is also intended for self-instruction.

The emphasis is on the spoken language, and for this reason a set of audio cassettes has been prepared for use along with the book.

According to the author, the ten lessons of the course are equivalent to two semesters of postsecondary education. As the author herself point out, in such a relatively short time only the rudiments of the language can be covered, but she does cover virtually all the essentials. As is the case with almost every introductory language course, Derlycia begins with an analysis of the sound system and the orthography used to represent it. The singular declension (nouns, adjectives, personal pronouns, and numerals) is covered in the first six lessons, and the plural declension in the seventh. The indicative conjugation is given in lessons three and four. This is followed by an examination of aspect and the verbs of motion. Derlycia devotes considerable attention to the relationship among various components of noun and verb phrases throughout the book. The somewhat complicated imperative is presented quite efficiently, as are the various conditional constructions.

Almost as an afterthought, the author gives an addendum on participles and gerunds, but she does not explain how they are formed.

The manual is marketed with a set of tapes because, as Derlycia points out (p. v), it is intended for self-instruction. It is here that one of the major difficulties arises. From the opening lessons onward the student encounters grammatical forms that have yet to be introduced and explained. This, though annoying, can be handled in the classroom by a suitable comment from the instructor, but in a self-instruction environment it leaves the student bewildered. Thus, for example, even before the nominative, vocative, and accusative cases are treated in lesson two, the student encounters them and the genitive (=accusative), dative, instrumental, and locative in the first lesson (p. 13). The author may object that this is only a pronunciation exercise. That may be so. But if the proposed answer is inappropriate for the learner, what is to be done then?

There are similar instances of poorly thought out order in the presentation of material. Verbs of motion are introduced before the concept of aspect has been adequately discussed. The student might expect that the perfective-durative-iterative distinction applies to all verbs instead of only the nine verbs of motion. (The author lists only eight, omitting *(po)lízty - lízty*.) Likewise, imperative forms are used from the very beginning of the course (p. 13 and *passim*) before they are explained in lesson eight (p. 140).

One of the problems encountered by the learner of Ukrainian are the "fleeting vowels" and their corollary, consonant clusters, that must be broken up in word-final position. The author handles this conveniently by marking fleeting vowels with a virgule through them and by setting impermissible word-final consonant clusters in bold face in dictionary forms. The student is then instructed when to effect the necessary changes (p. 42). But the explanation could be clearer in dealing with this problem and the problem of *ikannja*. The author intimates that

*i* > *o/e*, while a much more useful explanation would be to state the opposite, that is, that *e/o* > *i* in closed syllables. The fleeting vowels are also explained incompletely. When the genitive plural finally is examined, the author states that consonant clusters are broken up with a fleeting vowel (p. 120). The student, however, is not told with which vowel, although it would be so simple to explain that it is *o* if one of the consonants in question is a velar (*k*, *h* or *x*), and *e* in all other instances.

Derlycia correctly points out that the copulative verb *je* is generally omitted in the present (pp. 12, 26), but then proceeds to use it in exercises, thereby reinforcing a stilted style. When the present of verbs is introduced (p. 27) conjugations of individual verbs are given, but no attempt is made to systematize the paradigm. The distinction of stem and ending is blurred, and, indeed, the distinction between the first and second conjugation is not made. The learner has to wait until the next lesson (p. 49) for this matter to be somewhat rectified. But even here certain second-conjugation stem-final consonant-mutation patterns (palatal in the 1 sg., palatalized dental in the 3 pl., and hard dental elsewhere, or the insertion of epenthetic *-l-* in the 1 sg. and 3 pl.) are left without comment. Similarly, would it not be better to say that (in the first conjugation) the personal ending *-t'* disappears after the vowel *e* in word-final position, that is, when not followed by the reflexive particle *-sja* (p. 61).

The author gives an incomplete picture of the formation of the vocative. While some major categories are examined, no explanation is offered for nouns of the *Marij-a* and *Vol'-a* types.

When Derlycia introduces the numerals (before the plural of nouns has been discussed), she gives an incorrect rule for case endings of nouns after the numerals *dva/dvi*, *try*, and *čotyry*. The ending is indeed genitive plural, but with singular stress. Thus it should be *dvi skl'janky*.

Derlycia states that third-declension nouns end in a *soft* consonant. She is correct when speaking of nouns such as *kist'*, but only historically so with nouns such as *nič* (p. 80). Similarly, stem-final consonants are not doubled in the instrumental singular of this declension if the stem ends in a double consonant. Given the relatively large and productive group of nouns in *-ist'*, this is a significant omission.

Certain constructions require additional comments. Thus, for example, a strong statement should be made that in Ukrainian dates are always given in the day-month-year order. A North American can easily misinterpret the cues in exercise 7.12 (p. 125). Current usage puts the numeral of the date in letters or newspaper mastheads in the nominative, and not the genitive case. It is quite natural for a North American to say *p'jatnadcjat' po desjatij*, but that construction is not used in Ukraine, where *čvert' na odynadcjatu* is the correct form.

In her discussion of relative clauses Derlycia obfuscates the distinction between *kotryj* and *jakyj* by translating both as *which* (p. 191). That gloss is correct for the former, but the latter means "what kind of." Drill 10.15 gives a hint of this, but that is hardly sufficient.

The author begins with some introductory comments about Ukraine, its language, and history. A cultural note on Shevchenko is given (p. 98), but it is the only one. Contributions by other Ukrainians to world culture, for example, the sculptor Archipenko, the composer Bortniansky, or the director of the Soviet space program Korolov, surely deserve some comment.

As with any first edition, there are some typographical errors, especially in marking the stressed syllable. Finally, a major drawback of the course is the absence of a Ukrainian>English dictionary at the back.

The author probably piloted this work in her classes, where explanations for some of the inconsistencies or constructions could be easily made. But this work attempts to fill an important void in Ukrainian language learning, namely self-instruction. Because the self-learner cannot rely on a helpful classroom teacher, everything must be explained in much greater detail and in very logical sequence. One has the impression that the course was published without sufficient input from self-instructors. Had there been such input, perhaps many of the above criticisms would have been superfluous.

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Olya Marko, Myroslav Shkandrij, Orysia Tracz, and Meeka Walsh, eds. *Spirit of Ukraine: 500 Years of Painting. Selections from the State Museum of Ukrainian Art, Kiev*. An exhibition organized by the Winnipeg Art Gallery in honour of the centenary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1991. 333 pp. (142 plates).

This book is a richly illustrated catalogue of an exhibition of Ukrainian art of the fifteenth century to the 1930s that was held (1991–2) in Winnipeg and then in Edmonton and Hamilton, Ontario. Its higher mission, however, is to acquaint the Western viewing public with the underexamined phenomenon of the burgeoning Ukrainian culture. Indeed, the goal of the nine articles that preface the illustrations is to create a more complete picture of Ukraine's historical and cultural development as a whole. Throughout the past several centuries, Ukraine was the meeting point for many different cultures (serving as the point of origin for East Slavic Orthodoxy and as a centre of Catholicism in Eastern Europe) and was located at the intersection of the trade routes from west to east (Paris–Munich–Vienna–Cracow–Moscow) and from north to south (St. Petersburg–Odessa). In her the article on "The Development of Ukrainian Painting," Daria Zelska-Darewych examines the result of the mutual influence of these diverse cultures in forging a unique national culture from the amalgam of these

traditions. This unique national character manifests itself in all facets of the evolution of Ukrainian art—from the Byzantine, Renaissance, and Baroque periods to the avant-garde of the beginning of the twentieth century and continuing in the works of the school of Mykhailo Boichuk.

In accordance with the overall mission of enlightenment, this catalogue not only provides insightful analyses in the articles therein dealing with Ukrainian art of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries by Larysa Chlenova and by Sviatoslav Hordynsky; the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Iryna Horbachova and by Myroslava M. Mudrak; the avant-garde by Gerald Needham and by Liudmyla Kovalska; and the Boichuk school by Liudmyla Kovalska and Nelli Prystalenko and by Myroslav Shkandrij. It also provides a broad understanding of Ukraine's history and its influence on the development of painting that took place outside the parameters of the catalogue (before the fifteenth century and after the 1930s), and an insight into the allied fields of artistic expression—architecture and sculpture.

Ukrainian culture, which has been virtually forgotten by the West in the face of the looming Soviet empire, can be shown, on the strength of its unique nature, to be not simply an offshoot of European culture. Rather it has produced an original artistic form that in no way resembles the prototypical models: the culture manifests itself in the style and substance of Ukrainian icons, the Cossack baroque, and the frescoes by members of Boichuk's school, who combined Byzantine traditions with native primitive art. The phenomenon of the Ukrainian fresco that flowered in the 1910s can be compared to the monumental murals by Mexican artists that appeared a decade later.

There are many reasons—historical, geographic, and even ideological—for the close relationship in artistic matters between Ukraine and Russia. In fact, many Ukrainian artists can be considered to belong to the cultures of both countries. The overarching domination of the Russian imperialist mentality (which was inherited and continued by the Bolsheviks), however, caused these Ukrainians to be considered only as Russian or, later, Soviet artists. It is quite natural, therefore, that the catalogue's authors have attempted to reintegrate these artists into their native culture. In doing so, the authors have not fallen into jingoistic nationalism: they have carefully related these artists to their Ukrainian roots and demonstrated the influence of Ukrainian culture on their works while preserving the relationship of these artists with Russia and the world at large. Dmitrii Levitsky (Dmytro Levytsky), Vladimir Borovikovsky (Volodymyr Borovykovsky), Nikolai Ge, Ilia Repin, Mikhail Larionov, David Burliuk, Aleksandra Exter, Vladimir Tatlin, Alexander Archipenko, Kazimir Malevich, and many other artists born in Ukraine worked in other countries, including Russia, Poland, France, Germany, and the United States. But no matter where they worked, they remained indissolubly linked to their native *genius loci*—Ukraine—and its spirit, which is introduced to us in this book.

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