

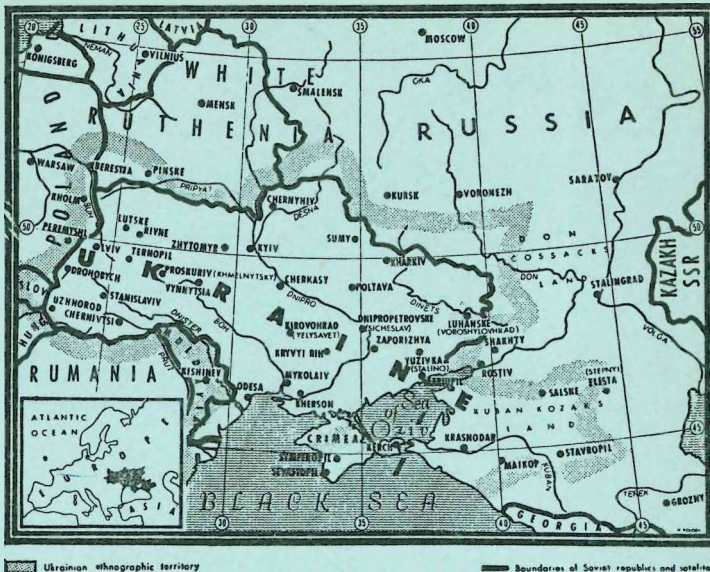
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# UKRAINE



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## **Ukraine in the Anti-Bolshevist Fight**

Bolshevist propaganda endeavours to spread the false conviction in the world that Ukraine has adopted Communism and joined the Soviet Union of its own free will, and that it is an accomplice of Russia in her imperialistic lust of conquest, in order to seize still more peoples and countries by means of Communist infiltration and subjugation. Moscow tries its utmost to force this role on Ukraine and to make it an accomplice; and the reasons for this are to be sought mainly in the geopolitical importance of Ukraine, in her wealth of natural resources, in her highly developed economy, in her agriculture and industry, and, above all, in the human potential of Ukraine, which with a population of 45 million is the second largest nation of the Soviet Union. All Moscow's endeavours to make Ukraine its accomplice have, however, proved futile. Ukraine always has been and always will be an uncompromising opponent of Muscovite (Russian) imperialism with its lust of conquest and its present form and means—Communism.

Ukraine's fight against Russian imperialism has continued for three whole centuries, ever since Tzarist Russia perfidiously violated the agreement between Ukraine and Russia, to unite as two states with equal rights, and cunningly and treacherously deprived Ukraine of her independence. In the course of history certain exclusive differences between Ukraine and Russia have made themselves felt from the psychological and political point of view and with respect to community life. Whereas the Russian nation, community and the Russian individual achieved their development under the victorious influence of Tzarist absolutism, despotism and collectivism, the process of development in the case of the individual Ukrainian and the Ukrainian nation was decisively influenced above all by the fight for freedom of the nation and the individual. The fight for

freedom of Ukraine against Tzarist Russia, as a result of which Ukraine, together with other peoples subjugated by Russia, restored her independent national state and severed all her relations with Moscow, culminated in the Revolution of the years 1917-1918. At that time the Bolsheviks assumed power in Russia and, with all the forces at their disposal, set about restoring the imperium and started a war with the newly liberated states, including Ukraine. In this war of aggression against the independent national states the Bolsheviks had the unanimous support of the entire Russian people. In particular, the so-called White Russian military units, which were hostile in their attitude towards Bolshevism and had been armed and equipped by the Western Entente for the purpose of fighting against Bolshevism, used these arms to fight against Ukraine in the first place and thus created a second front against Ukraine; in this way, they actually gave Bolshevism considerable support in its attempt to destroy the independence of the young national states.

For three whole years the Ukrainian state put up a desperate resistance against the Russian Whites and Communist Russian aggressors, without receiving any kind of support at all from the Western states. Eventually, the Bolsheviks succeeded in occupying a major part of Ukraine, whilst the remaining territory of the Ukrainian state fell under the occupation of its Western neighbours. After the Bolsheviks had forcibly destroyed the independence of Ukraine, the Communist system and regime were forced on her and she was "voluntarily" incorporated in the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. The Ukrainian people, however, refused to bow to the Bolshevik yoke and Communism and continued their fight for freedom by means of constant revolutionary activity. In order to break the resistance of the Ukrainians the Bolsheviks resorted to the most dreadful measures of mass terrorism and extermination in dealing with the refractory population. Several million Ukrainians were sent to concentration camps where most of them perished as a result of slave labour, starvation and cold. The most notorious method of Bolshevik hatred was the systematically organised famine in Ukraine in the years 1932 and 1933, which carried off several million persons there. But none of the Bolsheviks' terrorist measures succeeded in destroying the Ukrainian people's urge to freedom and their hostile attitude

towards Russian imperialism and the unnatural and godless Communism which had been forced on them.

When the war between Germany and Russia broke out in 1941 it soon became apparent that the human potential of the Ukrainian people, with which Moscow was intending to strengthen its forces, was proving fatal to it and its imperialism. The revolutionary fight, organised and conducted by the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), developed into the revolt of the entire Ukrainian nation. In a considerable part of the territory of Ukraine, which prior to the invasion of the German troops had already been liberated by the Ukrainian insurgents, the Bolshevik occupation administration was overthrown and replaced by a national Ukrainian government. The Ukrainian people set up their independent state once more and a provisional Ukrainian government was formed in Lviv. At the same time, the Ukrainians who belonged to the Soviet army sabotaged the plans of Soviet regime, with the result that the Soviet front in Ukraine collapsed almost completely and the advance of the German troops could only be held up on Russian territory. It would at that time have been possible to destroy Bolshevism and thus establish the essential preconditions for a common fight against Russian imperialism and Communism.

But Hitler had other plans in mind; he wanted to turn the countries of Central and East Europe into German colonies. The restoration of the national states of Ukraine and of the Baltic peoples was liquidated by the Hitlerite occupation, which in the countries concerned concentrated on persecuting the national independence forces and introducing a brutal system of colonial subjugation and universal exploitation. Ukraine was now endangered on two fronts. The German-Bolshevik front extended through the territory of Ukraine and both the belligerent parties were the sworn enemies of the Ukrainian people. Such was the situation when the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, supported by the entire Ukrainian people, took up the fight on both fronts. Within a short time the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was formed by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, developed into an important military force and carried on a lively and extensive partisan activity against both the Bolshevik and German occupation forces. Not only did it inflict considerable losses on both enemies, but it also protected the Ukrainian people from complete destruction and exploitation. Large areas of Ukraine behind



the Soviet and German front were under the actual governmental authority of the Ukrainian liberation movement, which was not only responsible for the military defence, but also organised the state administration, the economic system, the educational system and other sectors of national life.

After the German retreat from Ukraine and the shifting of the fighting front to the west of its frontiers, the Ukrainian fight for freedom concentrated its activity in one direction, namely against Muscovite Bolshevik subjugation. During the last year of the war and for three years after the war this fight was continued for the most part in the form of extensive partisan activity on the part of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. When the international political situation became stable to such an extent that the Bolsheviks were able to use their main forces against the revolutionary liberation movement of Ukraine and of other nations which were fighting against Communist tyranny, the maintenance of large insurgent partisan units and their fighting operations became more and more difficult. After 1948 the Ukrainian fight for freedom changed over from the forms of an insurgent partisan fight and tactics to the new forms of a revolutionary underground struggle. Emphasis was now placed on the political revolutionary activity of the OUN, but the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) retained its basic form of organisation which was necessary for any eventual total mobilisation of the insurgent troops in the future. The remaining cadres were again incorporated with the fighting ranks of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. Up to the present the OUN has continued its anti-Bolshevik revolutionary fight and its activity, both within the whole of Ukraine and beyond its frontiers, for the purpose of achieving the national liberation. The fight of the OUN has the active and self-sacrificing support of the entire Ukrainian people and has become the leading, mobilising and organising factor of the general anti-Bolshevik spirit of the active and passive resistance against Bolshevism which the Ukrainian people put up in every sphere of public life.

The anti-Bolshevik fight is not only maintained in Ukraine. The Ukrainian nationalist revolutionaries spread this fight to all the regions of the Bolshevik imperium to which they are deported by Moscow, which aims to undermine the revolutionary potential of Ukraine by removing the Ukrainians from their native country and resettling them elsewhere. But such methods as these are

directed against Bolshevism itself, since they also serve to spread the incendiary anti-Bolshevist elements and flames of the revolution over the entire U.S.S.R. A factor which has assumed considerable importance in this respect is the successful fight against the Soviet regime which has been conducted in the concentration camps and which has been organised by the Ukrainian nationalists and actively supported by political prisoners of other nationalities. This fight, comprising the entire system of the Bolshevist concentration camps, has led to a psychological change which is of grave consequence for the further development of events in the Bolshevist world. The concentration camps were formerly a means of the Bolshevist terrorist system for the purpose of mass destruction of refractory elements and for the purpose of spreading fear amongst the population of the occupied countries. The news of the undaunted spirit and active resistance of the political prisoners, which has been reported all over the world, reflects the spirit of intrepid resistance and of the fight against the system of Communist terrorism and violence which now emanates from the concentration camps instead of fear.

A foremost principle of the entire ideology and liberation activity of the Ukrainian nationalist movement is the idea of a common liberation front of all the peoples subjugated by Russian Bolshevism. In order to set up and constantly strengthen this common fighting front, the OUN and UPA conduct revolutionary political campaigns amongst these allies, organise joint revolutionary campaigns, initiate and support the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, arrange joint conferences, and in Ukraine have formed partisan units consisting of soldiers of various nations and have sent units on fighting and propaganda raids into neighbouring countries, as for instance Belorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia and Rumania.

At a time of peace and coexistence between the free states and the U.S.S.R. the anti-Bolshevist fight of the peoples subjugated by Moscow cannot be constantly maintained in the form of extensive partisan activity. But nevertheless, the less obvious but widely spread revolutionary underground activity of kindling a hostile attitude to Communism and Bolshevist imperialism with the aid of corresponding ideas and watchwords and clandestine revolutionary literature in various languages, has a considerable influence on the peoples amongst whom such activity is conducted. The anti-Bolshevist revolutionary attitude of the broad masses under-



mines Bolshevik rule and the Communist system in a most dangerous way, since this attitude—in a situation which might be critical for the U.S.S.R. either as regards internal or foreign political affairs—would undoubtedly lead to a general revolt which would completely destroy Bolshevism. This spirit has, indeed, so permeated the entire Ukrainian people that, given a favourable opportunity, they spontaneously and actively engage in the anti-Bolshevik fight. An example of this anti-Bolshevik spirit was to be seen recently in the attitude of the Ukrainian soldiers of the Red Army in Hungary during the revolution there. A considerable number of the soldiers of the Soviet occupation forces, who had been stationed in Hungary for some time, were Ukrainians. When the Hungarian revolution broke out, the majority of these Ukrainian soldiers adopted a friendly attitude towards the Hungarian insurgents. Some of them actively joined the ranks of the Hungarian insurgents, whilst others directly or indirectly aided the Hungarian cause by refusing to fight against the insurgents. This attitude on the part of the Ukrainian soldiers prevented the Bolsheviks from carrying out their plan to put down the Hungarian revolution in its early stages by using the military strength of the occupation forces against it. It was only by replacing these troops by new and specially chosen divisions that the Russians were able to crush the Hungarian revolution so ruthlessly and cunningly.

Bolshevik Moscow is well aware of the fact that it is no longer possible to suppress the Ukrainian people's urge for freedom and their uncompromising hatred of Russian imperialism and Communism. For this reason Bolshevik policy tries again and again to curry favour with the Ukrainian people and to win the latter's friendship by means of unimportant but nevertheless strongly emphasized concessions in the nationalities policy. For this reason, too, it is constantly insinuated that the Ukrainian people has a share in the rule of the entire Bolshevik imperium, together with the Russian people. But this Bolshevik trick cannot in any way change the hostile attitude of the Ukrainian people towards Communism and towards Russian predatory and tyrannical imperialism. Ukraine is not merely fighting for its own prosperity and freedom, but in equal measure for the freedom of the other peoples subjugated by Moscow and Communism. And all efforts on the part of the Bolsheviks will fail to undermine this friendship and loyalty between allies.

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*Borys Krupnytsky*

## Ukraine Between West and East

Can one talk about two types of European culture at all—a Western type and an Eastern type? The Western type certainly exists and can be characterised by clichés which were established long ago: the Faustian spirit, activism, dynamism, the spirit of research, the sense of right (as distinct from the “sense of truth”), individualism as opposed to collectivism, etc. But in spite of this fact, certain dividing-lines can at present be observed: there is a tendency to set up special types of culture,—an atheistic (laicized), a Protestant and, in particular, a Catholic type of culture.

If, however, we take into consideration what the “experts” say about the Eastern type of culture, we find in the characteristics in question something which is typical, or to a certain extent typical, of the specifically Russian intellectuality; it is the theory of the uniformity of the East European world on the basis of the former Russia, on the basis of well-known clichés—passivity, the negation of resistance to evil, collectivism and violence, etc.

Yuriy Dyvnych in his article. “In Search of One’s Own Countenance” (“Ukrainski Visti”, Neuulm, 1949, No. 93) endeavours to construct a new conception of the East, by taking as his starting-point the principle of the organisation of life in the East. He sets up two such principles, the Kyiv and the Moscow principle. In his opinion, the Kyiv principle represents a variation of the European way of living and is characterised by its various relations to the different types of Asian culture; this Kyivan culture developed on the basis of a native agricultural and urban culture and the tendency to a free type of social, state and international community and work predominates in it. The Kyiv principle stresses that the most important factor is man as an individual, whose freedom and duties are determined by common law and also by written law

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\*) A slightly abridged translation of the original Ukrainian text of this article which was published in the “Ukrainian Literary Journal” (“Ukrayinska Literaturna Hazeta”, Munich, 1957, Nos. 8-10).

(common good for the good of the individual); it strives to establish uniformity on the basis of a systematic organisation, on the basis of autonomous component parts; and it supports the unity of the free nations of the East who have become independent.

The Moscow principle, on the other hand, has, according to Dyvnych, developed into a combined reciprocal action of the backward Slavic tribes of Central Muscovy, to whom the Tatars passed on their state structure, Byzantium its official intellectual style and Prussia its military and bureaucratic system. It is a principle based on coercion, which ensures that the most important part shall be played by the general and collective factor, by the community and by the state at the expense of the personal freedom and independence of the individual. It strives to establish a compulsory, standardised "single and indivisible" uniformity and excludes all development and all autonomy of the component parts. For this reason, too, it supports the idea of an indivisible Russian imperium. Whereas the Kyiv principle regards East Europe as a component part of Europe, the Moscow principle stresses that there is a wide gulf (at present, the Iron Curtain) between East and West Europe.

The author does not identify the Kyiv principle with Ukraine alone, since it is common to most of the other subjugated peoples of the East (Belorussia, Georgia, Lithuania, etc.). Adherents of this principle are even to be found in certain circles of the Russian people, in those social classes in Russia which oppose the idea of the Russian imperium, in the so-called "cultural opposition" within the leading class in Russia.

This extremely clever and interesting attempt to draw a picture of the East according to the principle of the organised system of life—a picture which contains some very fitting historical, characteristic features<sup>1</sup>)—impresses us all the more since it actually reflects forces which in our day have achieved universal validity.

Actually, what Dyvnych calls the Moscow principle is either the Asian or the Eurasian principle, what we nowadays understand by the designation "East". Nowadays, the West and East have overstepped the bounds of a geographical Europe. The dividing-line lies between the democratic and the totalitarian world, between the compulsory collectivist and the individualist world—with, of course, certain gradations and changes of patterns. It is a universal struggle, but at the same time a European struggle, too,—a struggle



about which H. S. Grossman writes as follows: "In their orientation towards the West and the East the Europeans have completely diverged, and Western Europe today belongs just as inseparably to the Atlantic community as does Eastern Europe to Eurasia."<sup>2</sup>)

Thus, the terms "Muscovite" and "Kyivan" are merely local designations for those forces which are fighting each other all over the world. Two worlds have developed,—a Western world and an Eastern world. And, regarded in this light, the Kyivan principle is equal to the Western element in the East; it is the Eastern elements common to the West, which are conducting the fight against the "specific" East.

And this brings us to the problem of what East Europe would be. Most of the European historians, as we have already pointed out, have taken as their starting-point in this respect the stereotyped division into West and East, according to Roman and Greek-Byzantine cultural beginnings and the corresponding further influence. But East Europe must not be characterised exclusively by means of such a starting-point, but sources such as the Greek or Roman sources of Christianity (and the same also applies to South-east Europe). East Europe is not only based on certain foundations, but also represents a product of historical development, of an organised system of life (in accordance with the fitting formulation by Dyvnych, if one interprets it in the narrower sense). And it continues to exist in the present and to have a certain mission.

As already pointed out, we shall only comprehend these facts if we realise that the main current of all-European culture occurred in the West. European culture, which both in the West and also in the East was based on antiquity and Christianity, nevertheless, as far as its fundamental categories were concerned, developed in the West. And for this reason we are of the opinion that the main current of all-European culture is to be found in the West. It is true that this may change; the main current may move from the West to the East, from Paris to Kyiv or to Moscow,—but only in future perspectives, since the present still reveals a significant predominance on the part of the West.

If we talk about a main current, it does not necessarily mean that the special historical development of the individual European peoples would be reduced to one and the same level. Such a current, as we see it, is a special ideological construction which is needed

in order to characterise phenomena which are a product of the life and activity of individual nations and individual persons.

If we develop this idea still further, then East Europe will hardly appear to us with its true countenance. East Europe is a task and mission rather than something which actually exists or has been completed,—something which is still on the way, which is on the search, which is still striving to achieve its full revelation. And to a certain extent this is where a potential Europe was and is to be found. In the European current East Europe expresses itself in less clear and less eloquent forms.

Whereas Ukraine was historically fairly close to Europe, Russia only approached it at certain moments in her history. The idea of detaching herself from Europe prevailed in Russia for centuries; and in the Soviet epoch isolationist tendencies have once again gained the upper hand there. One can talk about Russia's Europeanisation rather than about her European characteristics. The decisive factor in Russia have been not the "Westerners", but the so-called "populists"; the Russians themselves are obstinately opposed to Europe and West Europe and regard the problem of the Europeanisation of their country in exactly the same manner as China, Japan or India did and still do.

On the other hand, however, the East of Europe represents the latter's advanced vanguard against Asia. And in this connection we should like to draw the attention of our readers to an article by Gonzague de Reynold, entitled "What Is Europe" ("Merkur", 1948, VII). in which the fact is stressed that Europe, even before the beginning of its history, was forced to defend itself against Asia. In its struggle against Asia it became aware of its own strength. But against what Asia? It was not an Asia of civilised zones, but a nomadic Asia, an Asia of steppes and deserts, which for hundreds of years attacked Europe again and again and threatened its existence. It was an Asia which tried again and again to overpower Europe.

One talks about Europe as a whole, but what is always meant is Western Europe. And, incidentally, the fight which had to be conducted in East Europe against Asian nomads was not less but of even more significance for Europe, and in this respect the rôle of Ukraine and also that of the other peoples of Southeast Europe was extremely important, whilst Moscow, on the other hand, did not so much concentrate on fighting as on aiming to



assimilate the said Asian nomadic elements, a fact which eventually put it on the Eurasian course.

At the same time, it was a fight for the European element of the East—for a “specific Eastern European element”, to quote an expression used by Yuriy Dyvnych; Dyvnych transfers the fight to the East of Europe itself and expresses the opinion that “this fight did not continue merely between Ukraine and Russia,—its nature and extent was far more universal: it was a fight in all the East territories as well as within the Russian people itself (the “cultural and historical opposition” in the Russian leading class, etc.) . . . For hundreds of years Ukraine and the forces of the East related to Ukraine fought for their own European way of life not only against Asia and the Muscovite state structure originating from it, but also against the West” (Y. Dyvnych, “Ukrayynski Visti”, Neuulm, 1949, No. 78).

It is quite correct that Ukraine was the vanguard in the fight against Asia. But the fight of Ukraine against Muscovy as the exponent of the Asian element does not characterise the relations between Ukraine and Moscow quite correctly. It was not only a fight, but also a mission,—the mission of Ukraine against Moscow and still more, against the East, the mission of a Westerner in the East, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Still less can we agree with the opinion that Ukraine was obliged to conduct a fight for its own European way of life against the West, too. This own European way of life is self-evident. It is true that it was Ukrainian with Ukrainian characteristics—“a national specification of the European mentality”, according to V. Derzhavyn (M. Zerov, “Sonnetarium”, Berchtesgaden, 1948, p. 21). But it was acquired in the fight against the East and in the cooperation with the West. The West must not be regarded as being identical with Poland, against whom Ukraine has conducted its national and social fight not as against a representative of the West, but as against its historical neighbour. On the whole, Ukraine has not turned its back on the West and has not fought the latter as its enemy. On the contrary Ukraine took over from the West all that it needed, including the endowing of its Orthodox Church with Western combatant means, above all the adopting of Latin culture.

We must bear in mind the fact that in the course of the cultural and religious struggle in those parts of Ukraine belonging to Poland there was always a certain cooperation between the ortho-

doxy of a Western type (namely of the Ukrainian and Belorussian element) and the Protestants—likewise for the most part non-Poles of a Western type, in order to protect the rights and existence of this orthodoxy against Catholic Poland with its tendency to make Polish and destroy other nations. Moreover, the Ukrainian Uniate Church (the Catholic Church with the Greek rite), which the Polish state, to begin with, supported but later disregarded and fought, looked westwards and represented, as, indeed, it still represents today,—a bridge connecting Ukraine with the West, namely with the Vatican. The Ukrainian Cossack element, too, on numerous occasions was at one with the West (with Austria, Venice, the Vatican), in particular when it was a case of fighting the Turko-Tartar world. The Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky fought Poland with the help of Crimea at first and then with the help of Muscovy, but in the end with the support of the Western world—namely of Cromwellian England, Sweden, Brandenburg and Transylvania; in his fight against Poland he thus not only made use of the forces of the East, but also of those of the West.

For even if Poland as regards its culture belongs to the West (a fact which no one questions), its rôle in the East is that of an East European state with Latin culture and with a way of life which is to a certain extent Western in type, or at least of a state structure or country which for centuries on end was involved in East European problems. When considering the historical development of the East of Europe, we must remember the components which went to make up this historical East. Not only Muscovy or Ukraine, but also Poland, Sweden and the Teutonic Order, etc. were connected with the East by a number of problems and tried to organise East European life in some way or other; it was precisely owing to their constant (and also territorial) connection with the East that they wholly or partly belonged to the East European sphere of life. The Ukrainian fight against Poland was not a fight against the West, but against a partner of the same East European sphere of life,—a fight against a historical neighbour who sought to subjugate Ukraine by every possible means and to rule it. Prior to 1386 one could still talk about Poland as a Central or West European country which maintained more or less active relations and connections with the East. But after its federative alliance with Lithuania-Ruthenia (by which Lithuania itself—especially under Prince Vitowt—aimed to obtain a ruling position

in East Europe) Poland of the Jagiellon dynasty was for a considerable time part of the East European sphere and, together with Lithuania, Belorussia and Ukraine, became the Western segment of the East European sphere,—just as it recently joined this sphere again when it became a Soviet satellite.

Not only Poland, Lithuania and the Ukrainian Rus' were East European factors, but also, of course, Muscovy, as well as the Teutonic Order; after the latter had extended its domination to Baltic and Prussian territories it was soon obliged to fight against Novgorod, Lithuania and Poland and from the political point of view was practically limited to its territorial tasks in the East. Sweden, too, as a result of its possessions and relations in the Baltic countries and Finland and its claims to Poland, was closely bound to East Europe and likewise sought to occupy a ruling or leading position there.

At the same time, all these countries, as far as their cultural development was concerned, looked towards the West—with, maybe, the exception of Muscovy (and even Russia of the 18th century and partly of the 17th century, too, was literally forced to turn to the West and to Western culture), and also formed parts of the East or else were closely connected with the latter.

In our day, too, such a fairly relative division is illusory. For nowadays a division into West and East more or less means a choice of front: with the West against the Bolshevik East, or with Bolshevism against the West. Nowadays, the entire so-called Central Europe—ranging from the Baltic countries, East Germany, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia as far as the Southeast European peoples—Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania (and in ideological respect, Yugoslavia, too)—belongs to the Eastern sphere. This Eastern sphere nowadays also includes China and various other countries of the Far East, which formerly were in no way related to our conception of the East in the sense of Eastern Europe and its extension into Siberia.

Nowadays, the conceptions of West and East have a universal meaning. They have been activated and have become the dynamic representatives of certain ideas. Eastern Europe as such has become a local conception, indeed to a certain extent a historical conception. Nowadays, the "East" tallies more and more with Eurasia, the "West", on the other hand, the European West with all the countries on this side of the Iron Curtain. We are living in the



era of universal European civilization. The world will either continue to exist as a European world, or will cease to exist completely. A victory of Soviet totalitarianism would mean catastrophe, namely the end of the world. A victory of European and American democracy would bring with it the ultimate victory of European principles.

There can be no doubt about the fact that European culture at present—above all as far as its civilization aspect is concerned—is a world culture. Neither America, Asia nor Africa nor any other part of the world can nowadays be visualised without European culture (the role of Islam and of Communism in Africa can as yet not be clearly determined). As far as North America is concerned, however, the United States are a product of the Anglo-Saxon mentality, and so, too, is Canada (in cooperation with the French mentality). In Central and South America Latin-Catholic European culture predominates. On the whole, however, America forms an extension of Europe and there even the American-Indians and mestizos of Central and South America are carried along, as far as culture and civilization are concerned, by the broad, common European current. The same also applies to Anglo-Saxon Australia.

Western Asia has as yet no clearly marked character, even though the influence of European civilization is evident there to some extent. Turkey, on the other hand, can be regarded as belonging to Europe; it is a Europeanised country where the process of Europeanisation is proceeding fairly rapidly. Nowadays, it is hard to visualize either India, Japan or even China without Europeanisation. It is true that a national cultural spirit prevails there, which is based on a thousand-year old national culture rich in traditions, but civilization there is derived from one and the same universal source, namely the European source.

The extensive penetration of the European world into Asia does not mean that Asia is no longer Asia, India no longer India, and Japan no longer Japan, etc. But Europe has undoubtedly occupied the leading positions there in the sphere of technical civilization. Without European and American technical achievements (and, as already mentioned, America is in our opinion nothing but an extension of Europe), not only Asia but also the world outside Europe can nowadays no longer exist as a whole.

But European influence goes even further. In Asia, for instance, this influence is active in the form of a cultural correlate. We are

in this respect not referring to the missionary activity of various Christian churches with their fairly limited influence on the Asiatics, but, rather, to European influence in the sphere of organising political and social life. Europe brings with it the conceptions of human freedom, of justice and law as the basis for social development and progress. It is an established fact that in India and Japan, too, attempts are being made to introduce and establish a parliamentary democratic regime, that is to say essentially a European institution. To a certain extent this is a Europeanisation, although as yet not a far-reaching one.

Thus, the world has split up into two fronts; the one that follows Europe and its ideals, the other the "Eastern", that is the Eurasian front.

The danger, as far as we Ukrainians are concerned, lies in the fact that it is so easy to fall a victim to the old, but recently renewed, Russian phraseology, namely the phraseology which sets the mission of a "healthy East", that is Eurasia, against a "rotten West". This danger was already in evidence in the 1920's, but it has still not vanished. In the middle of the 1920's, Mykola Zerov addressed the students of Ukrainian origin of the "Workers' Faculties" in Kharkiv and elsewhere, who obstinately insisted on a "rotting of Europe", as follows: "Let us for instance consider the notorious expression 'decay and rotting of Europe'... How many persons have not already talked about this and much more objectively than we (in Ukraine). Officially acknowledged (Russian) Slavophiles such as Pogodin and Shevyrev talked about this; Herzen on certain occasions also expressed such ideas; Konstantin Leontyev wrote about Europe's 'vulgarisation shortly before its death', and Dostoyevsky buried Europe. But Europe continues to live, to grow and gain in strength,—and who knows whether its powers of achievement are undermined or whether we are perhaps only witnessing the crisis of a certain social formation, the internal exhaustion of the bourgeois Europe which was at the height of its prosperity at the end of the 18th century. Why should one not believe that there are still many sources of social and ideological regeneration in Europe,—sources of which one cannot become aware during a one-month's tour of Europe..."<sup>3</sup>)

It is so easy to fall a victim to the idea of an oddity according to the Russian pattern! One only needs to substitute Ukraine for Russia. And side by side with this theory of oddity there develops



what one can describe as "gigantomania". It is a typically Ukrainian reaction to the former ideological "provincialism" of our Ukrainian society. Taking as our starting-point the demand for a modest autonomy within the framework of the Russian imperium (or Austria)—and that was where our ideological aims as regards the national problem at the turn of the century really ended—we proclaimed the idea of the state independence of Ukraine after the February revolution 1917 and during the following years; but we did not stop here, but, in a run, even went on to the subject of the big providential mission of Ukraine in the East, that is in Asia, in the Mediterranean countries, in the whole world. We were no longer to turn to Europe in search of true values, but Europe was to turn to us; and one already talked about an "oceanic" Ukraine or affirmed that Ukraine was to led an "Asian Renaissance". All these Mediterranean and other southern "basic ideas" and conceptions, which, incidentally, Yuriy Lypa (1901-1944) unconcernedly introduced into the way of thinking of the Ukrainian emigrant groups, undoubtedly contain a certain grain of truth; indeed, regarded as the starting-point for Ukrainian cultural and historical development, they even have a sound basis. But to base the entire fate of Ukraine on them, would be to ignore the whole Ukrainian historical process.

It is true that certain interesting, original and creative ideas are to be found in such "high-flying and ambitious" samples of our Ukrainian writers. But one must frequently curb such fervent fantasy which refuses to recognise any bounds. Reality and concrete facts must not be ignored, otherwise there is also the danger of projecting big aims and tasks in a retrospective way into the past and of this past being constructed according to big aims determined in advance. In this respect only a strictly historical method can be applied, which is just as obligatory for the historian as complete unbiassedness is for a judge.

And, lastly, one should bear in mind what under-developed or less developed peoples and countries east of Ukraine hope for from the latter. To them Ukraine is the West, and precisely herein lies the possible mission of Ukraine in the East and, indeed, of any partner who would like to introduce and firmly establish a new order there. The East is not interested in specifically Ukrainian characteristics, but in the Western characteristics of Ukraine. Ukraine has only one task in the East, namely that of Europeanisation,

and if she were to fail to recognise this fact, then she would in the end find herself in exactly the same situation as Russia.

The fact that we stress the idea "West" in this way does not, however, mean that we detach ourselves from the "East"; but our basic tune always has the accent on the West. One could, in fact, talk about a rhythm in the Ukrainian historical process, the main feature of which would be the West-East course. From the geopolitical point of view, the Ukrainians on several occasions in their history withdrew to the West, in order to move to the East or Southeast again later on. The opinion expressed by some people, as for instance by Yuriy Lypa, to the effect that the Ukrainian main axis was from South to North (Y. Lypa, "Pryznachennia Ukrayiny", Lviv, 1938, p. 287), is not correct, not even for the epoch of the Kievan principality. It is an exaggeration to affirm that "neither the East nor the West are the sources of the Ukrainian national element: the basis of the Ukrainian race, the basis of its culture and philosophy of life in general, was from the very beginning and until recent times the South (including the Danube region and Transcaucasia)" (*ibid.*, p. 286). In the same work the author also expresses the opinion that in the Ukrainian "general ideas" two tendencies are interwoven: an ancient Greek and a Gothic tendency (p. 262), that is to say South and North.

It is however interesting to see how the question of the orientation lines of the Kievan epoch is interpreted not by an out-and-out publicistic writer, but by a true scientist. The outstanding Russian historian and scholar, M. Rostovtsev, writes as follows in his article "Les origines de la Russie Kiévienne" (*Revue d'Etudes Slaves*, 1922, II, pp. 1-18): "Trade gave the Slav-Germanic Rus' its civilization and its political organisation, precisely in the region of the ancient towns which the Slavs had inherited from their Iranian and Germanic predecessors. This Rus' was the last link in one historical chain and also the first link in another. The Kievan Rus' was, incidentally, the heir of the military and trading states, which had been set up one after the other and had asserted themselves in the southern steppes from the 10th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D., and, at the same time, also the mother of the more recent Russian (Ruthenian) states, which suffered various fates: I am referring to the Galician Rus', to Belorussia and to that Rus' which later became Russia and is also called Greater Russia. The Kyivan Rus' inherited from its predecessors all the specific

features which were typical of the states of the southern steppes in ancient times and in the age of the migration of peoples: their military and trading character, their tendency to advance as far as possible towards the Black Sea, their orientation towards the South and the East, but not towards the North and the West... The Western element in Kyiv was subordinated to the Southern and Eastern element as long as Kyiv was able to maintain its connections with the Black Sea. The later era is the era of Western influence."

In this profound characterisation the main emphasis is not only on the South, but also on the East,—and quite rightly so, for the East (the Arabs and the Khazars) was of considerable, and not solely economic, importance as far as Kyiv was concerned. But one must not assign a secondary position to the West, as Rostovtsev does. Research during the past decades has proved most clearly that the West exercised a very considerable influence on Kyiv and that Kyiv's relations with the West were no less intensive than its relations with the South, with Byzantium. And the influence of the North, too,—one has only to bear in mind the part played by the Swedish Varangians—must not be ignored in the Kyivan epoch. The point to remember is that Kyiv in the days when it was a principality became one of the centres of Europe where northern and southern influences converged with western and eastern ones. It is possible that the southern trend was the main one. The kingdom of Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054) aimed to set up a new imperium, but this plan did not materialise. An illustrious course suddenly came to an end. The northern and southern line of contact weakened: the Scandinavian Norman element receded, the Arabian East dwindled away, and Byzantium began to decay. Ukraine turned to the West and set up its line of defense against the East and the South-east.

And it is precisely this fact which must be taken into consideration when talking about orientation lines. Fundamentally, it is precisely the West-East line (or to be more exact, the line from the Northwest to the Southeast) which must be regarded as the most important factor in the Ukrainian historical process. As far as Ukraine is concerned, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean countries today still play an active part, above all, however, from the economic point of view; politically, they have adjusted themselves to the West-East contrast. Moscow, on the other hand, was always and still is regarded by the Ukrainians as the East, not as



the North,—just as are the “foreign peoples” subjugated by the Russians, who inhabit the territory east of Ukraine, namely Turkestan, the Volga region, Siberia, etc.

The same West-East line is also clearly evident in the grim fight waged by the wooded western region of Ukraine against the nomads of the steppes. As far as the Ukrainians were concerned, this wooded western region represented the base, the line of defence and also the terrain of advance for the break-through into the steppes and the fight against the nomads there. The struggle between the wooded region and the steppes in the history of Ukraine is the struggle of the Ukrainian peasants who strove to the utmost to gain the upper hand over the primitive power of the nomads of the steppes.

The same West-East rhythm is apparent in Ukrainian colonisation. Inasmuch as the people of Ukraine migrated from the wooded regions to the steppes, Ukraine gave excellent proof of its success in colonising the East European steppe zone. There were political and also economic reasons for this colonisation. To a certain extent it represented the result of the decay of the Ukrainian state; by its dispersion and its detachment from the main terrain, it undermined and scattered those forces which were necessary for the consolidation of a national state organism.

Be that as it may, it was nevertheless an extraordinary impetus of the Ukrainian colonisation spirit, a national spirit, which attracted the people to a region where they could spread out and run their farms on a large scale—namely, to the East. It is quite possible that the mission of the Ukrainian peasantry in the steppe region is connected with this fact. Cultivation of the steppes in the East is to a very large extent an achievement of the Ukrainian mission. It is interesting to note that Ukrainian science occupied and still occupies one of the foremost positions in the agriculture of the present Soviet Union. In Soviet Ukraine agriculture was almost exclusively the domain of the Ukrainian youth, whereas the Russians (in the ethnical sense) in the first place concentrated on every type of technical science.

The Ukrainians, however, were also closely connected with the distant West. As far as this question is concerned, some persons try to make out that Ukraine was a separate unit complete in itself (as it were between Europe and Asia), inasmuch as they talk

about an Ukrainian struggle not only against the East, but also against the West. As has already been stressed above, this is by no means in keeping with the tendencies of the historical development of Ukraine. In the West the Ukrainians fought against Poland, that is to say against their partner and East European neighbour who was not only endeavouring to annex Ukraine, but also aiming to occupy the leading position in East Europe; but the Ukrainians by no means fought against the West as such; on the contrary, in their opinion the West, as regards the spiritual aspect, was the pillar and support, the source of regeneration, the pulse which kept them true to their European character. And this fact was very aptly formulated by M. Zerov, when he wrote: "A window looking out onto Europe was once opened in 'the little town of Petersburg', at the beginning of the 18th century, when European light fell onto the centres of Russian life and with its rays lit up the surrounding darkness; but in Ukraine, however, no such windows were opened; germs of European culture penetrated into our country through hundreds of tiny cracks and chinks and gradually and imperceptibly were absorbed by all the pores of the social organism" ("Do dzherel", p. 279).

One could, of course, interpret Zerov's remarks as meaning that Ukraine was engaged in Europeanizing itself for a number of centuries. But that would be wrong! No, Ukraine experienced a long common life with Europe, even though it was situated on the periphery of Europe; it developed organically as a European country. And for this reason, "the Ukrainian mentality is a national specification of the European mentality"!<sup>4)</sup>

If it were otherwise, we should always have to be talking about influences, that is West European influences. It is true that at certain stages in the development of their history the Ukrainians were influenced by the West European mentality in varying degrees of intensity, but they also created spontaneously what was in keeping and in harmony with the European mentality. They not only adopted certain features, but also created others, and the Ukrainian baroque style is perhaps even more lavish and ornate than some of the West European baroque. In any case it influenced the formation of the Ukrainian national character and spirit more strongly than was the case elsewhere in Europe. It was precisely during the baroque era that the Ukrainian mystic, Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-1794), expressed ideas which were identical and



in harmony with the ideas expressed by the mystics of the German baroque. This question has been very aptly expounded by Professor D. Chyzhevsky in his treatise, "Cultural and Historical Epochs")<sup>7</sup>: "The significance of applying the general European scheme of cultural development of the Ukrainian past lies in the fact that in this way the Ukrainian cultural development must be recognised as part of the general European scheme and Ukrainian culture as an element of the European entirety; if the Ukrainian cultural development has passed through the same stages as European culture, then it is not because "influences" penetrated into Ukraine from without or because "campaigns" and "factors" of foreign origin are active in Ukraine, but because Ukraine as part of the European cultural entirety passes through the same internal processes as the complex whole to which it belongs."

But what kind of a European element is it? It is an indisputable fact that antiquity and Byzantine Christianity played an important part in the history of the Ukrainian mentality. In discussing the Ukrainian national type<sup>8</sup>), D. Chyzhevsky stresses that its formation—apart from the Ukrainian landscape—was influenced by two historical periods: the epoch of the princes and the era of the baroque. And the epoch of the princes is, on the one hand, the echo of Hellenism and, on the other hand, the echo of Christianisation.

Hellenism was undoubtedly the common starting-point for the whole of Europe. M. Zerov refers to "that ancient world—Greek and Roman art" as a source of life for our literary regeneration ("Do dzherel", p. 287). But the epoch of the Kyivan principality was also accessible to the mentality of Western Europe, and not merely accessible to, but also closely connected with this same Western Europe. Christianisation might just as well have spread from the West (from Rome) as from Byzantium; political considerations were decisive in this respect. But it was precisely this Eastern Christianity which in Ukraine assumed an entirely different and, to a certain extent, non-Byzantine character. In Ukraine there was no centralisation of the power of the Church, a feature which is typical of the Byzantine system. In any case, Ukraine in the course of its historical development by degrees freed itself from Greek and Byzantine influences, whereas in Muscovy these influences continued to increase. Under the influence of Latin (not Polish) culture the Ukrainian Church developed its own type of Western

Orthodoxy, and when Ukrainian society conducted the struggle for its orthodoxy against Catholicism (it was not only a fight, but also the Union of the Church, as well as various attempts to achieve the Union which occur again and again in the course of the history of Ukraine), it did so by the same spiritual methods which were generally applied in Western Europe, and it was actually not so much a fight against Catholicism as against the Polish national spirit in a Catholic form, that is once again against the historical Polish element. Even with regard to the features which the Ukrainians created as something individual and in keeping with their national character—and this applies above all to the self-administration of the Church in which the entire community participated,—the great Ukrainian historian, M. Hrushevsky, ascertains certain Western influences: "It is true that the principle of the communal organisation of Church life, to which the Orthodox movement undoubtedly owed a great deal, had its origin in the former practice, but in the course of its development in the 15th century it was stimulated to a considerable extent by Protestant examples: synods, congresses of ecclesiastical and secular representatives of the Protestant confessions, etc. . . .")

Ukraine also conducted its fight for its own Orthodoxy against Moscow. O. Lototsky writes as follows: "The Ukrainians as members of West European culture at that time possessed certain external forms of their own as regards Orthodoxy and also their own methods of theological thought which were strange and unusual to Muscovy, and, however much one tried there to separate Western learning from the Western confessions, the general antipathy to all that was Western was also applied to the Ukrainians; their faith seemed alien to the Muscovites, heretical and, therefore, hostile."<sup>8</sup>)

As opposed to this confessional and universal spiritual fanaticism of Muscovy (and Soviet Russian chauvinistic fanaticism originates from the same source!) the spirit of national and confessional tolerance prevailed in Ukraine,—and in this respect Ukraine not only differed essentially from Moscow, but those fundamental truths of life, for which Western Europe fought so long and successfully, were also expressed freely. If we take these facts into consideration, then the close relations of the Kyivan princes with the West—as for instance their many gifts to the German Catholic monasteries in Regensburg and Erfurt in the 12th and 13th centuries—become perfectly comprehensible.

Thus, in its position between the West and the East Ukraine was undoubtedly a bulwark of the West, that is of Western civilization, against the nomadic forces of the East. This was, indeed, already ascertained by M. Hrushevsky; and those ironical opinions which nowadays reject such a conception of the Ukrainian historical process as "provincial" are severing themselves far too easily from one of the most significant achievements of Ukraine on behalf of the West and, in fact, on behalf of the whole of Europe. The Ukrainian "provincial element" can be traced to the fact that the Ukrainians who, as Europe's vanguard, were stationed on the periphery of Western Europe and in closest proximity to the nomads were regarded by Western Europe as "provincial" precisely for this reason. The national pride represented by numerous contemporary Ukrainian writers refuses to be content with such "provincialism", but in this respect the far worse provincial dependence on Moscow (in the 18th and 19th centuries), which would be nothing more than being a "province of a province" (of Western culture), is overlooked.

It was precisely *without* Moscow that the Ukrainian spirit revived and prospered again and again; and for this very reason the orientation towards the "European psyche" is of decisive importance to the Ukrainians.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>) Some of the author's statements in this respect are, of course, not quite correct, as for instance the "Prussian military and bureaucratic training" as applied to Moscow, since the most decisive reforms carried out by Peter I in Russia were based on the Swedish state and military system—the senate, the provincial governments, the army, the government administrative bodies, as is convincingly proved by P. Miliukov in his book, "The State Economic System of Russia in the First Quarter of the 18th Century" ("Gosudarstvennoye khoziaystvo Rossii v pervoy chetverti 18. st."), Petersburg, 1905, p. 533 ff.

<sup>2</sup>) "Democratic Realism", published in "Der Monat" ("The Month"), 1949, No. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup>) M. Zerov, "Do dzherel" (On the Sources). 2nd edition, Cracow-Lemberg, 1943, p. 253.

<sup>4</sup>) V. Derzhavyn in M. Zerov, "Sonnetarium", Berchtesgaden, 1948, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup>) "Kul'turno-istorychni epokhy", UVAN, Augsburg, 1948, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup>) "Narysy z istoriyi filosofiyi na Ukrayini", Prague, 1931, p. 17-18.

<sup>7</sup>) "Z istoriyi religiynoi dumky na Ukrayini", Lviv, 1928, p. 61-62.

<sup>8</sup>) "Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu" (Warsaw), 1938, Vol. 30, p. 391.



G. Nandris,

## **The Relations Between Moldavia and Ukraine According to Ukrainian Folklore**

We propose to examine the historical relations between the Rumanian and the Ukrainian people as they have found expression in Ukrainian folk songs. For us these songs will be a chronicle written by the people of Ukraine themselves. In this way we shall learn what the Ukrainian people itself, and not only one chronicler or historian, think about the Rumanian people.

The Ukrainian folk songs are one of the distinguishing marks between Ukrainians and other Slavs, and above all between Ukrainians and their northerly neighbours, the Russians. These songs reveal a great wealth of popular imagination, spontaneous and vigorous lyricism, inexhaustible rhythmical variety, freshness of inspiration and ardent vitality. Ukrainian folk poetry is one of the most beautiful chapters of Slavonic folklore; its place in the foremost rank is determined by the wealth and variety of its lyrical elements. These elements are equal in importance to the epic element, thanks to which Serbian folk songs take first place among Slav folklore.

Among the Eastern Slavs epic poetry is represented by the *byliny* which have survived in the North of Russia, an echo of the times of Volodymyr, Prince of Kyiv (980-1015), and also by the Ukrainian *dumy*, in which the people celebrated the period of the Cossack wars of the 16th and 17th centuries. The main characters of the *byliny* are the heroes of the Kyivan period, prior to the Tartar invasion (1224). However, in the course of their development, the *byliny* have lost contact with historical events and have assumed a mythological aspect. Their home today is Northern Russia, around Lake Onega, but it is assumed that they have been transplanted there from their original home in the Kyiv region of the Ukraine.

As already stated above, the Ukrainian *dumy* are the product of the Cossack wars. They have preserved historical recollections more faithfully, and celebrate these recollections in terms of highly lyrical patriotism. As a rule, these *dumy* have no central character; each of them merely reflects a single event in the heroic period of the Ukrainian people. Their home is in the Ukraine, in the country between the Dniester and the Don.

If the Kyivan origin of the *byliny* is admitted, it is tempting to see in the Ukrainian *dumy* their continuation. O. Miller has attempted to demonstrate this continuity in a communication to the Archaeological Congress of Kyiv (1874) and in a study published in 1875.<sup>1</sup> In the ancient *dumy* which sing of the struggles with Turks and Tartars, there appears the same miraculous element which is characteristic of the *byliny*. On the other hand, it is easy to recognise certain characters who are common to both categories of folksongs. Such observations have reinforced the hypothesis that the Ukrainian people have preserved the memory of these old songs and have introduced new historical elements into their framework. Consequently it is not possible to assert without reservations that the memories and historical traditions of Kyivan Rus' have been preserved exclusively by the *byliny*, since it is not to be contested that there are traces of connections between the *byliny* and the *dumy*.

The romantic cult of personality, individual and ethnical, which has supported and assisted the revival of the Slavonic peoples, has also brought to light their folklore. The first collections of Ukrainian folk songs date back to the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>2</sup> During that century, indeed, folk songs were used as a weapon in the struggle for national independence. They claimed ethnical autonomy for the Ukraine against the Russians. The folklore collections grow rapidly in number; their multiplication is in direct proportion to their usefulness for the national cause. In the course of this study we shall quote the collections which have been drawn upon.

The first record known to us of the existence of Ukrainian folk songs in the 16th century is to be found in the *Annales, sive de origine et gestis Polonorum et Lituanorum*, 1587, of the Polish chronicler Sarnicki, VII, p. 37, *sub anno* 1506: "Per idem tempus duo Strussii, fratres adolescentes strenui et bellicosi, a Valachis oppressi occubuerunt. De quibus etiam nunc elegiae quas *Dumas Russi* vocant canuntur, voce lugubri et gestu canentium se in utramque partem motantium, id quod canitur experimentes; quin









In the open country, by the road,  
 God grant!  
 Stand white silk tents,  
 And in these silk tents they are holding counsel:  
 If only they could make up their minds!  
 We will not make coats for our wives,  
 Coats for our wives, golden trinkets for our daughters,  
 We will make brass boats,  
 Brass boats and silver oars,  
 And set off for the Danube-land.  
 We hear there is a good lord there,  
 A good lord, lord Peter,  
 Who pays well for good service,  
 He gives a hundred ducats a year,  
 He gives a black horse,  
 A fine coat with rich lining,  
 A bright arrow, a pretty girl.<sup>14</sup>

The Moldavian markets were meeting places for the peoples of Eastern Europe. The first scene of the *duma* which tells how a brother sells his sister to a Turk is set in Suceava, the 'capital of Moldavia. The young Ukrainian meets a Turk there:

Roman went to Suceava, to the market.  
 There he met a Turk:  
 "Roman, Roman,  
 Have you your parents?"  
 "I have my parents,  
 And I have a sister, Olinka."<sup>15</sup>

The Ukrainian folk song preserves the memory of the Rumanians who came to Sub-Carpathian Galicia and as far as Moravia and Silesia, on the one hand, and into Ukraine on the Dnieper on the other, in the time of the vigorous Rumanian expansion in the Middle Ages, and founded Wallachian colonies there. In a Christmas carol, three young Wallachians come to an inn and entreat the innkeeper's young daughter to flee with them:

In the open country there is an inn—  
 O God grant!  
 And in that inn there is an innkeeper's daughter,  
 And she sits at the end of the table,  
 And has before her three kinds of drink;  
 Mead, brandy and white wine.  
 She sits there waiting,  
 She leans toward the window,  
 She looks out into the open country.  
 Three Wallachians have come to the inn:  
 The first Wallachian is very handsome,  
 The second Wallachian is even handsomer,



The third Wallachian is the handsomest of all.  
They sat down at the table,  
They talked to the innkeeper's daughter:  
"Innkeeper's daughter, come with us,  
Come with us, with us young men,  
You will drink mead, brandy,  
You will walk in silken frocks."  
They had hardly led the girl out of the village  
When they already betrayed the girl;  
They led her for a mile, they led her for another,  
And at the third they stopped to rest.  
They put the horses out to pasture,  
They told her to make the bed.  
"My mother has not yet given me away in marriage,  
That I should make the bed for you."  
"Strike the flint, light the fire,  
Set the pine-tree burning from trunk to top.  
O burn, burn green pine,  
O flow, flow black resin,  
Flow onto the white body of the innkeeper's daughter  
So that the girl should not want to go any further."<sup>16</sup>

The relations between Moldavia and the Ukraine become more frequent in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Moldavian Voivodes ask the Cossacks for armed reinforcements against their rivals for the throne, numerous pretenders take refuge with the Cossacks and, assisted by their arms, set out to conquer the Moldavian throne. Owing to their powerful military organisation, the Cossacks were a threat to their neighbours at that time. This period of Ukrainian national heroism produced the *duma*. The old epic songs had almost vanished from the memory of the Ukrainian people. The new historical developments produced a new epic song which was superimposed on the ancient elements that still survived in the people's memory.<sup>17</sup> Such ancient elements may perhaps be recognised in the *duma* of Bayda, which is published with 11 variants in the Antonovych-Drahomanov collection. The hero of this *duma* is Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, a grandson, through his mother, of Stephen the Great, Voivode of Moldavia.<sup>18</sup> He was the founder of the first Cossack fort on an island of the Dnieper. In 1564 he was called to the throne of Moldavia by a party of boyars. The voivode Stephen Tomsa captured him and delivered him to the Turks, who put him to death.<sup>19</sup> This episode, which appears identically in 11 variants, was introduced into an ancient song, the hero of which was Bayda.

In a variant of this song, a certain "Pan Koretsky, Dmytro Vyshnevetsky" is mentioned. The name of Koretsky was added to that of Vyshnevetsky in this variant because the fate of Koretsky had some similarity with that of the hero of the *duma* in question. Koretsky had also been to Moldavia (twice, 1617 and 1620) and was also taken prisoner.

None of the variants of this song mentions the connections of Vyshnevetsky with Moldavia. The *duma* celebrates the heroism and fortitude of this character. The Sultan attempts to convert him to Islam by promising him his life, but he refuses to abandon the Christian religion. The same element of Christian heroism is to be found in the Rumanian folk song "Constantine Brancoveanu".

\* \* \*

It is in a much more precise form that the recollection of the assistance received by the Voivode John the Terrible (1572-1574) from Swierczewski's Cossacks is recorded in a *duma*, in which Swierczewski's name is given as Swirgowski, and, in Gregory Ureche's Moldavian chronicle, as Sfirski.<sup>20</sup> The change *cz* > *g* in the name of the hero is a proof that the Ukrainian *dumy* were not published in the form in which they existed among the minstrels. They have been touched up, corrected by cultured writers. The phonetic change *cz* > *g* is common with Ukrainian chroniclers, but it cannot be accounted for in the vernacular.<sup>21</sup>

The variant which follows in translation was published for the first time by Sreznevsky in "Zaporozhskaya Starina", I, p. 27. Our translation is from the text published by Antonovych-Drahomanov.<sup>22</sup>

#### SWIRGOWSKI'S WALLACHIAN RAID

In the town of Cherkas  
The trumpets were blown  
When the Polish commissars  
Came to the Hetman.  
In the town of Cherkas  
The drums were beaten  
When the Polish commissars  
Came to the Hetman.  
Here comes the fine lord, Pan Swirgowski,  
And another, Pan Zborowski,  
And yet a third, Morozenko,  
And yet a fourth, Pan Horlenko.  
The Turks fight the Wallachians,  
And the Wallachians fight the Tartars.  
They ruin the land of Wallachia,

They plunder it without mercy.  
 The horses started to neigh  
 Going up the hill,  
 The Turks began to lament,  
 And went off to Kilia.  
 And when Pan Swirgowski came to Kilia,  
 He called the Cossacks together,  
 And asked them to come to the council.  
 He flew away like a gray eagle,  
 He landed on the maple-tree  
 And balanced on its supple branches;  
 "Here I am, my dear brothers,  
 And now I depart from hence."  
 Pan Swirgowski has departed  
 Into a dark grave,  
 The Cossacks around him  
 Lamented him loudly.

What follows is obscure and incoherent. It appears to be an extraneous addition, interpolated at a later date. It tells of a mother's grief for her lost son and a sister's grief for her vanished brother.

The variants show how it was possible to add or remove certain parts according to circumstances and to the creative ability of the minstrel. The following passage is to be found in a variant of this song:

They plunder the Wallachian land mercilessly.  
 Woe to us, Wallachians, woe to us, Christians.  
 The Turks are cutting our throats.  
 It is for you, Cossacks, to protect our religion.  
 Send help to us Christians!  
 The Cossacks defend religion,  
 They send help to the Christian Wallachians.  
 The trumpets are sounded, the drums are beaten,  
 The Cossacks who leave Ukraine are watched by all eyes.

Two other variants of the same song have appeared in Maksymovych, *Ukr. Narod. pesni*, 1834, pp. 71-72, and in Mordovtsev, *Malorusskiy Literaturnyy Sbornik*, Saratov, 1859, pp. 181-182.

We have pointed out above that in Ukrainian folklore—as indeed in any folklore—the material is found to have been touched up. Similarly, we also find fakes. In one of the most reliable works on Ukrainian folklore, the historical songs of Antonovych-Drahomanov, which we have already quoted, two songs concerning the historical relationships between the Ukraine and Moldavia have been exposed as being fakes. We give a translation here for the sake of



interest. The hero of one of these songs is Serpeaga, the other is Loboda. Serpeaga is the name under which John Potcoava (Ivan Pidkova), the brother of the Moldavian Voivode John the Terrible, was known among the people. John Potcoava ruled for a few months in Moldavia under the name John the Voivode. He withdrew before his opponent, Voivode Peter, whom he had defeated twice, and left Moldavia at Soroca. Making his way, together with the Cossacks, towards the Dnieper, he fell into the hands of the Poles and was beheaded in Lviv (Lemberg) in 1578, by order of the king of Poland, because he had broken the peace with the Turks in his Moldavian raid.

Force could only prevail upon force,  
In Lviv Serpeaga's grave was dug.  
His grave was dug... So the Wallachians have willed it!  
They tied Serpeaga to a dried oak-tree.  
O Wallachians, Wallachians, why did you call him?  
In order to betray the Cossacks of Zaporozhe  
They have betrayed their master—  
The Hetman Serpeaga was happy at home.  
Preserve the memory of your master,  
Whether he was good or bad, why should you care?  
So long as he was no coward.  
Tie Serpeaga to a dried oak-tree!  
Serpeaga has a brother who is the Khan,  
Let his brother the Khan give alms in his memory.<sup>23</sup>

The character figuring in the other pseudo-folk song is the polkovnyk (Colonel) Loboda who burnt down Tsutsora and sacked Jassy in 1595.<sup>24</sup> Loboda was put to death in Warsaw together with his ally Nalyvayko.

He defeated the Poles on the Bug,  
He put to flight the Hetman Potocki,  
He defeated the Poles on the Prut,  
They did well to plunder Tsutsora,  
It was well indeed, well indeed, but there was treachery,  
And Pan John was killed on a Sunday morning.<sup>25</sup>

\* \* \*

The era of Bohdan Khmelnytsky is the most glorious chapter in Ukrainian history. Faced with a difficult political situation of Ukraine between Poland, the Crimean Tartars and Muscovy, Khmelnytsky sought a dynastic alliance with his Western neighbour, Moldavia, as the best solution in the circumstances. It is not by chance that the Treaty of Pereyaslav (8th January 1654) concluded with Moscow was signed after his son's death; it was because of

this death that all his plans of an alliance with Moldavia were destroyed.

Khmelnysky's expedition to Moldavia in the summer of 1650 was prompted by the following motives:

- a) To provide easy booty for the Tartars of Crimea, his allies, who would otherwise have sought this booty in the Ukraine herself;
- b) To weaken one of the allies of Poland, with whom he was at war.

During the summer of 1652 the Cossacks undertook a second raid on Moldavia under the command of Timothy, son of Bohdan Khmelnysky. Timothy married Ruxanda, the daughter of the Voivode Basil Lupu, and went back to the Ukraine.

In the spring of 1653 Timothy again set out for Moldavia in order to assist his father-in-law, whose capital Suceava had fallen into the hands of his enemies, the Prince of Wallachia and the Prince of Transylvania.

In August 1653, Timothy with his Cossacks once more went to the assistance of his father-in-law, who was again besieged by his enemies in the town of Suceava. He was killed on this raid, and his death put an end to Khmelnysky's ambitions, so that he no longer tried to consolidate his position by a dynastic alliance with the Voivode of Moldavia.

The troubled events which we have related above were celebrated by the Ukrainian people in their *dumy*. Several variants have preserved the recollection of the Moldavian raid. We give here a translation of the *duma* published in Metlinsky's collection<sup>26</sup> reproduced by Antonovych-Drahomanov in their study on Ukrainian historical folk songs. The variant published in Maksymovych's collection<sup>27</sup> and that published under the letter C in Antonovych-Drahomanov's study do not show any appreciable differences.

#### THE MOLDAVIAN RAID

When the wind blows softly from the Dniester,  
Our Lord only knows, only our Lord sees  
What Khmelnysky thinks, what Khmelnysky has in mind.  
Neither the captains, nor the generals,  
Nor the Cossack orderlies, nor the assembled rank and file,—  
None of them could know, what our master the Hetman thought,  
What Bohdan of Chyhyryn had in mind in the town of Chyhyryn.  
He sent ahead twelve pairs of cannon,  
And then he set out from the town of Chyhyryn;  
The Cossacks follow him,  
They buzz like a swarm of bees;

The Cossacks who had no steel sabre,  
Those who had no seven-span pistol,  
Took a wooden club on their shoulders.  
When they arrived on the banks of the Dniester,  
He sent his Cossacks in three directions,  
And arriving before the town of Soroca  
He dug the trenches before the town of Soroca,  
In the trenches he set up his encampment.  
And he wrote a letter with his own hand,  
Sent it to Basil the Moldavian,  
And in the letter he said:  
"Basil the Moldavian, the Wallachian Hospodar!  
What will you think now, what will you decide?  
Will you fight me?  
Or will you make peace with me?  
Or will you surrender your Wallachian towns?  
Or will you give me bushels of gold pieces?  
Or will you seek mercy of Hetman Khmelnytsky?"  
Then Basil the Moldavian, the Wallachian Hospodar,  
Reads the letter,  
Sends back an answer,  
And in the answer he said:  
"Pan Hetman Khmelnytsky! Bohdan Zinovty of Chyhyryn!  
I will not fight you,  
Nor make peace with you,  
Nor surrender to you my Wallachian towns,  
Nor give you bushels of gold pieces;  
Would it not be better for you, the younger one, to surrender,  
Rather than I, the elder, should surrender to you?"  
When Khmelnytsky heard these words, he mounted his good horse,  
Rode round the town of Soroca,  
And then uttered these words:  
"O town of Soroca,  
You have not been in the hands of my children, the Cossacks.  
I will capture you,  
I will take great treasures from you,  
I will satisfy my troops  
By giving them a full bushel of gold as their monthly pay."  
Then Khmelnytsky did as he boasted,  
And he did well too;  
He took the town of Soroca on a Sunday morning,  
And he had his dinner on the market-place.  
Towards midday he attacked the town of Suceava,  
He burnt down the town of Suceava,  
And put it to fire and sword.  
The people of Suceava did not show themselves to the Hetman,  
They all ran away to the town of Jassy.  
They said the following words to Basil the Moldavian:  
"Basil the Moldavian, our Wallachian Hospodar,



Will you take up your stand for us?  
Then shall we pay you homage;  
But if you do not take up your stand for us,  
We shall pay homage with our blood to another lord."  
Then Basil the Moldavian, the Wallachian Hospodar,  
Harnessed a pair of horses to his coach,  
And drove off to Khotyn,  
And set up his camp with captain Khmelnytsky.  
Then he wrote a letter with his own hand,  
Sent it to Ivan Potocki, the King of Poland;  
"Ivan Potocki, King of Poland,  
You are having a good time in Ukraine, living on the fat of the land,  
What do you care if the Ruthene, Hetman Khmelnytsky,  
Has pillaged all my Wallachian land,  
Has ploughed up all my fields with spears,  
Has made my Wallachian's heads fly from their shoulders;  
Where there were roads and paths in the country,  
He has crossed them on bridges of Wallachian heads.  
Where there were deep valleys in the country,  
He has filled them up with Wallachian blood."  
Thereupon Ivan Potocki,  
King of Poland,  
Read the letter,  
Sent back an answer,  
And in the answer he said:  
"Basil the Moldavian, Hospodar of Wallachia!  
If you wanted to live in peace in your own land,  
You should never have had dealings with Khmelnytsky.  
For I had a chance to get to know the Hetman Khmelnytsky very well,  
In the first war,  
By the Yellow Waters,  
He met fifteen of my knights—  
He gave them a brief reply:  
He sent their heads flying from their shoulders,  
He took three of my sons alive,  
He sent them as a present to the Sultan of Turkey,  
As for me, Ivan the King of Poland,  
He kept me for three days chained to a cannon,  
Gave me no food and no drink.  
Then I had a chance to know the Hetman Khmelnytsky very well,  
I shall remember him for ever."  
Since then Khmelnytsky has died,  
But his fame shall not die, shall not grow dim!...

The epic folk songs correspond to the period of the Cossack struggles. These struggles took place against the Turks, on behalf of Christianity, against the Poles on behalf of Orthodoxy and above all for a social principle which was being trampled upon by the

Polish magnates, against Moscow, which was threatening the Cossacks' freedom on the eastern side, and against Moldavia, in order to force the latter to an alliance which appeared to be a happy solution to the political problems inherent in the situation. All these struggles have left their mark on the folk song. The following period of political decadence is also marked by a lowering of epic creativity.

At that period of the growing dependency of the Ukraine on Muscovy many Ukrainians were employed for transport tasks in the Russian armies during several expeditions. The songs of this period are the echo of the sufferings of these unfortunate carters who were dragged along with the armies in foreign lands. These songs are very rare which, like an echo of the glorious past, celebrate the victories of the Russians over the Turks. One such example is given to us by the song "The Muscovite and the Turk by Khotyn", near this town which was still fresh in the memories of the people because of the struggles fought there by Khmelnytsky's Cossacks.

By the famous town of Khotyn, by the river,  
The Turk has been fighting the Muscovite for more than six months.  
The Muscovites have fought from morning till night,  
And many a Turkish Pasha closed his eyes for ever.  
The Muscovites' numbers were halved,  
Let the Turkish Pasha mark this day well,  
The Pasha shouted out loud to his Turks:  
That is enough! We shall perish,  
Let us escape to Wallachia, to the Wallachian towns,  
Where we shall be well defended against the Muscovites.<sup>28</sup>

Now Moldavia is no longer a land of rich booty for the Cossacks. Those who leave for Moldavia perish without glory. Ukrainian folk poetry of this period is characterised by its paucity of invention. The same songs are used by substituting only proper names, to record the misfortunes of the Moldavian, the Crimean or the Prussian expeditions.

A song entitled "Expedition to Crimea" begins with the line "The owl is perched on the hill", a line which is also found in "The Carters of the Moldavian Expedition", and ends with the stanza:

The carter is sitting among his carts,  
He thinks of his misfortunes,  
He tears off the front, he tears off the sleeves,  
To patch the back of his garment.

We find the same stanza in "The Carters of the Moldavian Expedition":

The thick grass has bowed low  
Where the carters have driven their oxen.  
Our carters were sorrowful  
When their carts were taken away from them.  
Early on Sunday morning  
All the bells rang,  
Far, far away  
Our carters drive their carts.  
They entered Moldavia drawn by oxen,  
They came back from Moldavia on foot.  
—What do they seek in this glorious Moldavia  
Where the mountains are steep?  
—Alas, the carters have entered Moldavia with fur-lined coats,  
From Moldavia they came back bare-foot.  
The owl is perched on the hill,  
He is ruffled by the wind.  
Many carters gone to Moldoslovakia  
Have suffered great misfortune.  
The carter is sitting among his carts,  
He thinks of his misfortunes,  
He tears off the front, he tears off the sleeves,  
To patch the back of his garment.<sup>29</sup>

In a variant of this song we find the name Altan, which Drahomanov identifies with Moltan—Multania, i. e. Wallachia. Among the Slavs we often meet with this confusion in the names of the Rumanian countries, Moldavia and Wallachia, both being called without distinction—because of the ethnical identity of their inhabitants—Moldova, Multani, Voloshia.

They went into Altan, driving with six pairs of oxen,  
From Altan they return bare-foot.  
Why is this Altan so glorious,  
Is it because of its dense forests?  
They went into Altan with kid shoes,  
From Altan they return bare-foot.  
Why is Altan so glorious?  
Is it because of its high mountains?  
Into Altan they went well clad,  
They come back without clothes.<sup>30</sup>

Drahomanov thinks this song records the painful recollections of Münich's expedition to Moldavia (1739). The historical records of this expedition also show the difficulties and the sufferings revealed in this song.



In another song of the same period, Moldavia figures as the grave of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, far from their fields:

They have ploughed, they have sown,  
But none enjoys the harvest,  
Our glorious Zaporozhians have perished in Moldavia.  
—Alas, you young and brave Zaporozhians, where are your horses?  
—Our horses are tethered in the Tzar's stables,  
The men of the Zaporozhe are in the prisons.<sup>31</sup>

\* \* \*

Epic folk poetry disappears as we get nearer to modern times. It is replaced by lyrical songs which express the emotions of love or the sorrows of life.

Moldavia appears in these songs as a land of plenty, in which the oppressed find well-being, a land free from serfdom, for which lovers yearn.

In the Ukrainian folk song there are echoes of the migration westward into Galicia and Moldavia:

I shall go to Wallachia to die there,  
I shall ask then to plant a guelder-tree on my breast,  
The little birds will come and eat the guelder-berries,  
They will bring me news of my mother.\*)

The first line of this song is also found in the following variant:

I shall go to Ukraine to die there.\*\*)

Through hill and dale, through the cornfields,  
Come with us, come maiden, to Wallachia with us.  
"Am I so stupid, am I so scatterbrained,  
That I should go with you, a maiden like me?"<sup>32</sup>

I shall go to Wallachia, I shall get married there,  
I shall take a nice pretty girl to wife.<sup>33</sup>

Farewell, farewell Poland,  
I am leaving you:  
I shall go to Wallachia,  
There I shall not perish,  
For people are kind in Wallachia,  
There I shall live well,  
There men live, not Tartars:  
They will soon lend me a helping hand.  
It is misty, misty on the fields,  
The guelder-rose leaf is larger,  
It is larger on the maple-tree,  
There my beloved is waiting for me.<sup>34</sup>

\*) Holovatsky, *op. cit.* II, p. 619.

\*\*) *Ibid.*, p. 752.

O my brother, my dear brother, do not drink brandy,  
 But, dear brother, take this maiden,  
 Take this pretty girl, this pretty maiden,  
 Set your cottage on fire, let us go to Wallachia,  
 Let us go to Wallachia, to this fine land of Wallachia,  
 So that we shall not have to slave for our master.<sup>35</sup>

I have gone to Wallachia, it is only there one can live,  
 But I recalled my beloved, I had to go back.<sup>36</sup>

O my little black horse, I shall give you oats,  
 Bring me my little Anna from the Wallachian side.<sup>37</sup>

In more recent songs, which have been collected in Galicia, Bucovina is mentioned:

Sew, sew, my young beloved,  
 For to-morrow I am going for ever,  
 I am going to Bucovina;  
 To whom shall I entrust my beloved?  
 My friend, my dear friend, look after my beloved,  
 When I come home from Bucovina,  
 We will have a drink of brandy.\*)

I shall saddle my horse,  
 I shall go out into the world,  
 I shall go to Bucovina.\*\*)

I have a lovely sweetheart,  
 With glittering eyes,  
 You could look all over the world,  
 And yet not find her match.  
 She has no match even in Cordon,\*\*\*)  
 Or in our hills.\*\*\*\*)

In the Ukrainian folk songs of this period Moldavia figures as a land of freedom for the young men who want to evade military service, for the criminals who are escaping from the arm of law, as a country which attracts adventurers. A Hutsul song tells of a young man who ran away from Kolomyia where he was absolving his military service. The patrol pursues him into the mountains without success:

Whether they caught him or not, what do we care?  
 Instead of Protsko they caught the old Toman,

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\*) Dr. I. Kolesa, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

\*\*) Ibid.

\*\*\*) Bucovina, so called by the people because, when it was annexed by the Austrians in 1775, it was surrounded by military frontier guards' "sanitary cordon".

\*\*\*\*) Hutsul song, Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, II, p. 467.

They caught Tomaniuk, they beat him and punished him,  
And the sons of Tomaniuk went over into Moldavia.<sup>38</sup>

Another Hutsul song contains the lines:

Simon, leave your mother, I am leaving my wife,  
Let us go to Wallachia to find happiness,  
Let us go to Wallachia among strangers,  
I shall find a place there for you, you will be happy.\*)

Among the Hutsuls a ballad is found which tells of two young men, Simon and Andrew who are setting out for Moldavia. Simon persuades Andrew to make the journey, and as soon as they have left the village he basely kills his comrade:

The cuckoo is calling, perched on a hazel-tree,  
Simon said to Andrew: Let us go to Wallachia,  
Let us go to Wallachia, among strangers,  
I shall find a place for you, you will be happy.<sup>39</sup>

Simon returns to his village alone. People ask him what has happened to Andrew. and he answers he has gone over into Wallachia.

A prisoner escapes from the prison in Stanyslaviv, but when he reaches his home in the mountains, his mother refuses to let him in. He then requests her to give him arms, saying:

Give me my pistols and my cudgel,  
I know well the way to Moldavitsa.\*\*)

Wallachia and the Wallachians often figure in love songs:

I don't know what to do,  
I don't know where to turn to for advice.  
I shall ask advice  
Of the Wallachian priest,  
Even though it were sinful,<sup>40</sup>  
Even though it were ten times sinful,  
Even though it were a thousand times sinful.<sup>41</sup>

In a *kolomyjka*, a kind of popular epigram, a young girl cries out:

In the garden a Wallachian poppy has blossomed,  
And I love the boy who is pock-marked.<sup>42</sup>

The Wallachian poppy is also found among the Ukrainian chroniclers as an element of comparison. Speaking of Khmelnytsky's army, the chronicler Velychko says it was like a blossoming field of Wallachian poppies.<sup>43</sup>

The snow has fallen, the ice has set, the brooks have swollen,  
They have given boots to my beloved,

\*) Ibid., p. 229.

\*\*) Holovatsky, *op. cit.* II, p. 598.



They have given him boots—and a rifle,  
They have sent my beloved far away to Moldavia.<sup>44</sup>

Germany is not Poland, it is not Wallachia,  
You have hardly said a word to a girl,  
And already it has got around.<sup>45</sup>

Green forest, green forest,  
I love you because you are young.  
I have been to the market, I have drunk brandy,  
I have bought plants and planted them in my garden.  
My plants have grown,  
The young girl has fallen in with a Cossack.  
The cabbage has green green flowers,  
The girl loves the Cossack deeply.  
Do not hit me, do not insult me:  
If you do not love me, find me a husband,  
Find me a Wallachian, for I am a pretty girl.<sup>46</sup>

From the ethnical name *Volokh* (a Wallachian, a Rumanian) is derived the Ukrainian *Voloshyn*. It is often difficult to determine whether this name designs a people or whether it is simply a surname. However, the name of a flower "Wallachian poppy" or the name of a person, "Voloshyn" brings us outside the intention of this article which deals with folklore as a background of history.

A fragmentary and very obscure song, published in Metlynsky's collection<sup>47</sup> mentions a Voloshyn. These incoherent verses deal with a certain Voloshyn, "Cossack *Polkovnyk*" (Colonel) and "Polish official". This character may have been one of the numerous Rumanians who were in Polish service, having become a Cossack *Polkovnyk*.<sup>48</sup> The fact that in the same song the name Voloshyn applies to three different characters proves that it is an ethnical designation.<sup>49</sup> In a Bukovinian love-song we meet it again:

Voloshyn, Voloshyn,  
Teach me how to bewitch  
And to love the maiden!  
—"Feed her on strawberries  
And on fine words."<sup>50</sup>

\* \* \*

It is to be regretted that in the prose translation the Ukrainian songs lose much of their infinite wealth of lyrical nuances, their extremely varied rhythm which, changing from one line to the next, contributes to give the impression of a harmonious whole, their sonorous language, strewn with vowels, and finally, the simplicity

of their fresh lyricism. It will have been noted that in the translation which we have supplied, there are some gaps which make the sense of some of the stanzas difficult to understand. We should like to point out that we are not responsible for these gaps; they are due solely to the character of Ukrainian popular versification.

For centuries Moldavian historical events attracted the attention of the Ukrainian people, and they often furnish subject-matter for Ukrainian epic folk songs. Every time its land was pillaged by the common enemy of Christendom, Moldavia, a Christian and Orthodox country like the Ukraine, aroused feelings of sympathy in its Slav eastern neighbour.

Her wealth, her beautiful churches, rich in golden ornaments, and even her markets, attracted her neighbours from the other side of the Dniester.

The period of Cossack struggles is a chapter which is almost common to the history of both Moldavia and the Ukraine. In these struggles Moldavia plays an important part. The Ukrainian folk song, full as it is of elements of hatred and scorn for all neighbours who encroach on the right of other peoples to live, has no ill feelings against Moldavia. Even in the *duma* which celebrates Bohdan Khmelnytsky's raid on Moldavia, we find only the exaltation of national pride, and there is no question of any hatred between the two peoples.

Later, when the Ukrainian people fall into economic and political slavery, Moldavia offers them a place of refuge; it offers a quiet life to those oppressed by serfdom; it is, finally, for them the land of freedom and well-being.

(Translated from French by Miss Sunray Gardiner. This article was published in *Mélanges de l'Ecole Roumaine en France*, Paris-Bucarest, 1924. The author is now professor in the University of London.)

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>) O. Miller, *Malorusskiye narodnye dumy i kobzar Ostap Veresay*, in "Drevnyaya i Novaya Rossiya", No. 4, 1875, p. 351 sq.

<sup>2</sup>) Tsertelev, *Opyt sobraniya starinnykh malorossiyskikh pësen*, St. Petersburg, 1819.

<sup>3</sup>) Antonovych-Drahomanov, *Istoričeskiye pëśni malorusskago naroda*, Kyiv, 1874, II, p. IX, note.

<sup>4</sup>) Jana Blahoslava *Grammatika Česká*, vydali Ign. Hradíl a Josef Jireček.

W Praze, 1857, quoted from A.A. Potebnya, *Malorusskaya narodnaya pësnya po spisku XVI věka*, Voronezh 1879.

<sup>5)</sup> Ed. Hradíl-Jireček, p. 341.

<sup>6)</sup> Piseň slowenská od Benátek, kdež hojně jest Slowaků neb Charwatů, přinesená od Nikodéma.

<sup>7)</sup> *Anthologie de la littérature ukrainienne jusqu'au milieu du XIX-e siècle*. Avec un avant-propos de A. Meillet, Paris 1921, ed. by the Institut Sociologique Ukrainien, pp. 33-34.

<sup>8)</sup> A.A. Potebnya, *Malorusskaya narodnaya pësnya*, p. 33.

<sup>9)</sup> Potebnya, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>10)</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11)</sup> Another hypothesis on the origins of this song is suggested by the author of this article in a review of Carl Stief's, *Studies in the Russian Historical Song*, published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXII, 1954, pp. 539-542.

<sup>12)</sup> Chodźko, *Les chants historiques de l'Ukraine*, Paris 1879, p. 47; the original in Holovatsky, "*Narodnyia pësni Halitskoy i Ugorskoy Rusi*", II, p. 61.

<sup>13)</sup> Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, II, p. 12.

<sup>14)</sup> Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, II, 33.

<sup>15)</sup> Paul Zhegota, *Pies'ni ludu ruskiego w Galicyi (1830-1840)*, I, p. 173.

<sup>16)</sup> Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87-88.

<sup>17)</sup> This opinion is held by Zhitecki, *Ocherk zvukovoy istorii*, pp. 287-291; Kostomarov, "*Beseda*", 1872, XII, pp. 30-32.

<sup>18)</sup> N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains*, Bucarest 1922, p. 102.

<sup>19)</sup> Antonovych-Drahomanov, *op. cit.*, p. 153; Rambaud in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1875, 15 June 1825.

<sup>20)</sup> Ed. Kogalniceanu, 1852, pp. 193, 184.

<sup>21)</sup> Antonovych-Drahomanov, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 159-163.

<sup>22)</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23)</sup> Maksymovych, *Ukr. Nar. Pësni*, 1834, p. 78.

<sup>24)</sup> Gr. Ureche-Simeon Dascalul ed. Kogalniceanu, 1852, p. 209; Maksymovych, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 99.

<sup>25)</sup> Maksymovych, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>26)</sup> A. Metlynsky, *Narodnye yuzhnorusskiye pësni*, Kyiv 1857, pp. 391-395.

<sup>27)</sup> Maksymovych, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42.

<sup>28)</sup> M. Drahomanov, *Politychni pisni ukrayins'koho narodu*, XVIII-XIX st., Vol. I, 2, Geneva, 1885, p. 165.

<sup>29)</sup> M. Drahomanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>30)</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31)</sup> M. Drahomanov, *op. cit.*, II, p. 31.

<sup>32)</sup> I. Kolessa, *Halyts'ko-rus'ki narodni pisni (Etnograf. Zbirnyk, T. XI, Lviv 1910, p. 53.)*

<sup>33)</sup> Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>34)</sup> Wacław z Oleska, *Pies'ni polskie i ruskie ludu Galicyjskiego*, L. 1833.

<sup>35)</sup> Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269.

<sup>36)</sup> Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>37)</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>38)</sup> *Materiyaly do ukrayins'ko-rus'koyi etnologiyi*, V, Lviv, 1902, p. 173.



- <sup>39</sup>) Ibid., p. 229.
- <sup>40</sup>) Galician Ukrainians belong to the Catholic Church; this explains the scruple of the hero of the song.
- <sup>41</sup>) Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, III, p. 355.
- <sup>42</sup>) Ibid., II, p. 826.
- <sup>43</sup>) Drahomanov, *op. cit.*, I, 2, p. 159.
- <sup>44</sup>) Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, II, p. 803.
- <sup>45</sup>) Ibid., II, p. 341.
- <sup>46</sup>) Waclaw z Oleska, *op. cit.*, p. 426.
- <sup>47</sup>) Metlynsky, *Nar. Yuzhmor. pĕsn.*, No. 13, p. 413.
- <sup>48</sup>) Antonovych-Drahomanov, *Ist. pĕsn. malor. nar.*, II, pp. 51-52; this work gives the following sources for the Rumanians in Polish service: "1) Pam. Wojcick., II, 157; 2) Twardowski, I, 29; 3) Pamiatn. Kievsk. Komis., t. I, part 3, p. 385—and, for the Cossacks bearing the surname of Voloshyn: O. M. Bodyansky, *Cht. v. M. O. Ist. i Dr.*, 3-4, pp. 6, 7, 104, 132, 137, 140, etc."
- <sup>49</sup>) Cf. above.
- <sup>50</sup>) Holovatsky, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 364.

#### APPENDIX No. 1.

(Extract from an article published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, Volume XXXII, No. 79, June 1954, pp. 540-542).

It is considered that the oldest Slavonic historical song is the song of twenty-one lines in which are praised the heroism and the human feelings of the Rumanian ruling prince, Stephen (1453-1504), who, the song tells us, saves a girl from drowning in the Danube and takes her to be his wife or mistress. Though it lacks the length of the *Slovo*, this song did not fail to be compared with that epic by no less an authority than Potebnaya, and it inspired Václav Hanka in the creation of his famous "folk-epics".

The song on Stephen is contained in the grammar of Jan Blahoslav, bishop of *Unitas Fratrum*, who for his religious zeal and erudition could be compared with Melancthon and for his activities in the community of the Moravian Brethren enjoyed an authority similar to that of Amos Comenius. This grammar was edited in Prague, in 1857, from a manuscript of 1571 in the Theresianum library of Vienna, by I. Hradíl and J. Jireček. On p. 341 we find the song about the Moldavian Voivode Stephen under the title "A Slavonic song from Venice, where there are many Slovaks and Croats, brought by Nikodim". The song is called *slowenská* and the people *Slowaci*. K. Jireček, reviewing V. Jagić's article on the *Dunav—Dunaj* in Slavonic folk songs (*Casopis Ceskeho Musea*, 1876) draws attention to this song. A. Potebnaya reconstructs it in *Filologicheskie Zapiski* (Voronezh, 1877), *Malorusskaya narodnaya pesnya po spisiku XVI veka, Tekst i primechaniya*, compares it with the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* and indulges in long speculations on its literary, historical and philosophical character.\*)

\*) Potebnaya's article was republished in 1914 under the title: A.A. Potebnaya, I, *Slovo o Polku Igoreve, Tekst i primechaniya*. 2-e izd. II. *Obyasnenie malorusskoy pĕsni XVI vĕka*. 2-e izd., Kharkov, 1914.

The song remained an unquestioned product of 16th century Ukrainian folklore and enjoyed great popularity. All scholars, who after Potebnya have dealt with this song (Franko, Krymsky, Durnovo, and the author of this article in "Les rapports entre la Moldavie et l'Ukraine d'après le folklore ukrainien", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Roumaine en France, Paris, 1924*), mention Vienna as the place of publication of the Blahoslav grammar, although in the title-page of the book Prague is clearly indicated. The repetition of Potebnya's mistake shows that all used the text of his study. And Potebnya's view with slight variations, has also been perpetuated for nearly a whole century. This is not the place to go into a detailed study of the language of the song.\*\* There are however striking facts, which show that it is not a genuine Ukrainian folklore product. The language shows Serbian features (e.g. *sta, sto*) and it does not conform to the pattern of the Ukrainian dialects. Nearly every word has to be philologically forced into that pattern. The metrical form has Serbian and Bulgarian parallels, but is entirely unknown in Ukrainian folklore. In the Blahoslav grammar, this song is followed by a note that has been unduly disregarded. It says: 'Another song, similar to the preceding, contains the following words: *pryliko andelska, koja me prychyny*' and the words are explained thus: *pryliko* 'like the face' (of an angel); *koja* 'cui, 'to whom'; *me* 'me ipsam, ego'; *prychyny* 'I am inclined to, *quam ego diligo*'. These words show that this song, heard from Croats in Basilia, as the collector says, existed in Croatian and needed no more than a literal translation. These considerations suggest that Stephen's song was also recorded in the same language and then translated into a Slovak-Ruthenian dialect for the grammarian. This translation was meant to give a sample of the vernacular *slowensky* dialect as it is defined by Blahoslav in the paragraph '*Slowensky dialectus*' as distinct from the '*Polsky dialectus*' and '*Bohemica dialectus*'. For Blahoslav 'Slovaci sau w krajine Slowenské', and they are neighbours of the Croats, who extend from the Hungarian lands to Constantinople. Blahoslav's informer, Nikodim, probably another brother of the *Unitas Fratrum*, heard when travelling in Italy, in the Venice area, a Serbo-Croatian song about Stephen, the Rumanian prince, whose name might have been associated by the Serbian bards with their native name-sakes. Somebody had translated the song into a Slovak-Ruthenian dialect, keeping the original metrical form and preserving some Serbian words. Blahoslav, who is known to have been interested in vernacular Czech and distinguished it from the other vernaculars, introduced this translation into his grammar as a sample of *Slowensky* dialect, in which there was no written literature. Thus *habent sua fata—carmina*.

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\*\*\*) This study has been produced by I. Pankevych, see Appendix No. 2.

## APPENDIX No. 2.

In *Linguistica Slovaca*, IV-VI, Bratislava, 1946-1948, pp. 354-367, I. Pankevych published a detailed study on the language of this song.<sup>1)</sup> According to this study the language of Stephen's song is the dialect of the Lemky in the Sharysh region. Every linguistic particularity is traced in that dialect. Potebnya, studying the Czech and Ukrainian elements in the language of this song, had located its origin in the North of the Lower Dniester region. I. Franko wrote three studies on this song. In his first study he located its origin in Pokuttya, the Hutsul region, and reconstructed its language.<sup>2)</sup> B. Kobylansky represents the same view.<sup>3)</sup> S. Tomashivs'ky expresses the view that Benátek, mentioned in Blahoslav's grammar as the place where the song had been recorded, is not Venice in Italy, but a village, Venecia, in Slovakia<sup>4)</sup>, and the language of the song is Ukrainian of Eastern Slovakia. The hero is not Stephen of Moldavia, but Stephen Batory of Transylvania.

I. Franko, in his second study, accepts without reserve Tomashivs'ky's view.<sup>5)</sup> In 1915 I. Franko, reconstructs for the second time the language of the song.<sup>6)</sup> I. Pankevych accepts the view that Benátek is Venecia in Slovakia, that the song was recorded by a non-Ukrainian collector in the region of Sharysh (Spis, Liptow, Lemky in Galicia, his dialectal definition is not quite clear), and is of the opinion that the song's origin is further in the East in Moldavia, to which belonged also Bukovyna and part of the Pokuttya.<sup>7)</sup> There is a philological indication for that in the spelling of the name Shtefan.

This short survey of the pertinent studies shows the hesitations of the students of this song in defining its dialect, and the many restorations of its language from Blahoslav till our times. I. Pankevych studies it from Potebnya's restored version. For this reason its fitting in the Sharysh dialect (west of Bardiev) is only a new hypothesis.

The identification of Benátek with Venecia in Slovakia is impressive but not convincing. It has to be proved that this Venecia existed in the 16th century and that Blahoslav or Nicodim had any reason to mislead the reader. He states clearly that the Slovaks inhabit Slovakia (*Slowaci sau w Krajine Slowenskej*) and that the Croats stretch from the Hungarian lands to Constantinople and to Venice in Italy (*K Benátkám do Wlach*), where the song was collected. Is Blahoslav not thinking of the Slovenes as being the same Slav people as the Slovaks? Moreover, another song published by Blahoslav, after Stephen's song, is stated to have been heard from Croats in Basilia (*W Bazilii u Gelenia od Charwatu*) and this song is for Blahoslav "similar to the preceding", i.e. Stephen's song. So the origin of this song has not been solved, and its language has been restored too much.

Any philological study will have to proceed from the original manuscript of the song, and will have to consider the prosodic problem connected with it.



Here is the title of Blahoslav's grammar edited in Prague in 1857:

Jana Blahoslava, *Grammatika Česká, dokonaná l. 1571 do níž wložon text grammatiky Beneše Opláta z Telče, Petra Gzella z Prahy a Wacława Philomathesa z Jindřichowa Hradce podlé wydání Normberského 1543. Z rukopisu biblioteky Theresianské we Wídni wydali Ignác Hradíl a Josef Jireček, w Praze, we skladu Fridricha Tempského Kněhkupce, 1857.*

On p. 341. of this grammar the song on Stephen is published in this form: *Piseň slowenská od Benátek, kdež hojné jest slowáku neb Charwatu přinesená od Nikodema.*

Dunaju, Dunaju čemu smuten tečeš?  
Na werši Dunaju try rotý tu stojú,  
Perwša rota Turecká,  
Druhá rota Tatarská,  
Treta rota Woloska  
W tureckým rotě šablami šermujú,  
W tatarským rotě strýlkami strýlajú  
Woloským rotě Štefan wyjwoda.  
W Štefanowy rotě dywoňka plačet,  
I plačuci powidala: Štefane, Štefane,  
Štefan wyjwoda, albo mě pujmi, albo mě liši,  
A što mi rečet Štefan wyjwoda?  
Krásná dywonice, pujmil bych tě dywoňko,  
Nerownáj mi jes, lišil bych tě, milenka mi jes.  
Šta mi rekla dywonka: pusty mne Štefane,  
Skoču já w Dunaj, w Dunaj hluboký,  
Ach kdo mne doplynet, jeho já budu  
Něchto mě doplynul krasnu dywoňku.  
Doplňul, dywonko Štefan wojwoda,  
I wzal dywoňku zabil ji u ručku:  
Dywoňko, dušenko, milenka mi budeš.

Amen.

### Notes to Appendix No. 2.

<sup>1)</sup> Pisnya pro Shtefana Voyevodu yak pamyatka lemkiw's'koho Sharys'koho hovoru.

<sup>2)</sup> Studiyy nad ukrayins'kymy narodnimy pisnyamy. (*Zap. Nauk. Tov. im. Shevchenka*, T. 75, 1907, pp. 14-84.)

<sup>3)</sup> Huculs'kyi hovir i yoho vidnoshennya do hovoru Pokuttya. (*Zbirnyk Istorychno-Filologichnoho Viddilu Ukrayins'koyi Akademiyyi Nauk*, No. 64, Kyiv, 1928.)

<sup>4)</sup> Zamitka do pisni Shtefana Voyevody (*Zapysky... Shevchenka*, T. 88, pp. 128-135.)

<sup>5)</sup> *Zapysky... Shevchenka*, T. 110, 1912.

<sup>6)</sup> Naukovy Zbirnyk Leningrads'koho Tovarystva Doslidnykiv Ukrains'koyi Istoryyi Pys'menstva ta Mowy (*Ukr. Ak. Nauk, Zbirnyk Istorychno-Filologichnoho Viddilu* No. 74, Kyiv, 1928.).

<sup>7)</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 354.

## A MAP OF 1542

I have succeeded in obtaining a photostat of the original of a map which has so far never been printed. This map, which was drawn by Antonii Ved in 1542, is probably the oldest map with inscriptions in Cyrillic letters in a Slavonic language. Even Dr. V. Popovych's collection, which includes about 40 ancient maps of the Ukrainian territories, does not contain a map of this kind printed in Cyrillic letters.



Reproduction of a part of the lower (Western) section of the map showing the Baltic Sea area (printed for the first time). Slavonic text of the map. The title "Antonii Ved do chtiteli" means "Anthony Ved to the Readers". The text gives a key of the different colours used to mark the territory of the various peoples and explain how to use a pair of compasses in order to measure the distance on the map. The last word of the text is not a word but a numeral, "afmy", i.e. "1542" (the year). Numerals in the ancient Cyrillic script used to be written in corresponding letters (as in Old Greek). The date of the battle of 1514 (to the left of Kyiv) is expressed in the same manner.



Reproduction of a part of the map (printed for the first time) showing: Kyiv, Chernihiv, Novhorod-Siversky, Putyvl and the region stretching from these towns to the Black Sea. Translation of the Slavonic alphabet (Cyrillic) into Latin. Bison hunting (in the top left corner the head of a bison can be seen; a man is hiding from it behind a tree, whilst another man is attacking it with an arrow).



The map in question is painted in colours on canvas and its size is 83×86 centimetres. On it the east is located at the top, the west at the bottom, whilst the north and south are located on the left and right side respectively.

The map has no title, but underneath it there are three texts amounting to about two typewritten pages. The text in the centre is entirely in Slavonic and is dated 1542. On the right and left of it, that is in the lower corners of the map, there are two long texts in Latin, of which one is dated April 13, 1555, and the other November 1555. This latter text is particularly interesting since it contains material from the ancient history of Eastern Europe and information on the origin of the Muscovites (the present Russians). The contents of the Slavonic text differ completely from those of the Latin texts. The Slavonic text merely explains how to use the map and gives a key of the different colours used for the territory of the various peoples.


The map was drawn for King Charles V of Sweden, and the topographer's task in this case was to represent the Grand Duchy of Moscow in its entirety and the neighbouring regions, too. The border regions in the west are parts of Sweden and Norway, whilst in the east the River Ob is marked and beyond it there is the inscription "Kitaisko", i.e. China. A large part of Caucasia is also represented on the map. Unfortunately, however, the space which should represent the western and southern regions of Ukraine and the neighbouring states in the west and south is taken up with the above-mentioned Slavonic text and part of the Latin text.

The following seas are shown on the map: the Baltic Sea, White Sea, Caspian Sea, Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. In addition, lakes, rivers, streams, mountains, forests, habitations of the nomads (tents), places and dates of several battles, people, animals, ways of hunting animals, names of peoples, and the frontiers of their territories, etc., are also shown on the map. Some of the illustrations are extremely interesting. The map is coloured and could, therefore, be used as a mural decoration.

The names of peoples, rivers and towns are written in both Slavonic and Latin. There are no mistakes in the Slavonic inscriptions and the person responsible for them undoubtedly knew Eastern Europe very well and must have spoken Slavonic. The Latin inscriptions were done by someone else, for here we find a number of mistakes which would not have been made by someone who knew the Slavonic names. For example, the Slavonic word "Kitaisko" is given as "Kydeisko" in Latin, and so on.

It is very difficult to read some of the words in the texts, and for this reason an accurate translation will require some time.

It is not possible to print the whole map at present, since certain valuable details would have to be omitted if one were to reduce the map to the size of a page. And we should like to point out that it is precisely these details which are most interesting. We should, however, like to draw attention to two sections of the map which should be of considerable interest to all those who wish to study Ukrainian affairs.



Leonid Lyman

## **THE TALE OF KHARKIV**

### **Foreword**

The Ukrainian poet and belletrist, Leonid Lyman, born in East Ukraine in 1920, who since 1944 has been a political emigrant and since 1950 has been living in the U.S.A. (New York), is probably one of the most original and most gifted figures in Ukrainian literature in exile. Ten years ago he was already described by Ukrainian literary critics—namely by representatives of entirely different literary, political and ideological trends—as “the most promising poet of the Ukrainian younger generation”, even though his literary publications are extremely few in number. He is probably the only Ukrainian poet of importance who so far—neither before nor since the end of the war—has not published a single volume of poems, and of whose prose, apart from certain fragments, only one longer work has been printed, namely the novel “Kolkhoz Farmers”,\*) which is not, however, one of his best works. The fact that this story, “The Tale of Kharkiv”, in its complete version appears first of all in an English translation, is somewhat paradoxical, but is sufficiently justified by the difficulty of printing Ukrainian books in exile.

As regards the story itself, its most distinctive feature is, above all, its uncompromising conformity to truth. We do not intend to discuss the difficult question as to how far its contents are autobiographical; but the entire representation of the milieu in question—that is, of Ukrainian academical circles in the spring and summer of 1941, immediately before and after the outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union,—is obviously based on autopsy and possesses the value of an extremely credible historical document. The author makes no attempt to embellish or disparage actual facts; like the great *Spinoza* in his “*Tractatus Politicus*”, he is concerned “not with censuring or ridiculing persons, but solely with understanding them and making them understandable.”

Naturally, the point in question is not directly the entire Ukrainian academical class, which even after 23 years of Russian Bolshevik tyranny and even after the massacre carried out in 1937 to 1938 by the notorious “People’s Commisar for Internal Affairs” (NKVD), N. Yezhov, and his hirelings, was

\*) “Kolhospyky”, “Zbirnyk Ukrayinskoyi Literaturnoyi Hazety”, 1956 (Munich).

by no means as standardised and "unified" as might seem to outward appearance. In his "Tale of Kharkiv", the author depicts the most progressive elements of the Ukrainian academical circles, that is to say the intellectual and cultural elite, as it were, of these circles, and what applies for this elite—namely, with regard to their social and psychological attitude and their national feelings—to a certain extent also applies for the majority of classes and groups of the Soviet Ukrainian academical circles, except that these sentiments and ideas were less consciously felt and expressed in less educated circles.

The "Tale of Kharkiv" is thus a picture of the way of living and, above all, of the way of thinking of the academical youth of Ukraine at the beginning of the war, that is precisely during the first stage of the Nazi German invasion; and this picture provides a completely irrefutable explanation of the well-known historical fact that the German occupation forces in the course of the invasion did not encounter any pro-Soviet, let alone pro-Communist, resistance on the part of the Ukrainian population; but when the Nazi occupation regime clearly showed its intention of transforming Ukraine into a colony of slaves, then, too, Ukrainian national resistance was directed *equally* against both occupants and subjugators, both against the new Nazi German occupants and also against the Communist Russian occupants whom the Ukrainian people had already known for two decades. For, in the 1930's and 1940's, there was no specific Ukrainian "National Communism"; the latter had already been physically exterminated, never to reappear, in the 1920's by Russian Bolshevism which jealously guarded its political monopoly.

It is a most admirable quality of the work in question that the author has succeeded in most clearly depicting the evolution of national feeling in Ukrainian academical circles, in the course of their growing intellectual resistance to Communist doctrines and Russian Bolshevik practices, *as a progressive process*; what appears in the first chapter of the story as a predominantly *personal* opposition to Bolshevik tyranny, is in the second chapter given a far-reaching *social* significance, and in the third chapter finally reveals itself as the Ukrainian *national* feeling which is equally and uncompromisingly hostile to both Bolshevism and Nazism. Thus, the reader might be recommended to refrain from judging too severely the fairly numerous (and openly admitted by the author) ethical and psychological faults of the Ukrainian academical youth, who were subjected to dreadful political and "ideological" pressure by the Bolsheviks,—in particular, when reading the beginning of the story; for much which, at a first glance, may seem to the reader to be "heartless" or "cynical", appears in a very different light later on. Like every true work of art, Leonid Lyman's "Tale of Kharkiv" must be comprehended and judged as a whole.

V. Derzhavyn



Leonid Lyman

## THE TALE OF KHARKIV

### Chapter 1.

"Look: I am only twenty-two, and already have a silver streak in my hair. What? You don't want to disturb me? But how can you do otherwise when you want to start an important discussion? Oh, no, I gave no thought to changing the time of our appointment, and did not want to. You may consider this as my unwillingness to listen to you in general. Perhaps, I was indiscreet using greyness as a defense, but discourses which demand so much of me, especially these days, disturb my peace of mind. What? You will speak very calmly? But how can you be calm when addressing me generally? Even briefly? No, no, you can speak quite freely, especially now. Please, be seated. Say all and frankly. As you see, only the two of us are in the room. I'll even close the window. Not necessary? Very well.

"How is this? It seems that because of my refusal to go with you to Western Ukraine, recently liberated by us from the Polish capitalists, I jeopardise you even to endangering your usefulness to the party? Even Maria will refuse to go? But she is not a small child. Of course, this is too bad."

"Yes, I understand, that our relationship forces me to seriously consider the necessity of departure. But is it possible that Maria cannot remain in Kharkiv?"

"Yes, this is really a little inconvenient, but you, her mother, understand this better: morality, sense of independence, lack of parental protection. In addition, life complicates matters."

"Why? You ask why? Because, for example, if this were 1931, you could very easily renounce your daughter by placing a notice in the press; yes, even demand, that the proletarian judiciary punish her severely."

"Yes, yes, I understand. You can easily accept this as an offense, and I am grateful that you forgive me."

"Matches? If you please. Just a minute. Where did you purchase the "Cubas"?"

"Why am I surprised? Because during the past month such cigarettes were rare in Kharkiv. Oh, I see!—From a restricted distributor available only to party leaders."

"You want to talk to the point? Well, talk! How is that: you threaten me? You are prepared, or more correctly, you will dare to liquidate me? Really, our country is very powerful, that is why you are powerful. But remember, this power is dangerous and uncertain."

"Why? You ask why? For the simple reason that our country has far many more laws which prohibit than those which permit. This is unnatural. Nature despises artificiality. And I state this quite frankly as a non-party communist."

"What? You again repeat that I, too, am entirely subordinated to the state which can always do with me what it wills? And without standing on ceremony, you want to order me about as you will? You want to be the state yourself, can't I be it for some reason? No, no! You're ending this discussion? That would be dishonourable on your part. Leaving and slamming the door behind you is undoubtedly the easiest way out. And you believe that I listened to less unpleasantness from you?"

"Please sit down and don't excite yourself. Or no, better come to the window. Well, now look at the number of people strolling along Sverdlov street. To us, from the third floor, they appear symbolically distant. And should you inquire, for instance, of that woman in the red beret, who just appeared from around the corner, the whereabouts of her father at present, you would probably frighten her awfully."

"What? Too common an explanation? Excuse me."

"I might explain to you why I speak so. Because, if I am not mistaken, our sincere relationship permits it."

"What? Not necessary? Undoubtedly, it is more advantageous for you to know the least about me. And I am grateful that you never interrogated me about anything."

"You laugh. It seems amusing to you. Naturally, I understand why you laugh, but don't think that I am so naïve. I know well that you will never deviate from your obtrusiveness, even to the betrayal of principles."

"What? You will submit our disagreement to the state department for investigation? Then why didn't you leave me in peace all these days? Please go. This time I will not detain or persuade you. But remember: Professor Ivanov stated that the highest ideal is man and no one is allowed to reform him."

"Yes, yes, but your triumph is only temporary. Professor Ivanov stated that during a series of unpleasant circumstances this ideal remains in a theoretical position. Note this. In addition remember that, today, in this room, we became irrevocable enemies, in the best definition of this word."

"Very well, go and submit our controversy to the state for investigation. In that case—goodbye. However, come again sometime. I am generally home at five. Till we meet again."

An unexpected, melancholic conflict. She is the representative of the Soviet manner of life.

Now you have observed—that in our country the dynamic coward inevitably triumphs. You see how he contracts, stretches, like a snake, crawling forward. Formerly, generals, philosophers and, in general, titanic spirits triumphed, but in our time the coward triumphs. And only he will be saved who understands this.

Why is she dragging me with her to Western Ukraine? It is obvious to me that, having taken this step, I may meet danger every inch of the way, like encountering a camouflaged mine.

No. It is really best to turn into a small snail, choose a standard smile, as well as complimentary replies, for just such prominent people of the country of victorious socialism.

But is this possible? Especially for me? The common saying now is—nothing is but empty space. And when you, diabolic woman, aver that I am nothing in comparison with our, the most prominent country in the world, that in the Soviet dictionary there is not even one word on my behalf, I will really make it so that nothing will remain of me—but empty space.

Again the same axiom: Life belongs to the strong, more accurately, to the exceptionally strong and the astute.

This evening I will positively depart from Kharkiv, go somewhere into the province. But, first, I must at least warn Professor Ivanov immediately. I have to hurry.

## 2.

From the fourth floor window Maria can see Klava play with the children near a cluster of flowers. She only now observes that the flowers, in detail, symbolise the coat of arms of the U.S.S.R. Maria walks to the window, from time to time, to gaze out or see if anything has happened to Klava.

Unwillingly, she dons stockings, inexpertly as though performing this action for the first time in her life, and without looking, puts her foot in her shoe—her thoughts being occupied with something entirely different.

Just then the radio station "Comintern" from Moscow concludes its transmission of a literary-artistic rendition of the relations between the Russian author, Ivan Turgenev, and the Parisian Pauline Viardot. Paris—the city of kings, gaiety and, naturally, transparent romance. At least, that is the impression. Probably because the Stalin avenue, the Kharkiv Electro-Mechanical Works, the green trolley-buses, the State Industry House strongly entered into the subconscious and into the tedious commonplaces,—the unknown and distant became more fascinating and desirable.

How unfortunate that Kharkiv does not see the world. It is seemingly a living, not yet buried Pompeii. Now it is even no longer visited by delegations of foreign trade unions.

But how nice that Kharkiv is not a seaport, and that Maria has not yet seen the sea! She has not yet reached the bitter moment of disillusionment on a quay, when there is no boat, the captain and sailors are gone to the mainland, and when it seems that there is nothing more to reach for, and the achievement so paltry. That is why, potentially, one can be happy in Kharkiv. Triumphant and proud, the pedantic masters in the studios of fashion inform buyers of the trends in fashions, adding that they all come from Leningrad—a seaport.

Suddenly, her thoughts again revert to the past: At Prof. Ivanov's, there was a book on the table—"Errors of Honoré de Balzac". This certainly must also be something on the subject of Turgenev-Viardot. It is well that Maria has thought of Prof. Ivanov again.

Maria approaches the telephone, to speak with the Professor but, unobtrusively, Klava enters the room. She runs toward Maria, beats Maria's knees with her hot hand, and asks: "What is jealousy?"

Without doubt Maria knows what jealousy means, but the suddenness of such an inquiry confuses her and nothing comes to her mind at that moment.



The silence created embarrasses Klava. So far she believes everything and has never expected not to receive a reply to her query. She understood that she certainly must have asked something that was wrong. This communal world is entirely unfit for children, and Klava's mother will be angry at the oversight of permitting the child to stay in unsuitable surroundings, listening to various indiscretions.

General silence, but an incomprehensible unrest grows.

Maria, with scarcely noticeable irritation, again walks toward the telephone. She makes excuses to the Professor why she did not visit him, explaining, that the last few days she was occupied with the household of her elder sister, who has departed on a geological expedition and has left in her care this daughter of hers, Klava; at the same time, caressing Klava so that she would not leave the room, and, in the event of the return of Maria's mother, become a barrier to the foreseen quarrel.

For some reason, Professor Ivanov thought that Maria had departed from Kharkiv long before this, and acknowledged that he was slightly surprised at the offense.

Now, words of envy again resounded in Maria's ears.

The Professor was painting a wonderful perspective—for Maria would journey to the territory of ruined Poland, as an investigator of the newly opened island, for it is not enough to know Europe, the capitalistic world.

But Maria did not want to speak of this with Prof. Ivanov. Although she endeavours not to become a standard, popular girl or woman, still she inevitably desires to exchange with a mutual friend the painful and adventurous, to clear the mind, like casting an unfinished cigarette out of the window. However, this was a precarious thing to do with the Professor because he was never a partner in similar conversations and complaints. Whenever accidental and forced circumstances occasioned him to be present at "family scenes", he, cautiously and capitulatingly, always agreed with everything and everybody, remained neutral, and took on a humble determined pose: Is it worth living?

The rest of the telephone conversation then continued in the presence of Maria's mother, who had returned from Leonid.

Maria gladly accepted the Professor's invitation, and then a continuation of the conversation would be inconsequential.

Fearfully Maria replaced the earphone, feeling as though she had been caught in a forbidden act. Suddenly there arose between these women of two generations—mother and daughter—a mutual, concentrated, distrust, as it were. Vain are the efforts of Maria's mother not to notice anything, her simulated delight and self-indulgence hide her deep irritability. But this was only Maria's imagination—that two women, of two generations, are like enemies in the same room. It was possible and it could have been so, if Maria had started the conversation; but the silence agitated her mother, and as though continuing a conversation begun earlier, she said:

"So I visited Leonid, but, unfortunately, our conversation began in the way most novels do. Uninteresting."

"Well, what? Are you offended?"

"It is difficult to say, since now the offended walk away from their insolent adversaries with a smile and a nod of thanks."

"And you did that?"

"Naturally. Those who now consider themselves courageous, that is those who conquer with values, for instance, value of insolence, are never offended. This generalisation applies in principle to Leonid."

"How fortunate that I did not hurry to thank you for your maternal worry."

Following this outburst of words, Maria commenced to set her mother at ease:

"Yes. Naturally, you cannot be indifferent toward me. I, too, do not demand autonomy. I only perceive that right now you are—what word should I use?—well, I'll say it simply: you're angry. But understand, in life two contrasting truths frequently appear, principally they are truths; and they stubbornly struggle one with another, and it seems that, generally, here the matter is solved by some nonsensical and entirely unexpected incident. This is just one of those unpleasant incidents in life. But what can you do? Take the present, for instance: Up to this time I have never asked you why do you so stubbornly insist upon dragging Leonid to Western Ukraine recently liberated by us. What? I'm an idiot? You call me an idiot? But it was you, it seems to me, that hastened to persuade him like some heroine, and returned, as though from a useless campaign, covered with the dirt of all the roads on the planet."

If the film "Chapayev" is seen for the sixth time, it may become uninteresting, and it is so with men, too. This Maria understands well, especially as regards intimate details, and she is at pains to convince her mother of it. Two women, two generations, living in one era together, but, via different paths, meet here in this room in order to become—even enemies.

Sometimes life cannot date the present and past day. Maria's mother, like the heroine of "Kakhovka", who fought in the partisan ranks for world government, reached such an age. Yes, it was long ago. There was not enough time to look around, to see life, the passion of idle romance, in immolation to which everything was cruelly given, yet no one wanted to understand her personal pleasures; it was degraded into a pigsty, and the remnants are useless to any staff, establishment, even to the half-uniformed Red army soldier who doesn't know why he continuously smiles at the world from the cavalry army carts. And life passed, like an unread book, leafed by the wind. Partisan heroism and slogans soared, becoming epilogues of those days. Now, before the heroine of "Kakhovka", with pretensions of a controller, stands her young daughter, not understanding her mother—that that life had been paid for dearly; therefore, no matter what it was, even antipathetic, it must be appreciated. No one will return the payment.

"Maria, your schooldays will always remain lovely memories, and your friends, even incidental ones. This you will experience personally when sufficient time has elapsed. Perhaps, this is an unsuitable paradox, nevertheless, even with a frightful, passionate hatred, I love those long past "October days" when we, communists, seized the government which ruled over Russian territory. What? Up to now, you were not aware of this? Then, I, with

these two hands that you see, created life, took risks—come what may. Now, for everything that happened, my mind can find no suitable answers. Perhaps it is force of habit, but I am distressed to observe inertia in Leonid toward community life. True, he has not yet become a social or professional type, but I would like to see him mingle with the people, enter the collective daily life, this will all add to the general welfare, from which he, too, will enjoy a certain measure of convenience."

Maria's mother gambled and lost. But she loves this life, for she believes that that which she conquered, now ruined, was realised, loves it egotistically—for she has nothing else. This does not interest Maria at all and she again returns to the interrupted conversation:

"Well, tell me: by rights, who should have the dominating influence over Leonid—you or I? Of course, not counting the Trade Union or Young Communist League.

With an administrative mien, the mother gazes at Maria.

"You do not speak your own thoughts."

"Is that bad? If you wish I can use as a defensive weapon citations from Shakespeare or Goethe; or for style, and particularly to please, you—the argument of Lenin concerning the inseparability of our daily life and politics."

"To the point: why are you in such a dilemma?" asks her mother.

"Because, whether you could not, or did not want to, you must see that on the subject of a journey to Western Ukraine I absolutely had to speak with Leonid, and when, I presume, you had already considered it necessary to speak to him yourself, you should have first consulted me. Why? You ask why? If only to save yourself this embarrassment."

Maria gazed into the eyes of her mother, over whom she had just triumphed, but in order to evidence some peculiar sympathy, continued:

"If our conversation were taking place on a theatrical stage, then at this moment, in accordance with an unwritten code of the theatrical art, something unexpected should occur..."

And then entirely composed, commented in confirmation of her statement:

"Perhaps, the first lover should appear quite unexpectedly, and from the shock of betrayal stagger and become speechless, or a section of the proletarian security service should discover a capitalistic diversive organisation. Unfortunately, however, we are not on the stage but in our, or more accurately, "co-operative" room. And we are faced with the necessity of planning for the inevitable future, not tearfully, but very realistically and to the point."

"Well, all right. But, Maria, if you spoke to Leonid, then in what way could my talk with him be harmful? Therefore, our life is extemporaneous: work, responsibilities, meetings, home, and all this is difficult to coordinate. I do not believe that you could have told Leonid some tale—neither did I."

Maria placed her hand on her mother's shoulder: "I must go."

And repeating the phrase which Leonid frequently used in his conversations: "How unfortunate that we are becoming sentimentalists"—she concluded: "I must go, because our conversation is becoming artificial and unsuitable for repetition; well, for instance, the subject of the enthusiasm of the socialistic construction or the monogeny of the Soviet people."



"Maria! you are again uttering ideas which are not your own."

But for Maria this confirmation is not enough, and to her inquiring glance, the mother adds: "They come to you from Leonid."

"What does that mean?"

"It is terrible to speak that way, more accurately, it is dangerous. First of all—caution. How surprising, but only heroes, generals, do not have it—and you, of course, do not belong to them."

"Very well, then; but I must go, and the journey, for the most part does not depend upon us, but the party and administration. And since you have taken over the initiative, I can refuse to speak to Leonid in general. To the point, what did you say to him and what was his reply?"

Maria's mother could have spoken to, in her opinion, her unpractical daughter at some length and theorize about the semi-theatrical life, perspectively; dreams of life, toward which people strive and for the most part never reach, or of life lifted only two metres over the level of the sea; of life existing from day to day, or from pay to pay. Place it in the palm of your hand and weigh which is better, more convenient; but just at this moment she was really on the stage: "Brutality and intrigue are also essential, and even if they exist, they are indispensable to life. Yes, yes. You want to smile. This, undoubtedly, is very admirable: humanism, faithfulness, chivalry. I, too, was like that, until I was forced to clear the road to those virtues with machine-gun bullet strips. Don't look at me like that. I am not trifling. If you want to exist at all, you must be fit, possess qualities, that is, unmalicious cunning, know how to overcome obstacles in your path—like an ice-breaker. And if I don't have my way with Leonid, and it should become necessary, I'll also make a rag out of you both, the kind we use to shine shoes with. This will all be justified because it will be on behalf of the party. Maria, Maria! Come back! Come back! I say!"

But Maria, shouting: "How foolish you are", was already past the door, standing on the landing of the steps, halted by the instinct of the need to find her bearings in the ensuing illuminating, unmistakable emotions.

"O, go to the devil!"—Maria flung the final sentence at her mother, and disappeared from sight.

In the fierce pose of the Spanish Communist, Dolores Ibarruri, Maria's mother found herself near a table, holding the handle of the telephone in her hand. She squints her eyes slightly, and sees the vision of the distant, past "October days". Then, landowners, ministers, generals obediently fell down at her feet, imploring mercy. Definitely, Maria does not know that she is wearing a gold watch, which, in the past, had been the property of the light-haired daughter of a landowner whom that cunning present saved from peril. And, now, this riff-raff dares to spit in her face. Maria's mother thinks: the Communists—are people of principle, and of special principles at that. Maria's mother gazes at the disk of the telephone. Leonid said to her that the Soviet state is powerful because it has many more laws which forbid than laws which permit. For some reason, all these words were recalled and somehow embarrassed her.

## 3.

Leonid is in the apartment alone. Everything has been done. It only remains to glance at the semaphore. What a pity that our semaphores have not yet been poetised. They are like eternal symbols of forward motion.

"What a scoundrel! She unnerved me to a crimson colour. But it is no surprise: everything now is red.

I'll go to Valentine. If I do not find employment there, at least, I'll be away from Kharkiv until this frenzied woman departs. Disease must be treated immediately, otherwise one has to pay dearly for every moment of delay later."

There you have it: Maria entered the room. "The devils must have brought you, Maria, and just at this moment..."—Maria evidences not the slightest offense and her indifference is irritating.

"I know why you speak like that, Leonid. No doubt, you want me to leave at once. But I am not so foolhardy."

"Yes, I can ask you to, and ask it persuasively."

Maria knows what this means; pondering, she inquires: "Are you going to oust me forcibly, taking advantage of the fact that you are stronger? Then, this is what I'll do."

And Maria quickly locks the door. Leonid leaps toward her, intending to take the key away, but Maria raises her hand, dropping it over his shoulder: with a crash, the key breaks the windowpane, falling on to the balcony beneath the second story, together with bits of broken glass. And, as though at a signal, everything is quiet.

Thoughts and words fall upon paper easily and evenly. A sheet of paper lies before Leonid. He picks up a pencil and writes: 'I knew one woman, who, having reached a ripe old age, never travelled beyond the borders of her native grange, not even to visit the market in a nearby town. Daniel Defoe wrote "Robinson Crusoe" only in his fiftieth year and became famous as an author. Honoré de Balzac patiently waited more than 30 years till the ailing husband of Countess Hanska died, to declare his love, finally confirming it by marrying her. And after the husband of the Countess died, Balzac married her when he was well on in his middle-age, but after a short life with her, he died, too. An episode from the life of a talented composer is recalled: Initially, he had not dreamed of writing musical compositions, being content with the vocation of rendering music. But misfortune came: the musician lost several fingers. He could no longer perform as a virtuoso, and commenced writing musical compositions, which brought him world fame, later. Just before Fall, on the branches of cherry trees can be seen a lone, belated cherry blossom.' Leonid puts the pencil aside, thinking: 'Even the trains of my country are always late'.

Maria and Leonid conducted themselves as though neither of them existed. They opined that many compromises and non-compromises are necessary for the fates of the soul. But how difficult and, frequently, how tragic it is to be cautious.

Only one thing can be said of Leonid: that he is tall and, therefore, for example, like a typical obtuse triangle, he must bend over a book, or a maiden seated, and then it seems that he looks right through you, like looking through the neck of a bottle, and there sees all; the more so since his penetration irked his acquaintances.

The recent presence in his room of Maria's mother glimmers in Leonid's head like a *fata Morgana*, and if the life of a man can be divided into youth and senility, then it stood, as though in an open doorway, on the brim of this notion. Her conduct during the last few days reminded Leonid of a story by the Russian author, Maxim Gorky. The heroine of the story was also a woman, who passed through life without obstacles, did not have to resort to any fiery weapons to tread or break her path in life, and when the first round of this triumphant circle ended and the same raids commenced again, she, misunderstanding, only shrugged her shoulder, saying: "Is that all?" Therefore, so little happiness, everything is known, no other appetites left, all so easily attained and already crystal clear—like water; everything is repetitive, like a menu in a workers' mess room. Maria's mother is probably not like that entirely. She is not treating the matter lightly. It appears that it will be difficult to be rid of her explosive demands, the success of which she so stubbornly believes.

With a glance Leonid breaks away from the paper, looks at Maria; again begins to thumb the paper, and again glances at Maria. She is seated quietly on the couch in a crouching position. Later, selecting a propitious moment for conversation, she inquires: "Leonid, do you like conflicts? If you were not so stubborn, but gave your immediate consent to go to Western Ukraine, everything would be well. Then, my mother would not be interested in the realisation of your departure, but at present a needless principle stands as an obstacle to everything. You understand—she is stubborn as some domestic animals and uncompromising."

Suddenly Maria interrupts her speech, her eyes gazing round, and leaps off the couch: "Yes, you are very spiteful! Aren't you ashamed? Yes, you wanted to flee? Not even warning me? This means that you have been deceiving me all the while! No, no, don't say foolish things. Why should I sit down? Why should I be calm? What? Don't lie! In such cases a girl loses much more than the boy; the girl has higher morals... Look, I'll create a scene right now."

And snatching the articles in Leonid's bag, she scatters them all over the floor. Angrily, Maria kicks various articles into various corners of the room. Later, pausing: "Now, you see,"—she said with sympathy, adding later:—"but you are to blame for all this."

During the intervening pause, Leonid finds a duplicate key to the room, and calmly opens the door. Bewildered, Maria follows him with her eyes, and later, comprehending what has occurred, half-instinctively says: "And what a banal solution to the conflict". She smiles, but then suddenly stops smiling.

"What happens now, Leonid? If you wish, we'll flee together. All right? I've escaped from my mother, she threatens. You ask whom she threatens? Actually, she does not threaten but as time goes on, she is becoming quite unbearable, in general."

Both were seated on the couch. Even close together. Through the broken windowpane, a cool breeze wafted into the room. For some reason it always seemed to Maria that the coolness came from the electric lamp, and for that reason she asked Leonid not to switch on the light.



## 4.

Concealing her uneasiness, in the presence of Professor Ivanov, Maria affected indifference.

"Professor, I will arrange the curtain in this fashion and now, look, how much more light falls on your desk. You didn't think of this before, did you? It is nothing, our state has no masters now. No, no! You are not disturbing me, Professor. I told you previously, that the peace terms proposed by you would not solve the conflict. Why? Because it would be false, more correctly, dangerous, and a peace of betrayal. Do you recall, Professor, but I forget in which film a woman says, something like this: I will leave him at once, even though it is painful, but not for long, and not for the rest of our lives. It seems to me that she was right. Yesterday, Leonid and I sat a long time in his room; later, we spent the evening elsewhere, almost till midnight, I think, because I was afraid of my mother and did not want to go home. There was no party meeting scheduled for last evening, therefore her pent-up emotions would have been utilized in scolding me. For some reason Leonid blames me because a person cannot now escape from the state circle, and because of the interference of the state, he has not succeeded in accomplishing any of his desires. He thinks that I am to blame for this. When I inquired what his planned escape from Kharkiv signified... Yes, yes, but I believe I interrupted... He said, that our relationship, in principle, was finished, and if we continue to meet each other it would only be due to the law of inertia. Therefore, the finale is entirely obvious. I told Leonid that if he continued to conduct himself so unceremoniously with people, and continued to seek high ideals, which exist only in theory, then in a few years, he will revert into a hopeless shell of a shadow, afraid of people, and walk the dark lanes alone, fearful of meeting even his acquaintances. At any rate, such types are numerous among our M.A.'s"

"Among other things, and this pertains to the subject matter,"—commenced the Professor, "it is well, Maria, that you asked where this close association between Leonid and myself commenced. But first, I would like to know, speaking abstractly, have you and Leonid had unpleasant scenes?"

"You ask if we have any unpleasant scenes. And who hasn't them? It seems that we complicate life which at first appears to be very simple. In general, however, there is something more complex: I am certain of this, that, although Leonid has never revealed this to anyone, he has too acute a feeling of ambition and unnecessary dignity, which, in practice, must inevitably come into fierce conflict with reality, and very realistic life at that. I finally realised this, but too late. Such types are difficult in private relationships. With regard to us, he burns with an eternal feeling of revenge: in order to be superior. What? You say this is a good sign? Perhaps, but this frees him of any responsibilities, particularly, as it concerns me. If it is not to his advantage, or in gratification of some form of his personal ambitions, which, for the most part, are overpowering, he can calmly, like a policeman on the Tevelev square, show me the way out with his finger. Yes, yes, I am absolutely sure of this.



Professor Ivanov atrophied in the pose of a sedentary director in the film "Musical History", who, touching the shoulder of his predatory musician, following success, with tears in his eyes, said: "Youth, youth..."—"Maiden, maiden, we really complicate life and then frequently take advantage of the word "pardon". A poet compared real life with a song, and added that it was really very difficult to compose that song."

Maria said: "Our mutual relationship, generally, can be defined with the title of the book by Smolych: "Wonderful Catastrophies". Listen to how melodic and sweet time seems when we are together: "...on the path of beautiful catastrophies," or better yet, "going along the eternal path of beautiful catastrophies."

Professor Ivanov again interrupted the conversation: "I would like to know... rather... no, no! I need not even inquire... Once, Leonid was one of the thousands of my average students. After a while he distinguished himself from this mass by the creation of a mutual antipathy and secret animosity toward me. I won't even mention the causes. Radical changes took place after a particular conversation in an incidental circle of students, one of whom was Leonid. I was then recollecting a very unpleasant incident which affected the character of my whole life. I will not go into the details of it even now. What? More accurately, I no longer recall the subject of our conversation. Leonid later acknowledged that it had made a deep impression upon him, and after that he strove, in a slavlike manner, to please me in everything."

Knocking at the door.

Professor Ivanov hurriedly stuck his head in the aperture of the half-opened door, but withdrew suddenly, cautiously, exposing the area to a person who triumphantly stepped into the middle of the room.

The person who entered was comrade Sirovy, who was excluded from holding several scientific lectures at the Institute by the Professor. Impudently and rudely he faced the Professor, endeavouring to convince the Professor to allow him the privilege of holding these classes again. He always commenced with one thing, that is, that he, as a red partisan, and not Professor Ivanov fought for the Soviet government, and for that reason all considerations were due to Sirovy.

Formulated in standard-popular terms, the conversation rapidly gained momentum, and, in the comprehension of two listeners present, its rocketing essence began to be clarified only at the conclusion of the agitated complaint.

Professor Ivanov, cordially and slightly surprised, explained to comrade Sirovy that he was made part of this injustice absolutely unknowingly, the injustice done to him by the personnel of the Institution.

"Don't be a child!" comrade Sirovy adds.

"Actually, what is it you want of me? After all, in the privacy of my own chambers I have the privilege of not even being interested. What is it you want?"

Maria, realising the needlessness of her presence during such a conversation, already stood in the half-opened door, bade a hasty farewell, and the Pro-

fessor could not gather his thoughts together sufficiently to ask her to return. Only comrade Sirovy hastily shouted: "I am also leaving soon", and continued speaking to the Professor:

"I beg your pardon. But you know that I have a family. I must support it. Besides, I served the Soviet Government well."

A short pause permitted comrade Sirovy to conclude in a more—for him—gracious tone: "And if I tell the dean that you do not protest but are willing to let me have the six classes of the fourth course, will you confirm this later?"

Not seeing a sign of agreement on the face of Professor Ivanov, Sirovy did not wait for a reply, but continued: "I'll bring this matter before the Trade Union. I have a family. I will find satisfaction at the Regional Committee. I suffered at the hands of the class enemy. My brother works at the People's Commissariat of Soviet Farms."

"You put forth very fundamental arguments, my colleague, in which, at the moment, I need not be interested. However, I believe that there has been some change in connection with the decision of the party and administration concerning increase in the literacy of the student graduates."

And here, no matter how he tried to disguise his fears, Sirovy was forced to release a sympathetic-compassionate smile, which he utilized as an argumentative influence during conversations when their results, for the most part, did not depend upon comrade Sirovy.

"Listen, we are people of a kind. Academic activity has strongly united us. You are single, it is easier for you..."

Professor Ivanov terminated the conversation by promising to review the matter the following day at the Institute.

"You, comrade Sirovy, it seems to me, can discourse on various topics, and that very freely. Erudition."

"Then, you consent. Well, until we meet again."

## 5.

Leonid was also coming to see Professor Ivanov, but met Maria on the steps of the building. The presence of Sirovy in the building annoyed him. "Then, let's go away from here, he will be coming out soon." Maria's proposal was not entirely to his taste. But there was one remedy: walking, in order to evade meeting the talkative, but principally, malicious person.

The streets and parks of Kharkiv accept all with communal graciousness. And although the people of Kharkiv are proud of their Dzerzhynski square, the largest in Europe, their city, on the other hand, is probably the most crowded in Europe: crowded with propaganda posters on the walls of the city, of which there is never any lack during paper crises; crowded with drab restaurants, trolleys, rural trains; crowded even on the streets and squares, and especially in the hotels.

In warm weather, the entire population is scattered about the streets, agreeing with its industrial taste, but for walking purposes, the central avenues serve well.

The street between the Tevelev square and the Park of Culture and Recreation, during the recess period of work, becomes almost impassable for a person in a hurry. The people walk in pairs, in threes, tied, finally, in whole flanks, and no one strolls alone.

Formerly, the street was called "Sumska"; now, for some reason, it is named after a German—Karl Liebknecht. But it would have been more correct to name the street—"Street of Fortune".

The "Street of Fortune" has no secrets. All converse and laugh, loudly and freely.

Leonid and Maria also came to the center of "Fortune", through Hirschmann street, in order to take a short cut and go elsewhere, but the "Street of Fortune" was unusually crowded. Some people had to step aside, others walked in step, regulated by the wall of neighbouring shoulders. Like fallen leaves off a tree, fragments of conversations evaporate: "Zhora, why do you need unnecessary acquaintances?" And later, a serious argument: "Especially with women." A waft of eau de cologne from someone's clothing. Someone's fat neck appears and disappears under a "box", or a vulgar décolletage. "I am definitively disillusioned with men." The path is blocked by a group of factory girls, hands tightly interlocked.

"Where have you brought me, Leonid, let's go away from here. I don't want to be a "mass woman".

The path is obstructed by a queue waiting for the next trolley. In the background, the Regional Committee, an apothecary's shop, and the news office of the "Red Banner".

"I like it here, Maria, strictly speaking I find it interesting."

"That's not the truth. You don't want me to talk to you."

The street is like rubber—expanding and contracting. "How stout you are" ... Kharkiv speaks in fragmentary tongues. "Especially peace"...

The linguists of this state singularly declare that all the languages of the world fundamentally issue from one language. "How's everything?" ... Spoken ironically that refers even to the languages of Kharkiv, where languages of professions, culture, taste and, finally, honour exist. "Nothing is but empty space."

Delicatessen, a theatrical school, another delicatessen. People speak in standard phrases, like the slogans of May first, which are the same every year. Someone inquires the way to a crematorium. The State Bank, the Academy of Industry, a dramatic theatre, a turning, a square, a turning again, a delicatessen shop. Next to the delicatessen a line, a long queue of people. Also from the group, a mature female rolls forward like a ball: dressed in three tiers of solid pieces of old-fashioned clothes and only one-fourth of a face; she crosses the street and accosts a queerly uniformed man (something between a fire brigade captain and a civilian air force). The woman hisses in the administrative language: "He should be arrested. He says things...; he is agitating against the Soviet government."

Maria grasps Leonid's hand, drawing him aside... he does not have to see this. "Don't laugh, you fool!" Leonid is not angry. He is obedient. The street gradually grows narrower.



## KHARKIV



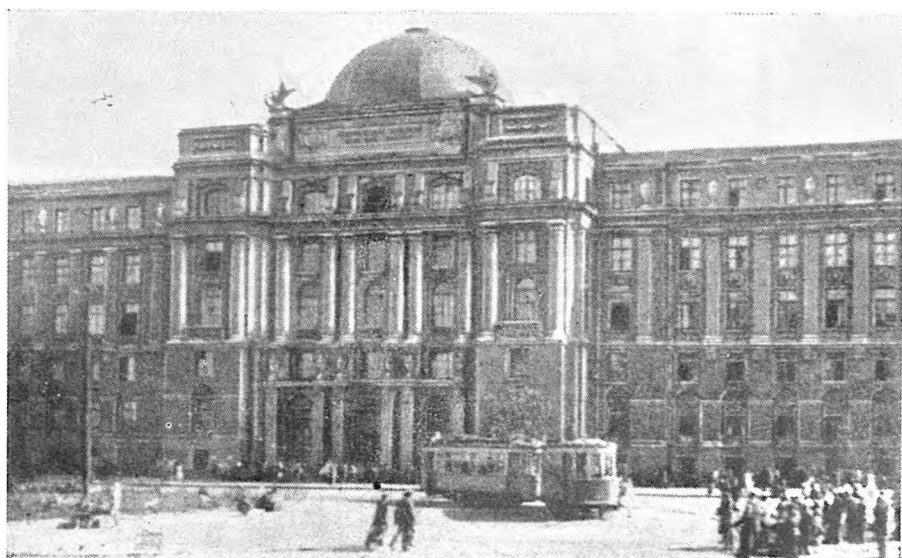
*State Industry Building.*



*Tevelev Square. On the right—the Conservatory.  
On the left—the Commercial Institute.*



*Sumska Street. In the foreground—Shevchenko Theatre.*



*Railways Administration Building.*

All Kharkiv seems to be out walking: the scum, intellectuals of various degrees of intelligence, sportsmen of the "Dynamo", and, sometimes, students of world fame, whom the existing regime placed on the highest planet so that it cuts short the radius of their activity in an impossible manner.

When they came upon a less crowded area, Maria asked:

"And how will all this end? Obviously, you are not going," as though swallowing a bitter pill.

What reply can be made to such words? In a country with restricted use of electricity, clothing, food—restricted for the benefit of the administrative departments—as well as feelings of sincerity. And there is no remedy for the amount of uneasiness and pain which this question brings to the girl, and the reply consists merely of a needless ingratitude.

"Wait, Leonid, let them pass."

The Red Army of Workers and Farmers are approaching,—two columns of people of fifty. Carrying under their arms essentials for bathing. They are singing: "... the horses are fed, their hoofs are stamping"...

"Pay no attention to them. What do you find interesting in them? Let's go!"

Farther on, the street is narrower. In the building opposite, the windows are slightly open; from one is heard the voice of an announcer: "... that is the monolith of the Soviet people under the guid..."; and from another, strains of a song on a record: "... tender mien, of tender years, is all that could have excited me at seventeen..."

"Leonid, it is true that a phonograph which in the General Supply shop costs more than 400 roubles we sell to Turkey for four roubles?"

For some time they walked in silence. Maria's painful emotions increased, and she didn't know what to say. Leonid finally glanced at Maria, but just then she spoke:

"Perhaps, even at this moment, instructions have come concerning our departure. Mother cautioned me not to stay away from the apartment too long. We may be summoned to appear personally for the purpose of verifying the receipt of a pass. If you have the desire then you must make arrangements now for our future contacts over this truly vast area of the Soviet. Escort me, and if you want to, come to my place."

They walk on. It is nice to walk, especially when there is no need for conversation; feeling so contented and happy that even each one of these buildings and by-lanes, of this ancient capital, seem like friends, known in their smallest details—everything seems related and so becomes ready to serve the daily needs graciously.

"Leonid, indiscreetly or unwittingly, I have revealed your oppositionist thoughts. In other words, mother is angry with you, do you realise? You certainly must have said a lot of unpleasant words to her? I cannot now guarantee..."

"That your mother may not evidence her Soviet patriotism,"—Leonid interrupted the conversation.

Maria stands in front of him, and being conscience-stricken calms him: "But don't be afraid."

The street carries all away, like a raging river: running automobiles, trolleys, pedestrians crossing. It is inconvenient to stop, the path will be blocked, and people will stare.



"I promised your mother I would consult several professors. What? Yes, I intended to see Professor Ivanov first of all. How is that? You ask why I tell you this? Maria, why are you staring so?"

"If I kept a diary, I would write in it: The 29th of March, 19... A long, long conversation, like Stalin avenue. Later, a trolley stopped and couldn't start for a long while... Leonid, I am no longer interested in talking about this subject. And you?... You again ask why? This story smothers me like a winter coat on a hot Spring day..."

## 6.

Daily, hourly, new plans formulate in Leonid's mind, seeking a way out of the embarrassing situation. Finally, a plan is formed: request the Director of the Institute to assign him to Western Ukraine to do research in folklore—the exploitation by the Polish bourgeois of the working population. But suddenly and urgently, all the students were summoned to the office of the "Profcom" (Trade Union).

The small office of the "Profcom" was already crowded, when Leonid arrived. The only space remaining was before the desk itself, for all the students expected unpleasant "surprises", and hugged the walls in order not to be "too visible".

"Shut the door!"

Silence gripped the audience.

"Comrades, students, the Air Force is a very meritorious service. It desires to assist you to gain proficiency in aeronautics, and presents this opportunity..."

In this manner an unknown orator commenced and concluded the proposition, observing each one's political acumen to voluntarily enlist in the organised aviation school.

"Why the silence? Well, you, young man?"

And before Leonid's countenance a pleading fist appeared to which he had to make some form of reply.

"Undoubtedly, the matter is most worthy and responsible, but, unfortunately, I am leaving for duty in Western Ukraine, and it is in reference to this that I have just returned from the Director. I desire to be one of the vanguard at the Western front of our country, to guard against the pilfering of the capitalistic surroundings."

This coerced visit particularly irked Leonid. He walked the long corridors and was unaware of his destination from the shock of the acid force of the orator. One side promises continuation in scientific fields, creates opportunities, like the time the dean of the faculty announced a project to excavate historical stratum of the intellect; others use persuasion for the execution of routine duties toward the fatherland. This, of course, is state mechanism. And it must be so. But resentment set in at everything connected with the name "Maria". Only let Maria's mother come to his apartment again, he will talk to her and out-talk her. "You, ideological persevering woman, I'll thrust between your teeth all the uneasiness over the inevitable loss of the girl, who always came to me in the form of Pushkin's Tatyana Larina. First, I'll find out when you are leaving, then, I'll prepare a farewell surprise."

Unconsciously, he hastened his steps, nervously clenching his fist. He imagines: here she comes. A woman. Self-satisfied, contented and also has an unsuitable ideology to her appearance. No, she is not here, and it is nice she is not. A large mirror on the wall at the exit of the first floor. Leonid glances around: a carousel—form features, colour, feet and shoes—approaches: "Someone is certainly trying to capture me. In this country. In one way or another. 'Listen! people, you will hear, through someone's distant laughter—bones breaking. It is a man devouring another'."

Outdoors, the snow gradually disappears. The activity of the city devours it much faster than the quiet fields; a more indistinguishable—black colour.

It is past five o'clock and people are returning from the state factories. They are contented because they never have a free moment. To be always occupied acts like medicine, paralysing possible worries. Only the living quarters are like a freight station—necessitating change to another train. People returning to work from the State Industry Building because preparatory and anti-aircraft safety courses, political talks and community burdens await them. The state ceremoniously anticipates them at other labours.

## 7.

"Wait, the 'liberated' will yet repay us." The voice of the announcer of the radio station "Comintern" drones cautiously and honestly. "Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia plead to be accepted into the family of nations of the Soviet Union. They request this because the 'situation in Crete is critical, in Turkey—lyrical, and in general—tragical'." The concluding song concerns youth: "And I'll always remain younger than my father in his youth." The announcer then states that the Red fleet requested the song "Jennie".

A sweet film actress—Jennie; someone is fooling you. Our administration desires that you reconcile the human spirit with the leading articles in "Pravda" and the publications of the Party's Publishing House. But they were mistaken. The people noticed only you. And now, a new waltz, although not entirely prohibited (for there is nothing to prohibit), nevertheless, it is not included in the repertoire. "It has a yielding effect". Before it is too late, catch its fragmentary phrases on the boulevard, or through the window of some communal abode: "...and that is why we parted so soon. We simply were not aware of happiness and did not know life... Lo, morning again gleams, and the sun will be covered with mist..." You speak falsely, infidel, because the working classes of the entire world believe in the victory of the Communist Party in the entire world; hence the new term: "godless", and for that reason we, Soviet citizens, are all godless.

"Shevchenko and Chernyshevsky", "Shevchenko and Russian Literature", "Shevchenko and the Workers' Movement". Science develops in zig-zags; our science particularly likes actuality and fashion. Here is a phase of life: new book publications, educational institutions of Kharkiv, professorships, students learning.

Aha, you are delighted, Leonid: Leonid hears the dreaded footsteps of Maria's mother on the stairs. A pause. Silence. The footsteps draw closer.

"You see, I have already opened the door for you. Come in. Good afternoon. Thank you, thank you. I believe you like surprises? I have prepared a surprise for you. Only a pleasant one?"

A pause.

"Why are you so indifferent today, and without humour? Yes, I am listening."

"Everything is lost? Absolutely everything? That is but your opinion, but to my way of thinking, I can still depart."

"Medical practice? Thank you for the compliment."

"Yes, tickets, confirmations, passports, etc., complicate matters, but we all strive for self-improvement of the community and love crystal clear people; for that reason I do not believe I have reason to be angry."

"There, you repeat yourself again. Then permit me to inquire why, in the devil's... or, better, what brings you to me again?"

"You are surprised that I purposely refuse to understand. I don't even want to call you by name, except "you"... Why? Because you can only exist in quantity. You are at once: the Turkestan-Siberian railway, border guards, a communist, the artery of pioneers. Naturally, I don't understand you, only because you are an ultra-rational materialist."

"No, I am listening to you and very attentively."

"You are going to teach me? You are going to lecture morals to me? Me?! Very pleasant. Loyalty, sense of responsibility, love, family ethics, nobleness—these are eternal problems, but also material for demagoguery. Here, please step closer to these books. So. It should be here. Just a minute—170, 171, 172. Here it is. Please read. No, no, only from here. But please read aloud, thus: '...family and fraternal emotions are things conditional...' Remember—conditional! Further: '...Parents may be those people with whom there are mutual points of view upon the contemporary...' (apart from the departure for Western Ukraine, I personally add): 'but not homogeneity of blood'. '...On this subject with Tanya...' Well, that's all. The rest does not concern us. You are confused?"

"No? Foolish statement? But look, it is printed here: 'Sixth Edition and abridged by the publishers'."

"You say that I agitate, play the part of a fool only, and therefore will not surprise you."

"You are certain that I am not a fool but I must be one. Since you like pleasant surprises, then I can tell you. Excuse me, I have interrupted. You wanted to say something. I am interested."

"Naturally, you speak almost emotionally and sincerely. But where did you get the idea that I and Maria, that is, your daughter, sooner or later, must marry? Such is the ironclad and merciless logic of life? But there is another logic—more daring and unreactionary. But it must be read upside down so as not to intrigue. Commencing here: '...in the form of marriage which, unfortunately, still exists amongst us...' Remember—'unfortunately'. And now we read here: '...such girls, as you, marry very young...' Possibly, but I am not getting ready to build a family nest, yet. Especially in the form of marriage... which, unfortunately, still exists amongst us. Wonderful words!



You'll always hear them from a girl who is... Enough, the rest does not pertain to the subject."

"This is the way an outstanding person of the communist world must think. Actually, I strike back at you with your own weapons. I must act that way, otherwise, what is there left for me to do in our country."

"No, no, don't hurry. I looked forward to the opportunity of speaking with you, so listen to me now. What? Why am I not afraid to speak? I am no longer afraid because only the two of us are in this room and, undeniably, both Maria and I are going to Western Ukraine, so that now you cannot be separated from me, and at such a short distance you will be unable to shoot at me your revolutionary assiduity."

"Why foolish? Sometimes impossible things become surprisingly possible. At first, the journey also seemed a complex matter to me. I wanted to turn to the director of the Institute, ask him for a re-assignment, but the following day my university colleagues were successful in having me included in the investigatory expedition which will do research on the folklore of Western Ukraine and Carpathia, and on the exploitation of workers by the Polish capitalists."

"Perhaps you will be successful in getting a transfer to Chernivtsi? Something fascinating and romantic issues from that city. You have an urge to place it in the palm of your hand and delight in it. I am certain that you can change the date of your departure to conform with that of the experimental expedition... Why are you so persistently indifferent, sort of spongy?"

"Why am I going? After terrorising me, you dare ask why I am going?.. You want to clarify your statement? Because you bear the moral responsibility for your daughter?.. Surprising! But wait, it seems to me that in the Soviet Union even up to the present time the parents are not responsible for their children, and more so, vice versa... They're interested... It would be better if they were not interested. Only because it is written thus and, generally, we must utilize the developments of the proletariat. But I return to our subject: I do not know yet the purpose of your queer and unexpected visit, but believe that in view of my revolutionary decision, you will calm your fears and will disturb me no more. As you see, I decided to gratify your principle."

"You gaze at me so suspiciously... Well, general discussions being concluded, we can now turn on the radio... "...ed an article... Moscow—the cradle of world proletariat"... Communistic teachings among the masses. Later: 'At the carnival, in the darkness of night, you whispered: I love you...'. O, you have no time for such luxury? All right, but spare me the details of what you are engaged in... Yes, you don't understand even yet... But remember, you won't get rid of me so easily now... Good. I will include all that... Goodbye."

She passed through the open door. This woman is still very young. Even at first glance, it does not seem logical that she is Maria's mother. Possibly, I conduct myself too freely with her. Surprising how after a short acquaintance, all traces of our recent artificial officiality in relationship have been erased.



The table contains written and unwritten sheets, deletions, underscoring—"Socialistic Kharkiv", "Shevchenko and the Workers' Movement", "Shevchenko and Chernyshevsky", "Shevchenko and Religion".

## 8.

The people of Kharkiv are like fish swimming in muddy waters. It would require a great earthquake to shake the 23 years of Soviet traditionalism of life. There are not many days left on the calendar. Much has been seen and heard. Characters and principles met, conflicts arose, much claspings of hands and smiles. . . And again Maria came to Leonid.

"Leonid, you live in a beautiful room. Where is the "Great Waltz" being demonstrated now? Leonid, what's the matter with you. . . why don't you speak? You have really dedicated yourself to science."

"What are you saying? Repeat again. . . Fool. Aren't you ashamed to speak so? I can leave. Well good, then I'll be silent."

"Shevchenko and the Workers' Movement", "Shevchenko and Religion". Shevchenko's ideals became a reality only because of the victory of the proletariat. The Soviet government placed learning on the lines of Marxism. Bear these lines in mind, and prepare in advance the bars and instructions, then the party and the administration will really apportion a lot of attention to learning.

"Leonid, what was the reason. . . Are you listening, Leonid? What was the reason for your ass-like opposition, all along, when now you commence to prepare for the journey with such a zeal?"

"I would answer, but the answer would be sentimental."

Maria inquires: "And when speaking to the point?"

"There are two principal reasons, of which. . ."

"Leonid, you are not in class and not taking an exam."

"Don't interrupt. . . of which I will give you one: the only possibility I have of escaping drudgery in some end-of-the-world province, is the completion of my assignments at the institute, is the academic position, for which I am so fiercely struggling. I forget everything. When I think of the time when, before me a youthful audience will be seated, eagerly grasping each word of mine, nothing matters to me. You know how the students love Professor Ivanov. Then, I become atrophied with this purpose."

"Maria, why do you look at me so suspiciously? You have absorbed your mother's habit. No, no, don't hide irony with a smile."

Unexpectedly, and like lightning, Maria flew off the chair: "Why, you cad! Villain! Academic position! . . You forget all. . . But you are nothing. You are unworthy of pity. You think that these papers here are worth something? I do this. . . and this. . . with them, since they are destined for the ash pile anyway."

Leonid's papers were scattered under the table—conspectus, abstracts, books.

"That is how I will trample on them, burn them."

"Are you finished, Maria?"

"Finished."

"Will you pick them up?"

"No."

A pause, and emotions which never linger in memory.

"You are a despicable cad, Leonid. You fooled me. Practically, I did not assist you in your studies. I did not dictate any of the phrases in these papers, but would you have attained the success you have in your studies without me? The role of a woman is traditionally unshakable and invisible. I was a sincere and, I believe, positive control of your every deed. To you, it seems, I was truly only something similar to an aspirin or umbrella. Whenever you needed me, you came for me, and when you didn't—you got rid of me. O, that I would never again see you before my eyes, but I will continue to come to you when I please; even then when you drown yourself in your books—like a rat. I will disturb you when you are at the Korolenko Library, and then, because of me, you will be able to achieve—nothing."

Some women do not fear despots who create fear all over continents, and some women do not fear murderers, who, thrusting a knife into the heart of the plutocrat, in a dark room, pillage gold and diamonds from pockets and drawers. The presence of a woman makes a robot of them, paralysing the nerve of self-control and brutality.

"Leonid, if you wish, I will make you into a good, sober, not a drowning, half-fanatic scientist, of the science that you love... I will show you the treacherous surroundings in which you, like a puppet, can drown. Leonid, when I take you by this small hand, which often rested on your shoulders, I will lead you... no: I will make of you a living, not a dead, person..." Pondering, Maria added: "...or a rag."

"You say you agree? You lie again. You only want to find out what I think. But listen, so you will have no regrets later. We travel tomorrow, but you must remain in Kharkiv."

"Why? Shut up! Now they say: principally, peace!.. You will remain in Kharkiv. And this is definite. In parting I present you with this book—"Errors of Honoré de Balzac". With an inscription? What should I write, Leonid?"

"You again talk foolishly. I had better write: 'To my dear comrade, friend.' Some time in the future, during the blue haze of the evening, you will come as a guest..."

"What? Unnecessary and artificial jesting? O, go to the devil!"

"Maria, I must go to Artem street, at once, to a student who promised to lend me a rare publication of Shevchenko. It is already half-past five. I'm going. Everything else, later."

"Well, go! The devil to you!"

## 9.

The remaining days Leonid was very perplexed. Sirovyy added to the worries: he came with demanding requests—that Leonid prepare for him the necessary texts. Sirovyy, because of party affiliations, never had time to prepare texts. Leonid prepared these lectures for him, and in recompense he, as a party worker, protected Leonid against various troubles.

Maria did not quite understand the connection between Leonid and Sirovy. Leonid commented: "It is for him that I am preparing the lectures, and for this he, in turn, protects me against inevitable conflicts."

Maria replied that she, too, did not desire to have Leonid travel with her, in principle. "You wanted to leave merely to save your skin; because of the responsibility of work it is not so easy to establish yourself according to your personal pattern. Now, the people are cast about by the administration, from place to place,—even on request, it is not easy to depart."

With no prospects in view, Leonid could not conveniently settle, even in Western Ukraine.

Maria thought about Leonid a long time. He is a cad, even a cynic, but all in all—remains good. The mother says her daughter is no heroine. Mother means nothing! Gorky wrote: anyone can love his children—a chicken, too; but rear them, only a human can. Parents lived more serenely, because they believed in the proletarian fatherland created by them, and there was nothing to punish them for. The children had no part in the creation. Everything was ready when they came—smiling ironically. For instance, last year, one of the graduate students of the Institute was sent to work in Lozova and his wife somewhere to Donbas, about 200 kilometres away: in the interests of the state, they said. Brooms, made in Sverdlovsk, costing 83 kopeks, are transported for sale in Kharkiv, a thousand kilometres away. The expense of the transportation increases the cost of the broom ten times. Finally, the state asks: why aren't the brooms made in Kharkiv? Conveniently and ingeniously apply all phases of your characteristics when they nearly coincide with the interests of the Soviet people!

"Maria, what have you done again? You cannot be left alone in the room. Put the things together at once. Everything as it was before."

For the second time Maria had scattered the articles, which Leonid had so carefully prepared for his journey, about the room. The first time, he put the articles back in the valise himself. Now, he was angry. Maria fears Leonid for he is right, and she would better obey.

"This, Leonid, is called the amplitude vastness of your valise."

"Put them together and no arguments."

"And what am I doing? O, you even have a sweater, as a sign of sympathy toward... Aren't you ashamed? I am speaking: to a Republican Spain. You know, during the industrialisation era of our country, I wore clothes with designs of whips, wheels, screws, and now, cigarette "No Pasaran" and clothes according to Spanish fashion... Leonid, these books do not fit in now. Well, all right: I'll do this... press them down with my knees... No, Leonid, you ought to be ashamed to ask a girl to do such heavy work."

"What? You see I am not idle. If you were clever you would have long since shown your anger and thrown me out of the room by my neck... But, Leonid, I am packing your things unnecessarily..."

"No, I will not be provoked. You have a tongue, speak several languages or converse—but don't throw articles about. I will listen to you only when you have complied with my wishes."

"You will not deceive me?"



Maria's mother is angry. The Soviet government issued new orders, prohibiting workers from voluntarily changing jobs or leaving them. According to the new edicts, everyone would be severely penalised who quarrelled in public using Russian swearing terminology. She has no reason to be angry, for if she had departed five days earlier, everything would be well. Unquestionably, the decrees have profound meaning for the country: it is prohibitive to change one establishment for another in a month; therefore, be late for work; especially, quarrel fiercely, and all this in Comrade Stalin street. Leonid drew, as they say, suitable conclusions concerning the actual decrees. A contemporary individual loses all sense of responsibility. O, that golden youth of ours! Without doubt, it is golden, the best in the world, but how primitive and chaotic! Truly, the fashion today of bare chests has a deep symbolic meaning.

We are cultured people, people with state obligations. In every phase of life, we stand like warriors, like frontiersmen guarding the sacred borders night and day. We will not bear personal grudges and complain, although this large planet—via eternal paths, boundless oceans, continents,—brings much unpleasantness. The railroad trains and semaphore lights are like signals of eternal movement forward. Thousands, millions of people. The trains move westwards with tremendous speed. People riding day and night, riding so as to squeeze the capitalistic world, and, at the same time, "push". "Till we meet". The Post-Office, bridge to Kholodna Hill—a trolley departed over it, and the No. 11 trolley returns, half circling.

Ah, you queer people of a country of cement and steel. Why hang your heads? Look ahead. At least in appearance be severe, then they'll consider you "contemporary". Is it difficult to live when somewhere far away there is a person separated from you, who thinks of you, but who inevitably will return?

Leonid was returning from the station stealthily and cautiously. At the entrance to the Institute he tries to enter unnoticed, but is stopped by the door-keeper. The latter always gives the impression that he but recently left a well laid table, and the large, swollen cheeks, almost an absence of chin, automatically make him a sympathetic individual in all circumstances. In a manner, he explains that a newly arrived girl student desires to become acquainted with Leonid. Leonid sceptically makes some undefinable gestures. "Well what, afraid?"

It was completely dark now. The large windows throw yellow rays upon the street. In them, not leaving the facade, Comrade Sirovy crawls, like a fish in an aquarium. Every evening in this manner he awaits an opportunity to attach himself to some female student and escort her to "Gigant" Building. The classrooms are almost empty. Leonid, nodding in the direction of the Institute, to which he is so attached, is returning to his quarters.

"What a fool you are, Sirovy, as I see."

"But tell me: are there nice girls in your faculty?"—Sirovy replies with a question.

(To be continued.)

## GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN PUBLISHING IN CANADA

The Ukrainians in Canada celebrated widely the 50th anniversary of the first Ukrainian book published in Canada in 1907. In the "Capital of Ukrainians in Canada", Winnipeg, an exhibition of Ukrainian books published in Canada was held from Nov. 29 to Dec. 14, 1957. It was later transferred to the University Library of the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. Below, we are publishing an article of Prof. J. B. Rudnycky, Chairman of the Department of Slavonic Studies at the said University on this topic.

It was in October, 1907, that the first Ukrainian book in Canada was published. A small-sized booklet on problems of Nationality entitled "Novyi Svit" (New World) made appearance in Winnipeg and started a most prolific activity of this kind—the publishing activity of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

Perhaps no other ethnic group, besides English and French, in Canada produced such a multitude of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other publications in the course of the last fifty years, as the Ukrainian. The yearly survey of *Ukrainica Canadiana*, started in 1951 by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg, shows about 150 new titles for each year. There is no account, however, of the bibliography of Ukrainian Canadian titles before 1951, and one can only approximately say that several hundreds of volumes of books and pamphlets were printed, mostly in Winnipeg, during the last fifty years. They contained poetry, fiction, memoirs, children's literature as well as text books, grammars, dictionaries, guides, and the like. A great deal of Ukrainian Canadian literature was devoted to the religious affairs: the Ukrainian Catholic Church and (since 1918) the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church were leading in this respect.

Besides books and pamphlets, more than one hundred titles of periodicals made their appearance during that period. At the present time, there are about fifty periodicals, weeklies, monthlies, bi-weeklies, quarterlies, and year-books appearing in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, and other centres.

Most of the Ukrainian Canadian literature is published in Ukrainian, some publications show even the peculiarities of the Ukrainian Canadian dialect with many "Canadianisms" accepted in the language under the English influence. There are also some publications in English. They have been published mostly after the second World War.

Prof. Paul Yuzyk in his recent study on *Ukrainians in Manitoba* (Toronto University Press, 1953) gives an excellent survey of the literary achievements of Ukrainian Canadians and divides the authors into five groups, the first being pioneer authors who arrived in Canada before the first World War; the second group comprises the European trained émigrés, the third and fourth the Canadian born *literati* and the fifth one is made up of Anglo-Saxons whose interest in the Ukrainian literature has led them to translate the Ukrainian works into English and to comment on them.

According to the leading authority on European Canadian literature, Dr. W. Kirkconnell, "at least ten thousand Ukrainian poems lie mouldering in the back files of the Ukrainian Canadian Press... The profoundly moving experience of transplanting one's life from ancestral earth in Europe into the strange soil of a new land beyond the ocean finds expression in poetry... If it were nothing else, this foreign language poetry would be valuable to the historian and the sociologist in their study of the human and emotional side of the migration." The greatest epic of the Ukrainian Canadian pioneer life, *The Sons of the Soil* of the late I. Kyriak, has been just translated into English and will make its appearance in 1958.

A special mention should be made in this connection about the scholarly publications of the Ukrainian Canadians after the second World War. It was in 1949 that the Slavistic publications as a new venture of Canadian humanities were started. A series under the significant title *Slavistica* has been published since then and to date over thirty scholarly monographs appeared. Another series, started by Ukrainian Free Academy in Winnipeg, 1951, is *Onomastica*—a series devoted entirely to the scientific investigation of the names. In this series such monographs as e.g. "The Term and Name Canada" by I. Velyhorskyj, "Canadian Toponymy and Cultural Stratification of Canada" by W. Kirkconnell, "Indian and Pseudo-Indian Place Names in the Canadian West" by Cyril M. Jones and many others were published.

Both series represented Canadian Slavistic and Onomastic research at the international linguistic exhibits, as e.g. those in Arr Arbor, Mich. U.S.A., Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro in 1954, Salamanca, Spain, in 1955, Oslo, Norway, in 1957.

Fifty years of the Ukrainian Canadian publishing output is one of the most remarkable achievements of this element within the Canadian family. Besides the political progress, the cultural growth and economic development, the Ukrainian Canadian publishing activity takes an honourable place not only among Ukrainians themselves but also among their fellow citizens of other origin.

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#### MAYOR OF THE CITY OF EDMONTON—A UKRAINIAN

On October 16, 1957, Mr. Basil Havryliak, was elected mayor of the capital of the Canadian province of Alberta, Edmonton, for the fourth time. Mr. Havryliak, who is of Ukrainian descent, is also the president of the union of mayors of the Canadian towns.

#### MAYOR OF WINNIPEG—MR. STEPHEN DZIUBA

Mr. Stephen Dziuba, who is of Ukrainian origin, is the first mayor of Winnipeg of non-British descent. The services which Mr. Dziuba has rendered the town of Winnipeg are very considerable, and for this reason the population of the capital of the Canadian province of Manitoba decided to elect him mayor. Mr. Dziuba has succeeded in convincing the inhabitants of Winnipeg that a new municipal hall in the centre of the town is urgently needed and should be erected as soon as possible.



## UKRAINIAN EMIGRÉS IN AUSTRALIA

There are about 25,000 Ukrainian emigrants in Australia, and whilst living there they have become more and more aware of the necessity of activating the anti-Bolshevist fight in this part of the world. They are particularly concerned with the tasks to be undertaken in the future with regard to the Far East. It is an established fact that there are several million prisoners in the concentration camps in Siberia, that there are 1½ million Ukrainians living in the vicinity of Vladivostok, and that the majority of soldiers in the Far East Soviet Army are non-Russians.

The Ukrainian emigrants in Australia regard it as their duty to further anti-Communist activity in various Asian countries, too, since they are the only large Ukrainian group in this hemisphere. In addition, they give financial support to the Mission of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in Formosa, from where radio programmes in Ukrainian are relayed to Siberia. The self-reliance of the Ukrainians in Australia, who, after experiencing Soviet Russian tyranny, now enjoy the same rights as the Anglo-Saxon population in the freedom-loving country of Australia, spurs them on to achievements which are sometimes truly amazing. Ukrainian pupils and students are frequently the best in their class, even when it comes to learning English too.

In the suburbs of large towns such as Melbourne, Sydney, etc., one sees beautiful small houses built in the Ukrainian style, which to a very considerable extent improve the somewhat desolate picture of the Australian landscape. All over the country imitations of the products created by the industrious Ukrainians are to be found. Here and there one finds products of Ukrainian national art in the shops. In various parts of the towns private enterprises have been established by Ukrainians. Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches are being erected and club-houses are being built with reading rooms and facilities for giving Ukrainian plays, etc. All these buildings and activities are financed by the voluntary donations given by the 25,000 Ukrainian emigrants living in Australia. There are workers, for instance, who have voluntarily helped to build such club-houses and churches in their spare time on Saturdays and Sundays and have worked for 500 hours without pay. The "Union of Ukrainian Women" in Australia devotes its attention in particular to the training of the Ukrainian children in a patriotic spirit. Sunday-schools have been erected out of the "Union's" funds and here the children are taught Ukrainian history and geography.

The Ukrainian emigrants engage in extensive political activity amongst the Australian population as regards enlightening the latter on the danger of Communism and Russian imperialism, in particular in connection with the situation in Indonesia, the Red Chinese menace and the Russian menace from Siberia. This campaign has already proved a big success amongst the Australian working-classes, and as far as the trade unions are concerned has increased the latter's opposition to Communism. The fact must, however, be stressed that it would be erroneous for the Australian government to pursue an

assimilation policy, since it is more important that the Ukrainian and other emigrants should play the part of a vanguard of anti-Russian and anti-Communist activity throughout Asia.

The political parties in Australia, as for instance the Liberal Party and the Democratic Labour Party, and in particular Senator Gorton of the Liberal Party and Senator McManus of the anti-Communist Labour Party support the ideas of the anti-Bolshevist fight which the Ukrainian emigrants represent. Australia is a member of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). And thus, from this platform, the representatives of the national emigrant groups can play an important part in furthering propaganda activity in Asia, above all in Indonesia, Malaya, Vietnam, Burma, Hongkong, Korea and Formosa.

The Ukrainian emigrants are fully alive to this duty and are tackling this task without any party political discrimination. Their lodestar is the big mission of starting the liberation campaign for Ukraine via Siberia. Taking into account Lenin's theory that the way to Paris leads via Delhi and Peking, they also see their task in a large-scale counter-campaign against Bolshevism in the Asian theatre. The emigrants constantly bear in mind the fact that part of America, namely Alaska, practically borders on the Soviet Union in Behring Straits, and should the big clash some day occur, the Ukrainian emigrants will be of considerable importance, since they represent the third largest group, after the British and French, in Canada and there are about 1½ million Ukrainians living in the U.S.A.

The principle of the ABN will constitute the political basis for the entire attitude of the Ukrainian emigrants. In Australia half the Ukrainian emigrants belong to the Ukrainian Catholic faith and half to the Orthodox Autocephalous Church. There is an Orthodox bishop and a Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate, too, will no doubt be established there in the near future.

The Ukrainian emigrants in Australia have their own weekly paper, called "Free Thought", which is published in Sydney. In addition, they also subscribe to numerous papers and periodicals in Ukrainian which are published in other countries. The financial position of the emigrants in Australia is fairly good, and, thanks to their spirit of self-sacrifice for the patriotic cause of Ukraine, this comparatively small Ukrainian group bears the entire financial burden of the ABN activity in the Far East.

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The "Communist of Ukraine" (No. 9, 1957) states that since the opening up of the Lviv-Volhynian Basin 5 pits have produced a total output of coal amounting to 1,650,000 tons. This amount, however, does not cover the economic needs of the district. Only the opening up of a further 37 pits will do away with the necessity of importing coal from Poland or the Don Basin to meet the economic needs of the districts of Lviv and Stanyslaviv.

## UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATED IN ARGENTINA

Two hundred prominent guests took part at a press conference which was organised by the Ukrainians living in Buenos Aires, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian liberation revolution.

Whilst the Argentine Communists were celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, whilst the White Russians were arranging an exhibition and whilst placards bearing the words "For a Free Ukraine" were being posted on buildings in the centre of the town and on the walls of the Soviet Russian legation, a press conference attended by more than 200 persons, mostly of non-Ukrainian origin, was held in one of the biggest hotels in the Argentine capital. This conference was arranged by the Ukrainian Central Representation in Argentina. Its president, the former Ukrainian diplomatic representative in Rome, Evhen Onatsky, welcomed the guests who included the brother of the former President of Argentina, Admiral Lonardi, the son of the first secretary of the Chinese Embassy, Mr. Cheng, and his wife, further the presidents of the anti-Communist central organisation of Argentina and Uruguay, the representatives of the organisations of the subjugated peoples of Hungary, Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Slovakia, Croatia, Byelorussia, and Caucasia, the president of the Basque Union, the representatives of the Buenos Aires press, the editor of the German daily "Freie Presse", and many other distinguished persons.

In his report Mr. Michael A. Rubinetz, secretary of the Ukrainian Central Representation in Argentina, referred to the Ukrainian fight for freedom and the heroic deeds of the Ukrainian Underground Army (UPA), and said, in conclusion, that the fight could still be carried on against Moscow in spite of artificial satellites and long-range rockets.

The Hungarian representative, Dr. Csik, put the following question to the audience: "Why should the Argentinians take an interest in the fate of Ukraine, a country far away, in the heart of Europe?" Dr. Csik blamed the dreadful indecision of the Western politicians and their deplorable irresolution as having contributed to the destruction of Hungary during the recent Hungarian revolution. He stressed that all anti-Russian forces in the whole world should unite for the purpose of combatting Russian imperialism. The attitude of the Free World should not be one of weak compromise and inadequate defence, but definitely offensive. In conclusion, Dr. Csik said that the Ukrainian forces would play a leading part in this struggle.

Speaking on behalf of the South American union, "The Defence of Democracy", its president, Gomez Camillo, stressed that not only the Russian Communist leaders, but also all those free powers that support Moscow and all those who are indifferent to the Red Russian menace, are responsible for the crimes committed by Moscow. He further declared that his organisation is conjointly responsible with Ukraine for the liberation ideas and would, therefore, do its utmost to realise these ideas.



The president of one of the Uruguayan organisations, Mr. Martinez Berseche, commented on the criminal activity of Moscow and stressed that he was in favour of complete cooperation with Ukrainians and Ukrainian organisations, too.

Speeches by the representatives of other foreign organisations—Polish, Rumanian, Slovak and other organisations—then followed. The Croat delegate affirmed that a free Ukraine would mean the downfall of the Russian empire. The Slovak speaker expressed the opinion that there are two Americas: the first is the country that was discovered by Columbus and where the Slovak emigrants have found their material welfare; the second America is Ukraine, the country of love of and sacrifice for the ideals of mankind.

The last speaker at the conference was the second Hungarian representative, who, incidentally, took part in the recent revolution in Hungary and is the head of the Hungarian combatants. His speech reflected the attitude of the soldier, and he stressed the close brotherhood-in-arms of the Ukrainians and Hungarians both in World War II and during the recent Hungarian revolution; the Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet army, he said, did not take the Hungarian revolutionaries prisoner; on the contrary, they let them go free without having disarmed them. That is why the best guarantee for a free Hungary, so he added, is a free Ukraine. This speaker also expressed his conviction that some day the Hungarian soldiers would help their Ukrainian brothers-in-arms to liberate the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv.

At the end of the conference a number of resolutions were adopted.

The vital points of this important conference of persons of various nationalities can be summed up as follows:

Protest against the irresoluteness, co-existence policy and indecision of the Western statesmen and politicians;

all the members of the conference were convinced that violence must be used against violence;

all the freedom-loving and anti-Communist forces of the world must unite;

Ukraine is the leading force in this anti-Communist struggle,—not because of her geographical position but because of her love of freedom, discipline and good organisation;

The Hungarian representatives stressed above all that there can be no free Europe without a free Ukraine.

And one of the foreign guests pointed out that Ukraine does not owe her neighbours anything, but that her neighbours and the Western world owe very much to Ukraine.

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**BOOK REVIEWS**

- ANTOLOHIJA NIMETS'KOJI POEZIJI (Anthology of German Poetry). Translated into Ukrainian by M. Orest. Munich, German-Ukrainian Herder Society (1955). 122 pages.
- R. M. Rilke, H. von Hofmannsthal, M. Dauthendey. VYBIR POEZIJ (A Selection of Poems). Translated into Ukrainian by M. Orest. Augsburg, B. Krupnytzkyj, 1953. 86 pages.
- Stephan George. VYBRANI POEZIJI (Selected Poems). Translated into Ukrainian by M. Orest. Augsburg, B. Krupnytzkyj, 1952. 84 pages.

Ukrainian translations of German classics began to appear in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among the first works were Goethe's *Faust* translated by Ivan Franko (published in 1880) and Heine's selected poems translated by Lesya Ukrainka, as well as various other works.

During the first half of the twentieth century, German classics were rendered into Ukrainian by various translators. It might be mentioned that the fourth and best translation of Goethe's *Faust* by Mykola Lukash was published in Kyiv in 1955. Recently, translations of Schiller's plays, Heine's poems and other German classics have been re-published. The modern German poets, such as Rilke or Stephan George, however, were at no time favoured by the Communists, and as the latter have from the outset had control of all printing facilities in Ukraine, no translations of works by modern German poets have been published there during the past twenty-five years. It is true that some translations have appeared sporadically among Ukrainian emigrants, in particular in Western Europe, but, actually, Orest was the first to introduce modern German poetry to the Ukrainian reader.

In his first book Orest presents sixty poems by Stephan George in a Ukrainian translation. The second of his books comprises thirty-four poems by Rilke, twelve poems by H. von Hofmannsthal and seventeen poems by M. Dauthendey. Both of these books contain brief informative notes on the poets concerned, and here Orest, a distinguished Ukrainian poet himself, at present living in Bavaria, reveals his extensive knowledge of German literature.

Orest's third book, the "*Antolohija nimets'koji poeziji*", contains a wide selection from German poetry. The book begins with Angelus Silesius' distichs. These are followed by Klopstock's "Death" and eighteen poems by Goethe. Schiller is represented by sixteen poems, Novalis by seven, and Heine by eight. The largest selection is taken from Hölderlin's works, namely twenty poems. Of the modern poets, Morgenstern and Mombert are well represented, —some ten typical poems of each. Thirty-five poets altogether are represented in this anthology, which comprises some two hundred poems.

Both Orest's selection and his translation are excellent in every respect. He has strictly preserved the strophic and rhyme patterns of the originals, whilst at the same time interpreting the meaning as closely as possible. Incidentally, it is extremely difficult to preserve the stylistic peculiarities of different poets if the work of translation is only undertaken by one person.

But in Orest's rendering the difference between Goethe's style and Heine's or between Rilke's style and Morgenstern's can easily be distinguished.

Orest's translations are, indeed, masterly. We hope he will continue his work, for the Ukrainian reader, we are sure, will profit greatly from it.

U.S. Army Language School

Yar Slavutych

*L'UKRAINE DANS LE CADRE DE L'EST EUROPEEN* (Ukraine in the Sphere of Eastern Europe). Compiled work of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. Editions Nauwelaerts. Paris-Louvain, 1957, pp. 204.

The scientific activity of the Free Ukrainian University in Munich has recently increased considerably. During the past year three extensive compiled works have been published by the University,—two in Ukrainian and one in French. The latter, entitled "*L'Ukraine dans le Cadre de l'Est Européen*", is reviewed below.

In the Preface to this compiled work the curator of the University, Archbishop Dr. Buchko, stresses that the aim of the book is to present various aspects (historical, international, economic, spiritual and religious) of a great European people in Central and Eastern Europe. The emphasis is on the word *European*, because Ukraine was for centuries a spiritual and cultural mediator between the European East and West. And this statement is corroborated by the ten Ukrainian and Belgian scholars who have contributed to this publication.

The following Ukrainian and Belgian university professors have contributed to the outstanding success of this compiled work: I. Mirtchuk ("Ukraine as Mediator between the East and West"), J. Leclercq ("The Value of the Nationalities"), A. Shulguin ("Ukraine throughout the Centuries"), R. Yaremchuk ("Ukraine in the Field of International Relations"), P. De Visscher ("The Juridical Personality of Ukraine"), I. Leskovytsch ("The Religious Situation in Ukraine"), L. Dupriez ("Welfare and Economic Progress as Compared with Conditions in Eastern Europe"), M. Vasylyv ("The Economic Riches of Ukraine and the Standard of Living of her Population"), F. Gregoire ("The Sources of the Atheism of Marx"), and A. Kultchysky ("The Marxist Conception of the Individual and the Ukrainian Soul").

Owing to limited space it is not possible to quote the most striking passages by the authors concerned, but we should, however, like to emphasize that the general impression of the book is to prove that Ukraine was connected with Western Europe from the early ages of European history onwards. The contributions dealing with Ukraine's past and present and the actual international situation of Ukraine are of special interest and value.

This book can be recommended in particular to those foreign readers who would like to study the problems not only of the Ukrainian people but also of other peoples living in Central and Eastern Europe.

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## CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN RUSSIAN AND SOVIET THOUGHT.

Edited with an Introduction by Ernest J. Simmons. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955, pp. 563.

In the Preface we read that this publication is the result of an extensive collaborative effort which took the initial form of a Conference held at Arden House, March 26-28, 1954, under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. Mr. Simmons informs us that a steering committee of ten of the leading scholars in the field of Russian studies planned the thematic structure of the Conference and selected the participants. The book was intended to effect confrontations of various phases of pre- and post-revolutionary Russian and Soviet thought; these confrontations would in turn point out aspects of either continuity or change. Six broad themes ("Realism and Utopia in Russian and Economic Thought", "Authoritarianism and Democracy", "Collectivism and Individualism", "Rationality and Nonrationality", "Literature, State, and Society", "Russia and the Community of Nations—Messianic Views and Theory of Action") were designated for the purpose of representing major focuses in the study of continuity and change in Russian and Soviet thought. Under each of the above cited themes four or five sub-topics were assigned for purposes of research.

In the Introduction Mr. Simmons informs us that the concept of Soviet power very definitely has its roots in the Russian past. He is quite right when he states that it is not enough to draw analogies between Stalin and Ivan the Terrible or Peter I. One must also study the resemblances between the total theory of tsarist autocracy, reflected in the thinking of its most eloquent disciples, such as Pobedonostsev, and the theory of rule expounded in the works of the foremost Soviet Marxian thinkers (p. 5).

Mr. Simmons continues as follows: "... The Russian messianism that was part of the Slavophile thinking finds its counterpart in the messianic compulsion associated with the Soviet idea of collectivity guided by the higher laws of Communist Party ideology... On the other hand, as developing Soviet nationalism reverts more and more to the aims and aspirations of old-fashioned Russian imperialism, away from Marxian internationalism, the essential components of prerevolutionary and Soviet Russian messianism seem less and less differentiated" (p. 6).

Mr. Simmons goes on to state that another element of cultural continuity may be observed in the widespread Soviet acceptance of the works of nearly all the great Russian writers of the nineteenth century. These Russian novels, plays and poems, so often written in the libertarian spirit of the great authors of the nineteenth century, are read by millions of Soviet citizens and appear to be preferred by them to the dull productions of contemporary Soviet writers (p. 6).

Simmons draws a special attention to "the startling interrelationships between past and present in the whole course of Russian intellectual history (p. 7).

Because of the rich material contained in the book it is impossible to discuss in detail the respective themes revealing the interrelationships between the

spiritual trends especially of the XIXth and XXth centuries in Russia. May we therefore be permitted to quote at least a few passages pertaining to the Ukrainian question.

Hans Kohn, in his study "Dostoyevsky and Danilevsky", emphasizes that in 1869 Danilevsky anticipated the composition and frontiers of a Pan-Slav union which the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire made possible and which Stalin almost realised in 1945. It was to consist of eight parts.

The Russian Empire in its frontiers of 1869, including Poland and with the addition of Austrian Galicia and northern Bukovina and of Hungarian Carpatho-Ukraine;

The Kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia (Czechoslovakia);

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) which would also include Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and northern Albania from Turkey, the Voivodina, and the Banat from Hungary, Dalmatia, Istria, Carniola, two-thirds of Carinthia, and one-fifth of Syria from Austria; The Kingdom of Bulgaria with the greater part of Macedonia;

The Kingdom of Rumania with half of Austrian Bukovina and of Hungarian Transylvania;

The Kingdom of Hungary shorn of the territories ceded to Russia, Bohemia, Serbia, and Rumania;

The Kingdom of Greece with Thessaly, Epirus, southwest Macedonia, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus and the Anatolian coast of the Aegean Sea;

Constantinople and its environment (pp. 505-506).

We should like to add here that Austrian Galicia and northern Bukovina are inhabited by the Ukrainians.

In his very interesting study "Great Russian Messianism in post war Soviet Ideology", Mr. Frederick C. Barghoorn points out that "wars for national survival have bulked unusually large in Russian history. These wars, and the historical memories engendered by them, have played perhaps a bigger part than any other factor in developing Russian nationalism and Great Russian messianism. It is no accident that the Soviet regime called the war against Hitler the "Great Fatherland War", after the model of the national struggle against Napoleon. And just as the "War of 1812" called forth much of the nationalistic and messianic mood of early nineteenth-century Russia, similar sentiments were engendered by the Second World War" (pp. 541-542). The Ukrainians did not join the Pan-Russian war enthusiasm. On the contrary, the Ukrainians, and above all the famous Ukrainian Insurgent Army (known as UPA), waged war both against the Red Russians and the German Nazi-Army. In "Bolshevik", No. 3-4, for February 1944, the Soviet Russian writer Nikolai Tikhonov wrote: "National pride, hitherto buried in the hearts of the Soviet people, burst forth in a bright flame before the threat of enslavement and in the face of deadly danger". Indeed, it was merely a German-Russian war "ad maiorem Russiae gloriam", but in no way a war of the subjugated peoples of Russia.

Barghoorn emphasizes that an important new twist of the Party line has developed regarding the Ukrainians. One of the greatest propaganda efforts of all history was developed in the fall of 1953 and the winter and spring

of 1954 on the theme of the 300th anniversary of the so-called "reunion" of Ukraine and Russia. In some ways this campaign represents a sop to the Ukrainians and reflects anxiety about their attitude toward Moscow. The demonstrative gesture of Russia "giving" the Crimea to Ukraine fits in this pattern. Mr. Barghoorn goes on to say that this campaign indicates nevertheless that Soviet-Russian propaganda represents a softer, more tactful, and more subtle version of Moscow's centralising and assimilationist policy vis-à-vis Ukraine. The author concludes his statement as follows: "Incidentally and ironically, the "reunion" concept is an unacknowledged borrowing from "reactionary" nineteenth-century Russian historians, who formerly were denounced in standard Soviet encyclopedias and text books" (p. 544).

Although there are also passages with which we don't agree, especially with reference to the Ukrainian problem (e.g. in the study by Martin E. Malia), we cannot but recommend this very valuable book to all those who would like to learn more about the present trends in Soviet Russian policy and literature, as well.

W. Luzhanskyi

**PROLOGUE**—A quarterly dealing with the problems of independence and amity among nations. Munich—New York—Paris. Managing editor: Lew Shankowsky.

Published by the Prologue Research and Publishing Association, Inc., 875 West End Avenue, New York 25, N.Y., this quarterly has been in circulation since the summer of 1957.

The following interesting quotation is taken from the Editorial (No. 1, July 1957): "The present epoch is characterised by the great changes affecting the fortunes and the future of the peoples and nations which they compose. We witness the birth of the new nations and we see their struggle for national independence, sovereignty and freedom. Never in the history of mankind has the *national idea* shown such vitality as today. During the past ten years dozens of independent Afro-Asian nations have made their appearance on the political map. Other nations of those continents are also marching towards independence. If this development continues with the same tempo, the problem of Western colonialism will cease to exist in the foreseeable future."

But whilst the process of liberation goes on in the whole world, Soviet Russian Communism has subjugated many great peoples of Europe and Asia. "When, following the revolution of 1917, such nations as Ukraine, Georgia or Byelorussia or Turkestan established their own independent states, Communist Moscow organised armed aggressions against them and conquered and subjugated them. The same process of subjugation by force and violence was exercised later on against such states as Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Albania". The author rightly affirms that militant Soviet Russian Communism gave lip-service to the great ideas of liberty and the aspirations of mankind for freedom and used deceit and violence to establish and propagate the most reactionary and totalitarian dictatorship and colonialism ever known in the history of mankind.



The ideals to which the "Prologue" is dedicated are the following: the enslaved nations in the so-called Soviet Union have aspirations identical with those of other nationalities seeking freedom, independence and liberty from the present masters and exploiters. "The torch of freedom, the torch of enlightened nationalism, and the community of interests among the free peoples are the elements of that motive power that moves peoples and nations towards the same ideals on both sides of the 'Iron Curtain'. It is in these lofty ideals that there are the surest and the best safeguards for peace, prosperity and progress of mankind" (p.5).

The three numbers of "Prologue" which we have received so far contain such articles as "Strategy of Soviet Expansion", "Communist Moscow's Nationality Policy", "Asiatic Renaissance", "Moscow Centralism on the Defensive", and also a very informative and interesting book review.

Incidentally, the Prologue Research and Publishing Association, Inc. has also published a number of informative works, including "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin", "The Great Famine in Ukraine" (1932-1933), "Ukraine and Russia, 1654-1917", "Ukrainian Underground Art", etc.

All those who are eager to know more about the relations between Ukraine and Russia through the centuries and about the political trends in Eastern Europe would do well to read the publications of the Prologue Research and Publishing Association, Inc.

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### THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE

In August, 1954, the Independent Ukrainian Association for the research of national problems in Soviet theory and practice was founded by a number of Ukrainian university professors in Europe and several Ukrainian scientists in America for the purpose of publishing books which contain true and not distorted information on the life of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and unmasking the cunning Soviet Russian policy regarding the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the free world. Since then, the Association has published ten works, which include "The Russian Historical Roots of Bolshevism" by Prof. Y. Bojko, "The Soviet Theory of Constitutional Relations between Ukraine and Moscow as Applied by Moscow's Policy" by Prof. B. Krupnytsky, "Bolshevism and Internationalism" by Prof. A. Yurchenko, and various other works.

It was only thanks to voluntary donations by the Ukrainian emigrants living in Europe and America that these books could be published.

The members of the Association have refused to participate in the research work of the Scientific Institute which has been organised and is supported financially by so-called American private circles, since the Ukrainian scholars are convinced that free scientific research is quite impossible in this institute as it is under the control of White Russian refugees who try to conceal the imperialistic policy of Red Moscow.

## BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

### POLITICAL TRIAL AGAINST UKRAINIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA

On September 23, 1957, a political trial began in the district court of the town of Doboj (Bosnia), in which the accused were four Ukrainians: the Reverend Felix *Bilinskyj*, priest of the village of Lischnja near Prnjavor, Dean Hryhorij *Biljak*, in office in Prnjavor, the Reverend Michael *Jurysta*, priest of Kosarec near Prnjavor, and Peter *Shlapak*, employed in Belgrade.

The accused were charged with anti-state activity, stirring up hatred amongst the Ukrainian population against the present regime in Yugoslavia, a hostile attitude towards Communism and similar offences. Peter Shlapak was the chief accused.

The Reverend Bilinskyj and Peter Shlapak were already arrested on February 28th, the Reverend Biljak and the Reverend Jurysta on April 28th. When the police searched Shlapak's home they confiscated numerous Ukrainian books, private letters, magazines and even children's books such as "Master Fox" and the fables of Wilhelm Busch in Ukrainian translations.

The indictment was worded as follows:

"On the strength of the evidence found it has been ascertained that the accused have committed serious crimes against public security. The evidence shows that they are enemies of the people and hostile agents... And for this reason... the judgment of the court shall be harsh and severe...

We are pledged to this duty by our past and our future, which is to be great and illustrious.

For these reasons these crimes must be dealt with strictly according to the law and justice."

None of the accused can reproach themselves with having committed any crime against the regime or the state. In Yugoslavia extremely difficult material conditions prevail, and the accused merely wanted to inform their fellow-countrymen about material aid and possible chances of emigrating. The three priests are entirely innocent. But the courts in undemocratic states apply undemocratic methods in order to achieve their aims, namely to make their victims—innocent accused—appear guilty and then sentence them.

The court also accused the priests of having carried on a slave-trade in girls and of having sent the girls to England, to brothels there. In reality, the priests merely tried to help young Ukrainians in England to have a chance to marry Ukrainian girls.

Dr. Peter Mirtchuk, a Ukrainian journalist from Canada, attended the hearing of the trial which lasted four days, but, unfortunately, he was not able to ascertain what sentences were pronounced as the Ministry of the Interior took his visa from him and forced him to leave Yugoslavia within twenty-four hours.

According to press reports Rev. F. Bilinskyj has been sentenced to 5, Rev. M. Jurysta to 4, and Rev. H. Biljak to 1 year of imprisonment. It is not known what sentence received P. Shlapak.

## YOUTH AND RELIGION IN UKRAINE

In an article published in the newspaper "Komsomolska Pravda" ("The Truth of Communist Youth") of August 15, 1957, I. S. Hrushetsky, the secretary of the Volhynian regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, tries to find an answer to the question of why Ukrainian youth prefers the Church. In his opinion, the main reasons for the devotion of Ukrainian youth to the Church are the religious rites. The "backward" youth of Ukraine is bound to succumb to the religious solemnity of the Church, as for instance to the Christian marriage rites, since the Communist organisations do not pay due attention to the interesting ritualism of the Church; and, in any case, the simple official registration of Soviet marriages can in no way replace the marriage rites of the Church.

The Soviet press stresses the fact that Communist youth must be more vigilant and do its share in intensifying the atheistic education of Ukrainian youth; the struggle against the "reactionary Church" should be a determined one. Above all, teachers must see to it that youth is educated atheistically. Anti-religious exhibitions and special training courses are being organised for this purpose. Atheist lecturers travel round the country from place to place, trying to "convince" young boys and girls that religion is anti-scientific. It has been stated on numerous occasions during special conferences of the regional committees of the Communist Party (for instance, in Lviv) that a very considerable number of boys and girls are influenced in their attitude by the clergy. It has also been pointed

out that only one per cent of the young workers and collective farmers went to political training schools during the past year.

The newspaper "Molod Ukrayiny" ("The Youth of Ukraine"), which is published in Kyiv, complains in its issue of August 4, 1957, that the young Ukrainians of the district of Lysytsi in the region of Stanyslaviv, including the Communist youth, attend church. This applies in particular to the youth of the village of Staryi Lysets. But many boys and girls of the villages of Ivanivka, Tysmenychany and Zaberezhia are also influenced by various religious sects.

"It is to be regretted—so this newspaper continues—that the active members of the Communist youth do not pay sufficient attention to anti-religious propaganda in these villages"...

But even in the distant country of Turkestan, to which many young Ukrainians have been exiled for the purpose of working in the so-called virgin regions, there is, according to the Russian Communists, a "terrific" increase in the religious movement among the Ukrainian youth.

The local newspaper "The Soviet Kirghizia" of August 7, 1957, affirms that the social roots of religion in, this Moslem country have been exterminated, but that many people have nevertheless failed to abandon religious superstitions. In the capital of Kirghizia, Frunze, there is for instance a Baptist sect, and the preacher of this sect is a Ukrainian, F. Medvid.

In spite of the long persecution to which the Ukrainian Church and religion have been subjected and the powerful pressure of the Party and the administrative authorities, Uk-



rainian youth, however, will never renounce the religion and nationality of its forbathers.

#### ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

The Russian Communists are anxious to combat religion and, above all, the Greek Catholic Church in the Western Ukrainian territories. Considerable dissatisfaction is expressed by the "Radyanska Kultura" ("Soviet Culture") of August 4, 1957, at the fact that in the region of Stanyslaviv there are a large number of people who are still influenced by religion and who, by "poisoning" the conscience of many of the Ukrainians, prevent them from becoming active propagators of the principles of Communist society. It is stressed that various adherents of the capitalistic system find their support in this very religion...

An intensified anti-religious campaign is at present being conducted in the district of Stanyslaviv. At the University of Stanyslaviv six-months' training courses for atheist lecturers have been held. Forty-five persons attended these courses. The lecturers of the district were given two booklets attacking the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church: 1) "The Truth about the Catholic Action" and 2) "Whom does the Greek Catholic Church serve?". The chief of the anti-religious propaganda section in this district affirms that gradually less and less marriages are being solemnised in the churches.

The Russian Communists are also conducting this anti-religious propaganda campaign in the region of Drohobych. According to the newspaper "Radyanska Ukrayina" ("Soviet Ukraine") of July 24, 1957, a group of anti-religious propagandists has been organised in Drohobych.

The anti-religious lectures held there deal with such subjects as "Science and religion", "On the origin of mankind", etc.

As can be seen from the above facts, only the Greek Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the religious sects are being persecuted by the Russian Communists. The Russian Orthodox Church is supported by Red Moscow. Russian religion is not persecuted in the Soviet Union,—only those of its forms which do not conform to Red Russian policy. It is interesting to note that not even the sects, as primitive forms of organisation of the religious feelings of the population, are tolerated. These sects are a form of escape for the people from Party pressure; they are the roots of spiritual freedom and, hence, they are the potential enemies of the Red Russian dictatorship.

#### THE SECOND NATION AFTER THE RUSSIANS

The Red Russian rulers are eager to sever the solidarity of the "second nation after the Russians" (Ukrainians) with all the other nations that are subjugated by the same Red Moscow. This is the reason why the Russians try to extol the Ukrainian nation as the second after the Russian nation within the Soviet Union. They want to satisfy the national ambitions of the Ukrainians in this cheap way and, on the other hand, to assist the work of the fifth columns abroad, which is to praise the solidarity of the nations in the U.S.S.R. This is one of the cunning tricks resorted to by the Kremlin rulers, who in this way hope to win over the old Ukrainian emigrants, above all in America, since they have never

experienced Red Russian rule in Ukraine.

In connection with this plan of Soviet propaganda, mention must also be made of the so-called Festival of Youth in Moscow, with its continuation in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, in the form of the 4th Congress of the so-called "World Federation of Democratic Youth",—with, of course, a slight difference, inasmuch as 100,000 participants gathered in Moscow, whereas in Kyiv only 500 young people took part in the "Little Festival" there. The Red Russians were obliged to hold this "Little Festival" for home and foreign policy reasons.

It was necessary for propaganda reasons to welcome the official Syrian delegation in Kyiv on August 2nd. The Syrian guests arrived in Kyiv accompanied by Russian civil and military functionaries. Of course, the Ukrainian "Prime Minister" M. Hrechukha, and the "Foreign Minister", L. Palamarchuk, also welcomed the Syrian guests, but all these ceremonies were arranged at Moscow's orders. Other representatives of military and diplomatic life in Kyiv were also present to welcome the Syrian delegation in Kyiv.

The Russians wanted to convince the Syrian guests that a Ukrainian republic exists in spite of the fact that its existence is questioned by the Ukrainian refugees abroad and by foreign diplomats in all civilised countries of the world.

The same scene was, incidentally, staged by the Russians during the reception of Chinese guests and of the King of Afganistan on July 25th and August 16, 1957.

All these measures were taken by Moscow in order to demonstrate the

theoretical sovereignty of Ukraine to the foreign guests.

#### THE "ACHIEVEMENTS" OF UKRAINE

The newspaper "Komunist Ukrayiny"—"The Communist of Ukraine"—(No. 8, August 1957) published an article by the Ukrainian writer, M. Hrechukha, entitled "The Golden Age of Ukrainian Culture", which was reprinted in almost all republican newspapers. Mr. Hrechukha comments on this development as follows: "Under tsarist rule most of our countrymen could neither read nor write because there were no Ukrainian schools; at present there are about 30,000 schools, 300,000 teachers, 138 high schools, a Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, an Academy of Agricultural-Economic Sciences, numerous rural intellectuals, many writers, musicians and sculptors, 77 theatres, 10,000 cinemas, film studios, television centres (in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Stalino, Odessa and, within a short time, in Lviv too), publishing firms, literature for children, press, etc."

All these data are intended to prove that the Ukrainians are satisfied with the development of their national culture. This "Golden Age" was to be demonstrated by all sorts of books which were to be published by the end of the year, to mark the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the October revolution.

Numerous meetings have been organised, at which young persons had an opportunity to speak to men who took part in the civil war, as well as countless excursions, exhibitions of works by Ukrainian youth, etc. In one Ukrainian museum in Kyiv an exhibition of Ukrainian art was opened on September 14, 1957, to mark the 40th anniversary of the October revolution.

In connection with this Bolshevik propaganda, new slogans referring to the increase of agricultural products (sugar beet, dairy products, etc.) were launched by the Soviet authorities.

In this respect an article by Khrushchov, entitled "For a closer contact of literature and art with the life of the people" and published in the "Communist" (No. 12, August, 1957) and reprinted in all central and republican newspapers, is particularly interesting.

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#### KHRUSHCHOV PRAISES RUSSIAN NATIONALISM

In this article Khrushchov deals not only with literature and art, but also with political and economic problems. We should like to comment only on his political arguments. Khrushchov would like to appear a great Russian patriot and, at the same time, a great protector of Ukraine. Below we quote some of his political arguments:

"Together with the Russians, all socialist peoples of the Soviet Union continue to say 'Our dear little mother Russia'. The heroic Russian working class headed the struggle of the working classes of all nationalities against the odious tsardom, against the bourgeois order of the owners of great estates under the management of the Bolshevik Party, and thus safeguarded the victory of the socialist revolution. Since then, the Russian people have greatly helped other peoples, who were formerly subjugated, to overcome their long economic and cultural backwardness and have helped to elevate them to the level of the Russian people..."

\* \* \*

#### FEAR OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COMMUNISM

"Komunist Ukrayiny"—the official organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine, in July, 1957, published an article by I. Kravtsiv entitled "National Communism—an ideological diversion of imperialism and its agencies in the workers' movement".

After commenting on National Communism in Yugoslavia and Poland and the national trends in the Communist Party of the U.S.A., the author deals with the problem of Ukrainian National Communism. "The Ukrainian people, too, are acquainted with the ideas of National Communism"—so Mr. Kravtsiv affirms. "These ideas were spread by certain groups of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists immediately after the victory of the great October revolution. Enemies of Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists always tried to sever Ukraine from Russia and to isolate the Ukrainians from their great brother,—the Russian people..."

"Even under Soviet rule the Ukrainian nationalists did not abandon their hope of severing Ukraine from Russia. These endeavours on the part of the nationalists were prompted by the false theory of a separate national development of Ukraine and by the argument that the national characteristics of the Ukrainian people differ from those of the Russian people and that Ukraine is more closely related to the bourgeois West than to Russia. Like the National Communists of today, the Ukrainian nationalists urged the Ukrainian people to work for socialism independently of Russia.



"In 1920, the Ukrainian nationalists succeeded in organising the so-called Ukrainian Communist Party (UKP) in Ukraine. This party comprised the remnants of the Ukrainian petty bourgeois parties and, above all, of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Revolutionary Party (USDRP). These Ukapists, like other preachers of National Communism today, tried to revive the old national party organism by colouring it with Communism. The Ukapists tried to prove that only they and not the Communist Party of Ukraine were entitled to represent the workers and farmers of Ukraine. In this way they hoped to split up the proletariat into national groups, to separate Ukraine from Russia and to isolate the workers and the toiling masses of Ukraine from the proletarian movement of Russia and of the whole world. The UKP was a party with a bourgeois nationalist philosophy. Under the camouflage of Communism it tried to continue the old nationalist line."

The "Communist of Ukraine" only mentions the Ukapists as National Communists and overlooks the fact that certain old Ukrainian Communists, such as Skrypnyk (1933) and the servile Liubchenko (1937), were liquidated by the Russian Communists because they opposed the Russian plan to destroy Ukraine. They were replaced by men who were entirely unknown in Ukraine, as for example Korotchenko and Kyrychenko, who have about as much in common with the Ukrainian people as their chief and protector, Khrushchov.

The Bolsheviks are nevertheless afraid of any free expression of thought and movement among the subjugated peoples, or, as Kravtsiv affirms, they fear an endeavour to

"incite the peoples of the Soviet Union against the Russian people" (not against world Communism—translator's note).

"Special plans have been made by the reactionary forces of the world with regard to Ukraine—so Kravtsiv writes—hoping in vain to separate this indivisible part of the Soviet Union... It is an established fact that on January 27, 1957, the U.S. Congress inaugurated a special session of both Houses, which was devoted to the commemoration of the counter-revolutionary rule exercised by the self-appointed rulers of Ukraine of those days, who were nothing but hirelings of foreign imperialists and were driven out of Ukraine forty years ago."

Kravtsiv's arguments are wrong, for Bolshevism was brought to Ukraine forcibly by the Russian soldiers of Muraviov and Antonov. It is perfectly obvious that as soon as the Russian army withdraws from Ukraine and there is no more subjugation in Ukraine, this country will cease to be Communist; there can be no doubt about this fact. In Ukraine the population is as anti-Communist and anti-Russian as the population of Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Zone of Germany. The joint struggle of the Soviet soldiers of Ukrainian origin and the Hungarian freedom-fighters in 1956 proved this fact most clearly. The existence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army for many years after the war and its fight for an independent Ukraine, a fight which is now being continued by the Ukrainian underground movement, is the best proof of the attitude of the Ukrainian people.

PROFESSOR'S GUDZIY'S  
ANNIVERSARY

According to an article published in the "Annals of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" (No. 6), a special ceremony was held in May, 1957, by this Academy to mark the 70th birthday of Mykola Gudziy. Gudziy is a characteristic phenomenon of Ukrainian science and learning; he is outstanding as a man of letters and, in addition, is professor of the University of Moscow and a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. His literary career has, indeed, been remarkable for the simple reason that he was able to spend his life productively, living in obscurity in Moscow, where, under the pretext of engaging in research on old Russian literature, he studied old Ukrainian literature. Whilst living in Moscow he not only succeeded in escaping terrorism, but also gave a valuable and lasting contribution to Ukrainian literature, even though his works were written in Russian.

In this respect Gudziy reminds one of the late Professor Leonid Yasnopolsky (he died at the age of 85), who was a scholar of economic science and lectured at the Kyiv University from 1910 onwards. Professor Yasnopolsky managed to save himself when in 1931, that is before the beginning of the big persecution of Ukrainian culture, he fled from Kyiv to Moscow, where he continued to occupy himself with the study of economics and the history of Ukrainian economy. ("Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences", No. 7).

The Academician Gudziy was honoured in a ceremony of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The ceremony was presided over by the

President of the Academy, O. Pal-ladin, and a lecture on the life and work of Gudziy was delivered by O. Biletsky, a member of the Academy.

Mykola Gudziy was born in 1887 in Mohyliv Podilsky. He studied literature, history, Latin and Greek, and in 1911 successfully completed his studies in the faculty of history and philology at the University of Kyiv. After being assistant to the professor of the chair for the above-named subjects, he became assistant professor at Kyiv University. In 1921 he was summoned to Moscow where he remained until 1945.

His first work was already devoted to ancient Ukrainian literature, as was pointed out by O. Biletsky in his lecture. All his life Gudziy has engaged in research on the culture of Ukraine, and it was for this reason that he was elected a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1945.

In 1933 his "History of ancient Russian literature" was published and later appeared in six subsequent editions and was also translated into a number of foreign languages. This work is not only a manual of Russian literature, which is officially considered as a part of the literature of Ukraine of that time, but also a synthesis of extensive research by scholars on the literature of the ancient Ukrainian literature of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, a post which he held for twenty years. Many young Ukrainian scholars owe their scientific career to Professor Gudziy.

After the lecture by O. Biletsky, cordial messages of congratulation were read from many Ukrainian academic institutes, and M. Rylsky read a poem that was dedicated to Professor Gudziy. Professor Gudziy

received over two hundred telegrams from scientific societies and private persons throughout the whole Soviet Union.

\* \* \*

#### UKRAINE'S MINERAL WEALTH

According to the "Radyanska Ukraina" ("Soviet Ukraine") of July 25, 1957, the Ministerial Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic has issued a decree to the effect that a central department for geology and the preservation of the mineral wealth of Ukraine is to be formed under the administration of P. Nadiezhdin. So far there were about 200 organisations and scientific study groups in Ukraine engaged in geological research and they were part of various departments of the Moscow or other all-Union Ministries. The purpose of this new institution is to liquidate all similar organisations and to regulate research work in the above-mentioned fields. Special trusts will prospect for petroleum, gas, coal, and black and coloured metals as well as other minerals and building material.

New petroleum and gas fields have recently been discovered in the western districts of Ukraine, in the region of Poltava and Kharkiv, in the Black Sea area and in the Crimea. New deposits of coal have also been discovered in Mariinsk and in the Olchyn district of the Stalin region, and ten new pits are to be opened up there.

\* \* \*

An article published in the "Robitnycha Hazeta" ("Workers' Gazette") of August 3, 1957, mentions an enlarged Don Basin, which would extend from Poltava and Kharkiv as far as the Caucasus and the Volga north of Stalingrad.

Although the coal output in the present Don Basin in 1940 was 3.5 times greater than the 1913 output and the 1953 output was 5 times greater, in proportion to the all-Union output it decreased from 87 per cent to 57 per cent in 1940 and to 47 per cent in 1953 of the entire output of the U.S.S.R.

\* \* \*

According to a report by the secretary of the regional committee of Stanislaviv (dated July 30, 1957), the most important oil fields in Galicia at present are located not in the vicinity of Boryslav but in the region of Dolyna, where the petroleum output in 1955 far exceeded that of the Boryslav basin. It is estimated that the petroleum output in the region of Stanislaviv in 1960 will be 22 times greater than that of 1950. This output will be possible as oil experts will prospect for petroleum at a far deeper level under the surface than was hitherto the case. In this respect far more success has already been achieved at Rypno and Bytkiv where the oil fields were considered to have been exhausted.

\* \* \*

According to a statement made by the chief geologist of the Stalin region, V. Omelianovych, it is not likely that the coal deposits in the Don Basin will be exhausted in the near future. So far, only about one-fortieth of the mineral wealth of the Don Basin has been utilised since the deposits in this region were first discovered. But the chances of finding coal at surface and middle depths have now become more unlikely owing to the fact that coal at these depths could so far be raised very easily. For this reason deeper pits (at a depth of about 700 to 1,200 metres) are now needed, a fact which requires



more capital and must inevitably involve technical difficulties.

This is one of the main reasons why attempts are now being made to find more coal deposits in Ukraine where pits could be opened up at slight depths. Geological research under the supervision of P. Stepaniv, an expert in this field, has proved that the approximate area of the enlarged Don Basin extends from the Sea of Azov as far as the town of Romny, that is about 1,300 kilometres.

The western extension of the old Basin—in the direction of Dnipropetrovsk—is very suitable for industrial purposes, since it is possible to open up pits here at surface and middle depths. In fact, it is planned to open up 150 pits, two of which, so it is estimated, will have an annual output of 600,000 tons. In the southern part of the Don Basin a number of pits at middle depths (250 to 400 metres) are to be opened up this year in the vicinity of the village of Nikolsky. Along the northern edge of the old Don Basin 10 new pits are being opened up. The raising of coal is also possible in the district 30 kilometres to the west of Izium in the direction of Kharkiv, since the coal deposits in this area are located at surface depths. The same also applies to the coal deposits in the district of Lysychansk beyond the Donets.

Generally speaking, the coal output can be increased in the regions of Dnipropetrovsk, Voroshylovhrad, Kamensk and Rostov, and still further afield in the direction of Poltava and Stalingrad. But all this output is of little use to the Ukrainian people, because the coal is not intended for the needs of Ukraine.

\* \* \*

In its edition of August 17, 1957, the newspaper "Molod Ukrayiny" ("The Youth of Ukraine") reports that geologists have found deposits of a very valuable ore in the region of Kremenchuk in the province of Poltava. This ore is equal in quality to the ore found in the region of Kryvyi Rih.

\* \* \*

The same newspaper in its edition of July 30, 1957, comments on the increasing output in the coal basin of Lviv and Volhynia, "the younger brother of the Don Basin", comprising the districts of Sokal, Belz, Mezhyrichia, Velyki Mosty, Chervonohrad and the new town of Novovolynsk (the centre of a new coal basin) on the River Buh.

#### OIL PRODUCTION IN UKRAINE

According to the Five-Year plans for Ukraine, 8 million tons of petroleum are to be raised by the end of 1965, instead of the 981,000 tons raised in 1957. In this respect the leading part will be played by the petroleum industry in the area of Stanyslaviv, where the new layers of Dolyna are located.

#### SULPHUR FOUND

According to a report in the "Robitnycha Hazeta" ("Workers' Gazette"), a scientific expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union has discovered rich layers of sulphur at Rozdil, West Ukraine. At present, a sulphur-industry combine is being hurriedly erected there, as well as a large settlement for workers. It is planned to produce sulphuric acid there, which is needed for the armament and chemical industries of the U.S.S.R.

## UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

### METROPOLITAN MAKSYM HERMANIUK IN MUNICH

By a Papal Bull of November 3, 1956, an ecclesiastical province was established for the Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Church in Canada. This province with its four episcopal sees is administered by a Metropolitan who resides in Winnipeg. On the occasion of his traditional Ad-Limina visit to Rome, the first Metropolitan of the newly established ecclesiastical province in Canada, Archbishop Maksym Hermaniuk, also visited Munich on Friday, September 27th. He celebrated pontifical mass according to the rites of the Ukrainian Eastern Church in the Theatinerkirche, which on this occasion was packed to overflowing. In a few brief words the significance of this service, which had attracted so many Ukrainians to the Theatinerkirche, was explained. In order to understand the feelings of those present who so devoutly celebrated the liturgy of their Church in a foreign country, one must recall the historic events of the past decades. In 1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite was forcibly liquidated when the Bolshevik army finally occupied the Ukrainian territories which, up to the year 1939, had been outside the Soviet Union. The then Metropolitan, all the bishops and thousands of priests were arrested and deported to Siberia. In this way the Bolsheviks thought they could destroy a religious faith, which had existed for hundreds of years, for ever. For this reason it was the wish of the Holy See that the structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite should be preserved in the free

world and that this Church should be given every possibility to develop, so that it might form a new foundation in exile for the rebirth of the liquidated Church in Ukraine, when the time is ripe. There was a symbolic connection between this situation and the service which was celebrated in the Theatinerkirche: the Exaltation of the Cross, the invincible Cross, the symbol of peace which triumphs over the dissension of the world. In a foreign tongue but performed by our brothers in Christ, the holy ceremony took place before the high altar. Young Ukrainians dressed in scout's uniform and holding their banners stood in a long line as far as the steps leading up to the communion-rail, surrounded by the many grown-ups who, after the dreadful fate they suffered in their native country, found a new home here in Germany. At the end of the pontifical mass the Archbishop addressed his fellow-countrymen in Ukrainian.

*Munich Catholic Church Gazette*

### THE PROBLEM OF THE UKRAINIAN BROADCASTS OF THE B.B.C.

The Ukrainian broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation have once again been the subject of lively discussions. "The Spectator" initiated a heated discussion on the urgent necessity of reorganising the "Russian transmissions of the B.B.C."

There were two reasons for this discussion. The first arose out of the fact that the British Government allotted the sum of £2 million to the British information and broadcasting service. The second reason was that Professor H. Seton-Watson and Mr. Peter Wiles criticised the

present Russian broadcasts of the B.B.C., and Professor Seton-Watson raised the question of introducing broadcasts in the Ukrainian language.

There are two aspects to this discussion. In the first place, some disputants avoid the problem of the broadcasts to Ukraine by pointing out various faults of the Russian transmissions of the B.B.C., such as "anti-Americanism" or "uninteresting material", as, for instance, the reviewing of the book by Grimble dealing with the islands in the Pacific Ocean, etc. "The Spectator" has published a number of letters and various remarks by the Editor, in which the discussion is concentrated on such problems as "a very inadequate criticism of conditions in the Soviet Union", "excessive caution", etc., without any mention being made of the necessity of the Ukrainian transmissions.

But there are in this discussion, on the other hand, also supporters of the Ukrainian and other non-Russian transmissions of the B.B.C., though they are not very numerous.

"The Spectator" of August 12, 1957, published a reply by Mr. A. Earley, the head of the European section of the B.B.C., to Professor Seton-Watson with reference to the Ukrainian transmissions. Mr. Earley affirms that the Ukrainians and other non-Russian transmissions do not fall within the competence of the B.B.C. but of the British Government. We should like to stress in this connection that it is the Foreign Office, to which all petitions concerning the introduction of Ukrainian transmissions in the B.B.C. have been submitted, that has so far not shown due understanding. The arguments of the Foreign Office are always the same, —namely, we do not wish to provoke

the Russians who are the ruling nation of the Soviet Union, or, the Ukrainians understand Russian very well, etc.

These arguments on the part of the Foreign Office are very lame indeed. We do not wish to continue polemics on this matter with the competent factors of the Foreign Office. We only wish to stress a few points which indicate the necessity of introducing Ukrainian transmissions in the B.B.C. Recent events behind the Iron Curtain (for example, in Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Zone of Germany, and the uprisings in Ukraine and the fraternisation of Soviet soldiers of Ukrainian descent with the Hungarian freedom-fighters during the revolution in Hungary) show that the national question in these countries under Soviet Russian domination is extremely important and that the attention of the West should, therefore, be drawn to this fact.

None of the slogans in the Soviet press regarding the return to the "sound national policy of Lenin", "the friendship of peoples", etc., can deny the fact that there are at present in the Soviet Union two moving forces which will be of decisive importance for the further development both of Soviet and of international policy. On the one hand, there is the traditional Russian imperialism supported by the Russian people; on the other hand, however, there are many non-Russian peoples subjugated by Russia who will establish their national independence after the downfall of the Soviet Russian empire. These two forces are constantly waging war against each other. And Russia today is under the pressure of the non-Russian peoples, or, in other words, of



the national problem, to a much greater extent than was ever the case in former times.

For this reason the West should consolidate the position of Ukraine and the other non-Russian peoples in their struggle against Moscow. Support of this kind would cause the resistance of the peoples of the Soviet Union to grow considerably in strength. It would indirectly lead to an evolution and possibly to a revolution and the final disintegration of the Russian Communist imperium. In this way there would be no necessity for a war of the West against Russia, since such a war would be eliminated *eo ipso*. In this respect the Ukrainian transmissions of the B.B.C. are of tremendous value for the Western world.

At present, Ukraine is the centre of the anti-Russian, anti-imperialist and anti-aggressive forces, which number over one hundred million in the Soviet Union alone. In view of the fact that there are less than one hundred million Russians in the Soviet Union, it is evident that less than half of the total population of the U.S.S.R. supports the Communist regime, whilst a further percentage of the population would like to be allies of the Western powers. For this reason it is absurd on the part of the West to support its enemies and to throw its would-be allies into the same pot together with the Russians.

The information and news received in the West on the Hungarian revolution clearly show that the Hungarian freedom-fighters were supported only by the Soviet soldiers of non-Russian origin. The fact that the Hungarian broadcasting station at Miskolcz was seized by Hungarians and Ukrainians, the fraternisation of Soviet soldiers of

Ukrainian origin with the Hungarian freedom-fighters in Budapest, and the liberation of Hungarians from the prisons in Kyiv by Ukrainian students, corroborate our statements in this respect. Even the most progressive Russian elements advocate the preservation of the present Russian regime in the Soviet Union. That is why a conflict with these elements is inevitable in the near future. And not only the subjugated nations but also the West should bear this fact in mind.

The argument that "the Ukrainians understand Russian" cannot refute our statement, since we must, in this connection, also consider the political aspect of the matter, too. The choice of language would appear to indicate the erroneous comprehension and attitude of British policy towards the Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain and in exile. We should like to point out that the Ukrainians inhabiting the West Ukrainian territories were never under Russian rule. Hence, millions of Ukrainians have never learned the Russian language. And, in addition, the Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet Army whose parents lived in pre-war Ukraine under Russian rule do not read Russian books and publications because they do not understand Russian, as indeed we are informed in the Soviet newspapers (for instance, "The Literary Gazette" of July 16, 1957, and other Soviet press organs). The psychological aspect of the transmissions of the B.B.C. must likewise be considered. How could the Ukrainian people sympathise with a country whose broadcasting station relays programmes in the language of their enemy and oppressor? Thus, the problem of the Ukrainian broadcasts of the B.B.C. is a highly political problem, too.



*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



**II**

**LONDON  
1958**



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All communications regarding the above-mentioned books should be addressed to:

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## **THE MEMORY OF EUGENE KONOVALETS LIVES ON**

**Stepan Bandera's Speech at the Grave of the Murdered Ukrainian  
Champion of Freedom and Independence, on May 25, 1958, in  
Rotterdam**

As a rule, twenty years are not a long time in the life of nations. But this span of twenty years between today and the tragic May of 1938 is different. These twenty years cannot be measured according to the usual standards. They are filled with events of historical significance which may take up decades of other epochs. This era will go down in the history of the world as one of the most important eras,—as the era of results, developments and conclusions from World War II; whilst in the history of the Ukrainian people and of Ukraine itself this span of time has brought such significant events and processes with such far-reaching changes and tragic upheavals that these twenty years would suffice for the fate of several generations. This straight line of continuity and the momentous tenor of this relatively short period form a kind of prism, through which we can regard events and persons in perspective, not in their relation to present time, but in their relation to history. Many matters and problems which, twenty years ago, occupied the attention of the peoples, nowadays seem small and insignificant. And how many persons who, in those days, played a leading part in public opinion, have meanwhile been forgotten?! For this time perspective, which abounds in important events and changes, not only reduces the pictures in size and to one and the same level, but also reveals and shows persons and problems, which have gained a lasting significance and influence in the life of the people, in the right proportion.

We stand today at the grave of a great man,—Colonel *Eugene Konovalets*. Twenty years have passed since the life of this man one of the greatest sons of Ukraine, was extinguished here in this foreign country, far away from his native Ukraine. But all the events which, in rapid succession, brought turmoil to Ukraine and did not leave this placid country of Holland untouched, either could not bury the memory of Eugene Konovalets in the dust of oblivion. On the contrary, they have intensified this memory and have eradicated all the unimportant factors, so that the figure of Konovalets now stands out even more strongly against the background of our epoch.

If we ask ourselves why it is that time has not been able to dim the memory of this man, we come to the conclusion that the reason lies in the greatness and the significance of Colonel Konovalets' life-work, which culminated in his heroic death.

Eugene Konovalets, Commander of the *Sitchovi Striltsi* Corps, is one of the illustrious figures during the period of the restoration and armed defence of the Ukrainian State in the years 1917/20. After the destruction of the Ukrainian State and the occupation of the Ukrainian territories by a foreign military power, he became the founder, organiser and leader of the nationalist liberation movement, which, to begin with, was founded as the Ukrainian Military Organisation, the UVO, and, in the course of time, developed into the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the OUN, which today continues to carry on the national liberation fight for the state independence of Ukraine by revolutionary methods. Colonel Konovalets' entire life was one of self-sacrifice and of fighting untiringly for freedom of his fellow-countrymen, for the realisation on Ukrainian soil and in the Ukrainian State of Christian principles and human and national ideals,—a fight for freedom, truth and justice. The immortality of the noble aim which inspired Colonel Konovalets has made his memory invincible and eternal, for he did so much for the achievement and victory of this aim.

The Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists and, indeed, the entire national liberation movement have, in the fight against Bolshevik Moscow and other occupants of Ukraine, put up an unshaken resistance and have been able to strengthen and spread their influence amongst the whole Ukrainian people because they have loyally followed Konovalets. He has taught us how to serve

a noble idea with one's whole life. The Ukrainian people, by serving his ideals,—ideals which conform to God's Divine Laws, and by opposing everything that is contradictory to these ideals and every idea that is disseminated by the enemy, in particular atheistic Bolshevism, are bound to carry on their fight under all and not only under favourable conditions. The fight for freedom and truth, for God and one's native country, must be the main purpose of the life of a subjugated people and not merely the means and ways to a better life in the future, when there are prospects of this aim being achieved in the not too far off future. On account of its geopolitical position, Ukraine can only gain and preserve its independence by relying on its own forces and on its own fight. In addition, it will also fulfil a mission of the greatest significance as far as other peoples, too, are concerned, by realising and defending the universal watchword: "Freedom for Nations—Freedom for Individuals!"

Bolshevist Moscow was right in affirming that Colonel Konovalets could not be replaced. By murdering the leader of the Ukrainian liberation fight, the enemy thought he would not only be depriving this movement of its leader, but would also be able to annihilate it completely. But the Bolsheviks did not succeed in wiping out the big Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and putting an end to the struggle,—not even by murdering the leader of this Organisation. The fountain-head of its existence and its fight lies in the whole nation. And it is from the people that it derives its constant regeneration and the reinforcement of the national liberation struggle in its active elements. And it is to the inspiration of our leader, above all, that we owe the fact that the OUN even after his death did not swerve from its course, but continued to preserve its independent fighting spirit in the important and difficult moments of its activity. As the leader of the revolutionary fight against the occupants of the Ukrainian countries, in particular against Bolshevist Moscow, Colonel Konovalets was exposed to a hostile campaign of destruction just as much as are the fighters of the underground movement, and he always took this fact into account in his activity. Fearless and intrepid himself, he was always concerned about the fate of the whole movement, should he die, and for this reason he always tried as far as possible to instil his ideas, conceptions and guiding principles of liberation fight into all the cadres of the entire



organisation. It is difficult to foresee the future development of world events and the further development and circumstances of the liberation fight, and for this reason it is also extremely difficult to work out an exact and concrete plan for a long time in advance. But what he could possibly do in this respect, Colonel Konovalets did, in order to prepare the OUN for the right action and for a fight under a variety of conditions.

When in 1941 a war broke out between two totalitarian forms of imperialism on Ukrainian soil and for the possession of this territory, the OUN, bearing in mind the decision reached by Eugene Konovalets during the events of the years 1917 to 1919, took the initiative as regards the active appearance of the Ukrainian nation on the historical stage. The proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian State in June, 1941, and the setting up of an independent state life was proof of the fact that the Ukrainian people in no situation whatever were willing to renounce their rights in their own country, and showed, furthermore, that the only basis for a friendship with Ukraine was the recognition of these sovereign rights by other peoples and states. When Hitlerism clearly revealed its plans and colonial methods with regard to Ukraine, the OUN, regardless of the tragic situation of a two-front war, adopted a more extensive military plan of action by organising a Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The large-scale military and political fight against the Hitlerite annihilation of Ukraine and against a new Bolshevik occupation, which was conducted by the OUN and the UPA during the war, represents the highest culmination of the Ukrainian fight for freedom since the years 1917 to 1920. It is to the leader of the nationalist movement, Colonel Konovalets, that we owe the organisation, the political basis and the guiding principles of this fight.

Extremely unfavourable circumstances in the field of international politics made it impossible to carry out universal national insurrections against Bolshevism and to achieve the state independence of Ukraine. The international situation enabled Moscow to use armies mobilised during the war in order to crush the fight for freedom of Ukraine and of the other peoples subjugated by Bolshevism. But the OUN and the UPA refused to give up the fight and, in carrying it on, followed the example set by Colonel Konovalets. Just as he and other champions of the fight for freedom, under the leadership



*EUGENE KONOVALETS*

14. 6. 1891—23. 5. 1938.





of the Commander-in-Chief Simon Petlura, undertook to conduct the fight with revolutionary underground methods after Ukraine had been occupied by foreign occupants, so, too, the OUN and UPA, under the leadership of Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, now went over from insurrection tactics to underground tactics.

The fight for freedom continues. And its invincibility is the surest guarantee for a future victory. The entire Ukrainian nation is now inspired by the idea of an independent Ukraine and of the systematic fight against godless and insidious Bolshevism. The nationalist movement has become a universal liberation movement supported by the whole nation. The more its ideas have become rooted in the hearts of the people, the more powerful has the memory of its great founder and leader, Eugene Konovalets, become. All attempts on the part of the Bolsheviks to obliterate the memory of his great personality from the soul of the people have proved in vain, just as the enemy will never succeed in destroying the Ukrainian people's faith in God and in other national values.

As in former times, we can still affirm today that the enemy of God, of Ukraine and of all peace-loving mankind has not succeeded in exterminating the Ukrainian liberation movement by murdering its leader. At the same time, however, we are aware of the fact that we have suffered an irreparable loss, which we have not been able to forget during the twenty years that have elapsed since the murder of Colonel Konovalets. The development and the fight of the OUN would have proceeded on a far larger scale, had Colonel Konovalets continued to lead it. The enemy's bomb ended his activity in the fight for freedom on the eve of the period in which the liberation movement needed him and his experience, as an irreplaceable political and military leader, most. His heroic death as a fighter on the highest and most important post has intensified the influence and strength of the nationalist idea, the faith and the intrepid determination of the Ukrainian nationalists still more. But for us his loss remains irreparable. As we stand at the grave of this champion of freedom, who in our common fight was the foremost, the greatest and the only leader, our hearts are filled with the same overwhelming sorrow as they were twenty years ago, when the news of his death reached us. The time which has elapsed since this tragic event and which has brought so many great, heroic and tragic events with it, cannot allay this sorrow. But even in our

sorrow we do not despair, for we are fortified by our faith, the inexhaustible source of strength of our soul, our Christian faith in God, His justice and His never-failing mercy. Our faith in the immortality of the soul gives us the assurance that our unforgettable leader is now partaking of a new and higher life which cannot be destroyed. And it is from this same faith that we derive the firm belief in a never-ending contact with him and the other fighters for freedom in our future fight.

On the twentieth anniversary of the death of Eugene Konovalets hundreds of sons and daughters of Ukraine have travelled to the place where he was murdered, in order to place wreath on the grave of this great Ukrainian patriot, fighter and leader, and to pay homage to his memory. Those who have visited his grave on this occasion are, as it were, a delegation of the whole nation which continues to revere the memory of its great son. Our prayers and our wreaths are an expression of the sincere feelings of all the loyal sons and daughters of Ukraine and, in particular, of all the active fighters for this idea, for which Eugene Konovalets lived and laid down his life. Although only a small proportion of the Ukrainian patriots has been able to observe the twentieth anniversary of Eugene Konovalets' death together, and many Ukrainians do not know the exact date of his death, they all pay homage to his memory most clearly and sincerely by loyally adhering to his ideas. And we shall all of us honour his memory in the greatest way, if to our prayers for the eternal peace of his soul, we add our vow to follow his example, to work for Ukraine all our lives and to fight for its freedom until we die. May the victory of this noble idea and of freedom immortalise the memory and the fame of the great freedom fighter, Eugene Konovalets!

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Mykola Zerov

### ***Kyiv in May***

The enamel of the Dnieper blinding blue,  
Flowers in the avenues, the yellow clay,  
And flooded by the sun's transparent ray  
Green meadows stretch away like wide-flung pools.

Never so thirstily have I drunk down  
The beauty of the garments of the spring:  
Dark-sided shoals where sandy waters cling,  
The grasses' emeralds, the willows' brown.

Through bricks and paving-stones, the green blood breathes  
Of earthy plants, here the black-maple's leaves  
Hang red and bleeding in the lantern-light.

And out beyond the walls, among stone hedges,  
The dark round clumps of apple trees are bright  
—Living bouquets, with flowers round their edges.

Translated by VERA RICH



A. Mykulyn

## **The Russian Terrorist Regime and the Artificial Famine in Ukraine (1932-33)**

In his "Manual of Russian History", published in Buenos Aires in 1945, the Russian scholar, S. Platonov, writes as follows: "...The inhabitants of Novgorod frequently organised insurrections against the princes of Suzdal; in 1170 they defeated the armies of Prince Andrey Boholubsky so completely that, for a time at least, the Prince had some doubts about annexing the territories of Novgorod by force and incorporating them in the Principality of Suzdal. But, in addition to his army, the Prince had other means at his disposal which enabled him to defeat the inhabitants of Novgorod. He closed the frontiers of the Principality of Novgorod and in this way prevented the merchants of Novgorod from importing food from the Volga territories. In view of the possibility of a famine, the inhabitants of Novgorod in their desperation were obliged to surrender to Andrey Boholubsky" (p. 63). On pp. 106-107 of the above-mentioned work almost identical facts are recounted with reference to the annexation of the regions of Pskov and Riazan and their incorporation in the Principality of Suzdal: "Prince Basil III—so Platonov writes—besieged the frontiers of the territory of Pskov with his armies and forbade his soldiers, under penalty of death, to supply the inhabitants of Pskov with food... A terrible famine ensued in Pskov and the country was ravaged by disease (pestilence, Siberian fever, cholera, etc.), until in the end the inhabitants were compelled to surrender to Basil III... The Prince then abolished the Veche (general Assembly of Pskov) and deported 2,000 persons from Pskov to the regions of Moscow, while Pskov itself was inundated by Muscovites... The inhabitants of Pskov wept bitterly for the loss of their freedom, because 'they had not found justice in Moscow'... This Muscovite Prince also

treated the inhabitants of the Principality of Riazan in the same way; the starving and the sick were deported by the hundreds to the regions of Moscow."

It is evident from the above statements by S. Platonov, which are based on Russian historical sources, that the organisation of artificial famines by Moscow for the purpose of realising the Muscovite imperialistic plans dates back to the days when the Muscovite state was in its first embryonic stage. Famine as a means of conquering other peoples was already resorted to by the Muscovite princes in the 12th century. This method of subjugating other peoples has been practised by Moscow through the ages, right up to recent times.

According to Ukrainian and Russian historical sources, the Russian Tsars on numerous occasions resorted to this method in the case of Ukraine and other peoples subjugated by them. A famine caused in Ukraine by Moscow is for instance mentioned in the correspondence between the Russian Ministers Volynski and Biron in 1737: "Till my journey to Ukraine—so Volynski writes to Biron—I had no idea that Ukraine has been devastated to such an extent and that so *many of the native population have died of starvation*. Owing to the fact that so many people have been forced to join the Russian army, there are not enough farmers left to till the land. Although Moscow ascribes this failure to till the land to the stubbornness of the Ukrainians, we cannot but admit that there are no proper implements available and no enough farmers; *many people have died of starvation, others* have been obliged to wage war as ordered by Moscow, and all the cattle have been removed from Ukraine..."

In 1762, Ukrainian officers wrote to the Tsarina Catherine II as follows: "During the recent Turkish war, Ukraine—although she had to face many difficulties as a result of the events of the war which lasted several years—was obliged to provide billets for the Russian soldiers and to supply them with food and forage; what is more, horses and oxen were taken from the inhabitants by force and people of every class were abducted. In addition, food, forage and all the other things that are needed for waging war have been demanded from the population; no wonder that all the Ukrainians and, above all, the Cossacks, are suffering the most terrible hardships and need and *are dying of starvation by the hundreds...* In spite of this, the Russian army command has ordered them to

pay an additional 140 thousand karbovantsi (roubles) in gold a year and also to hand over 40,000 hundredweights of flour" (from the official records of the Hetman governmental office in Ukraine).

The question presents itself as to what was the reason for a famine in Ukraine in the 17th and 18th centuries. Was Ukraine—the granary of Europe—in those days not in a position to provide sufficient food for her population, or was the cause of the famine the special policy pursued by the Russian occupation authorities in Ukraine?

In order to find an answer to this question, we should again like to refer to the semi-official sources of the above-mentioned "Manual of Russian History" by S. Platonov. On page 190 he writes as follows: "When in the General Council of Pereyaslav in 1654 an alliance was concluded on equal terms between Ukraine and Muscovy, the Muscovite Government interpreted this treaty to mean that the Ukrainians voluntarily became the subjects of the Muscovite (Russian) Tsar. Accordingly, Moscow sent Muscovite armies to Ukraine (especially to Kyiv); voivodes and administrators were appointed, and the Muscovites constantly tried to subject the Ukrainian Church to the Patriarchate of Moscow. . . . But all these Muscovite measures in Ukraine encountered fierce and stubborn opposition on the part of the Ukrainian population. The Ukrainian Cossack hierarchy (the Hetman, his administrators, colonels, captains, etc.) as well as the lower-ranking Cossacks and the Ukrainian population as a whole regarded Ukraine as an entirely independent state. Since they were aware of the aims of the Muscovite policy in Ukraine, they opposed this policy and wished to declare the Treaty of Pereyaslav null and void. Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, in particular, tried to accelerate this declaration. He waged war against Moscow and inflicted such a heavy defeat on the Muscovite armies near Konotop in 1659 that the Tsar, in alarm, prepared to leave Moscow. But later on, however, the Muscovite forces succeeded in invading Ukraine, where they pillaged the whole country, robbed the inhabitants of their food, property and cattle, etc., and deported the Ukrainian population to Muscovy". . . . Thus, according to Russian historical sources, the famines in Ukraine in the 17th and 18th centuries were in no way caused by a shortage of food or other commodities, but were due solely to the policy pursued by the Russian occupation authorities in order to break the opposition of Ukraine to Russian enslavement. According to entries in



the governmental records of the Hetman's office in Ukraine and in Tsarist records, artificial famines were organised in Ukraine during the reigns of Peter I, Anna, Catherine II, Paul I and other Russian Tsars. It is interesting to note that a similar Russian policy was practised with regards to Georgia in 1800 and 1826 because of the resistance put up by the Georgians at that time against the Russian subjugation of the Caucasus. Platonov also comments on this fact on page 314 of his "Manual of Russian History". By that time, Ukraine had already been entirely subjugated; the Russian armies had occupied all the Ukrainian towns and now administered Ukraine as they liked.

The colonial exploitation of Ukraine by Russia in the second half of the 19th century was more evident than ever. The ultimate aim of Russian economic policy was to bind Ukraine to Moscow permanently, since Ukraine was an important agricultural region of the Russian empire which would provide Russia's industry with raw materials and would serve as a market outlet for the sale of Russian products. Ukraine was likewise exploited as regards the financial side, too. Before the first World War, Ukraine was obliged to hand over to Russia about 30 per cent of all state revenues, a figure which was in no way in proportion to the state expenses allotted to Ukraine. The Ukrainian population had to pay all the occupation costs of Muscovy-Russia in Ukraine. The outbreak of the first World War in 1914 gave the Russian government an opportunity to resort to unheard-of measures of reprisal against the Ukrainian national movement. The entire Ukrainian press was prohibited, and Ukrainian intellectuals were imprisoned and deported. The measures resorted to by the Russian occupation authorities in the case of the Ukrainian population of the West Ukrainian regions that belonged to Austria-Hungary and were temporarily occupied by the Russian armies, were particularly violent: the extermination of Ukrainian cultural life in every sphere, mass arrests and imprisonment of the Ukrainian population. But in spite of all these reprisals, the resistance of the Ukrainian people against the Russian intruders was steadily increasing. Numerous agrarian revolts and strikes by workers were organised in Ukraine at that time, and this state of affairs continued until the outbreak of the Russian revolution in February, 1917. The February revolution rapidly spread to the whole of Ukraine. In the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, a Ukrainian parliament—the Tsentralna Rada (Cen-

tral Council) was formed immediately after the outbreak of the revolution. In its Fourth Universal Manifesto of January 22, 1918, the Tsentralna Rada proclaimed the complete national independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian State.

Ukraine continued to wage war against Moscow until 1921. Together with the Russian Bolshevik armies, Russian "White" (reactionary) armies also fought against Ukraine. Both Tsarist Russia and Red Russia were unwilling to tolerate the existence of an independent Ukrainian state. In his order issued to the Red Russian armies to advance from Petrograd to Ukraine, Lenin literally said: "Your victory over the yellow-blue (Ukrainian national colours—translator's note!) vagabonds means bread for our wives and children. You must obtain bread for Russia in Ukraine with your bayonets." Under the pressure of the superior numbers of the Russian armed forces, the Ukrainian army was obliged to leave Ukraine and go into exile. The Russian Bolsheviks in Moscow thereupon proclaimed the independence of a Ukrainian Soviet Republic on March 4, 1918, and in the spring of 1919, the 3rd Congress of the Soviets proclaimed the founding of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Despite the fact that the Ukrainian army had left Ukraine, the Ukrainian people continued their grim struggle for the national independence of their country. Up to the end of 1924, secret Ukrainian insurgent groups existed throughout Ukraine. On numerous occasions revolts on the part of the farmers took place, whilst in many towns and villages the Russian Communist administration was overthrown. Since he was well aware of the fact that Ukraine would not willingly accept the Red Russian occupation, Zinovyev made the following statement at the 5th so-called Pan-Ukrainian Conference of the Communist Party of Ukraine on November 17, 1920: "You must avoid all measures that might lead to the conviction on the part of the Ukrainian farmer that he is not allowed to speak Ukrainian" (Bulletin of the 5th Pan-Ukrainian Conference, Kharkiv, 1920).

By means of such a deceitful national policy, Moscow thus tried to mislead the people of Ukraine. In addition, the Russian Communist government (apart from exerting military pressure) decided to resort to the notorious Russian method of causing a wide-spread famine in Ukraine. And it was for this reason that Moscow made use of the unfavourable weather which prevailed in Ukraine in

1921-23. In the summer of 1921 a terrible drought occurred in South Ukraine, in the regions of Ukraine on the left bank of the Dniipro and in the Volga areas of the Russian Soviet Republic. The harvest was extremely poor, and the farmers, who, in spite of this fact, had to supply Moscow with agricultural products, were obliged to use up their reserve supplies of the year before. Towards the end of 1921, a dreadful famine began to rage in Ukraine and in the Volga areas. The Russian occupation authorities, however, were not in the least concerned about the famine in Ukraine; they only drew the attention of the rest of the world to the danger of a famine in the Volga regions. Thus, Western Europe and America only knew of the famine in the Volga regions, but not of the equally serious famine in Ukraine. Numerous West European political, charitable and religious organisations collected and sent gifts for the starving people of the Volga areas, whilst the U.S.A. promptly organised a permanent relief fund for these distressed areas, and the League of Nations entrusted its High Commissioner, Fridtjof Nansen, with the task of assisting the population of these regions. It is interesting to note that Moscow although it was well aware of the famine in Ukraine—nevertheless “assigned” each starving Volga province to a certain Ukrainian province that was to help the former with food and other products. The province of Odessa, for instance, was obliged to help the province of Tsaritsyn (now Stalingrad), the province of Zaporizhzhia the area of Samara, etc. Whereas the starving population of the Volga areas—on the strength of a special decree issued by the Council of the People’s Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.)—was exempted from all obligation to fulfil delivery quotas in the summer of 1921, Ukraine, on the other hand, was compelled to deliver the greatest possible quantity of agricultural products. Special detachments of the Red Army robbed Ukraine of the “voluntary gifts”, consisting of cereals, clothes and other products, which were destined for the starving population of the Volga regions. The Russian Bolshevik press, as usual, distorted the truth by affirming that many Ukrainian provinces, especially those of Kyiv and Kherson, “with great enthusiasm hand over the rest of their agricultural products to their starving brothers in the Volga regions (“Kommunist”, December 12, 1921).

At the same time, when the Ukrainian provinces of Kyiv and Kherson were being forced by the Russians to supply cereals for



the Volga areas and the Russian Soviet Republic, the newspaper "Visti" (published in Kharkiv) of December 21, 1921, wrote as follows: "...The provincial commission stated that in three districts alone of the Mykolayiv area there were as many as 400,000 starving Ukrainians; the entire province of Mykolayiv needs at least 96,000 tons of cereals in order to save the population till the new crops can be harvested." The newspaper "Communist" of December 23, 1921, published the following statement: "Mykolayiv, December 20. In the region of Mykolayiv 22.4 thousand tons of cereals have been set aside to meet the delivery quotas. 72 thousand tons are thus still lacking. The special commission will not make any more attempts to convince the population that the lacking quantities must be supplied; it *will force* the population to hand over the quantity fixed as the delivery quota." Hence, though the inhabitants of the province of Mykolayiv needed at least 96,000 tons of cereals to save them from dying of starvation, the special commission, instead of helping them, deprived them of 94.4 thousand tons. It is hardly necessary to ask oneself where the population was likely to find cereals to deliver to the state authorities, when it was starving and dying of hunger. And, indeed, Moscow was not in the least interested in this aspect of the question. All it did, was to resort to "decisive measures". And these measures were extremely drastic. The newspaper "Kommunist" of December 22, 1921 (Kharkiv), for instance, published the following report: "Yelisavetgrad, December 19. In order to force the population that fails to deliver agricultural products to fulfil its quota in this respect, two public sessions of the revolutionary tribunal have been held, at which persons guilty of failure to deliver such products were sentenced to death and their property confiscated... 12 groups of the revolutionary tribunal will see to it that the delivery of agricultural products is carried out." In the coastal regions of the Sea of Azov and of the Black Sea, in the districts of Zaporizhzhia, Dnepropetrovsk, Yelisavetgrad, Kherson and Mykolayiv and in the Don Basin the situation, as regards grain supplies, was already desperate in December 1921 and January 1922. The people were dying of starvation, but Moscow did nothing whatever to help Ukraine. On the contrary, it ruthlessly continued to demand the delivery of cereals. The Leningrad "Pravda" of December 9, 1921, was lying when it affirmed that the government had only just learnt of the famine in Ukraine: "A special commission that visited Ukraine states that

there is a terrible famine there. The roads in the regions that are starving, including Odessa, are strewn with the carcasses of horses." The extent of the famine in Ukraine can be seen from some of the statements made by the Russian Bolshevik press during the years from 1921 to 1923: "The country is dying. In order to save it, we have appealed to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee... The population has no means of escaping the danger of death,—horses are being consumed as food. The people are leaving their homes and property and fleeing to other districts"... "The only hope is assistance from the state—from the central authorities. If the latter do not help immediately, hitherto unheard-of events will occur. The children have no shoes and are starving; in vain they beg for alms, but nobody gives them anything. The schools have been closed down, because the children are too weak and exhausted to attend." ... This statement was signed by the chairman and secretary of the Relief Committee of the district of Mariupol (Bulletin of the Central Committee for Relief for Famine-stricken Areas, All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, Nos. 5-6, Kharkiv, 1922).

In January, 1922, Kalinin toured Ukraine, and, in the lectures which he held before the members of the Party organisations, reproached Ukraine with having failed to do her duty with regard to the famine-stricken Volga areas; he urged that the relief supplies of cereals for the "brothers" of the Volga region should be increased. At the same time, Manuisky made the following statement at the 4th All-Ukrainian Conference of Soviets in Kharkiv: "We are obliged to admit that words fail us to describe the full extent of the devastation caused to Ukrainian agriculture by the famine. Is there a way out of this difficulty? Can we find any remedy to save our agriculture?" This was the question that Manuisky put to the delegates present at the Conference,—a question put by a representative of the Red Russian government in Ukraine. Manuisky knew quite well that Moscow, after having camouflaged its hunger policy by the drought in Ukraine in 1921-23, had organised an artificial famine in Ukraine.

"Is there a way out of this difficulty?" This question was ridiculous. Thanks to the various measures of the Russian Bolshevik government to help the Russian people and to the extensive relief measures of the Western world, the famine in the purely Russian areas, from Viatka to Orenburg, was eventually checked. Huge

quantities of cereals and other foodstuffs, clothes and medical supplies were continuously sent to the Volga areas. In the autumn of 1921, the land in these areas was tilled. The paper "Izvestya" of December 7, 1921, reported that about 17 per cent less land than usual had been sown, but added that in spite of this fact it was to be hoped that by the following spring the land could once more be tilled normally. Thus, in the Volga regions a way out of the difficulty was found. But what about Ukraine? It was not until January, 1922, that the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. was allowed (by Moscow, of course) to sign an agreement with the representative of the ARA (American Relief Administration), Mr. Chaskel, regarding the question of partial relief for famine-stricken Ukraine. The extent of this partial relief was naturally to be determined by Moscow.

In 1922 the harvest in Ukraine was very poor, owing to the fact that over 68 per cent of the land could not be tilled because there were no seeds to be had. In addition, the land that had been tilled and sown did not produce crops as a result of drought. Indeed, vast tracts of land resembled deserts. The streets of the villages and towns were strewn with the corpses of people who had died of starvation. Thirty volosti (sub-districts) in the region of Melitopol were famine-stricken; in the region of Hulay-Pole about 75 per cent of the population had no food whatever; in the Don Basin as many as 500,000 persons died of starvation. The following districts in Ukraine were swept by famine: Zaporizhzhya, Kyiv, Kherson, Poltava, Dnipropetrovsk, the Don Basin, Yelisavetgrad, Kharkiv and various other regions.

On January 30, 1922, the following urgent telegram was sent from Bahmut to Kharkiv: "...the famine is raging in the districts of Mariupol, Hryshyno and Tahanrih... the farmers in desperation are digging graves for themselves and their children with their own hands. So far, the central authorities (Moscow) have sent no help whatever in the form of cereals. We are awaiting your respective measures and orders" (Official Bulletin of Kharkiv for January, 1922). A member of the Relief Committee of the League of Nations, after having travelled through Ukraine, reported to Geneva in 1922 as follows: "The cornfields between Poltava and Odessa, formerly the richest in Ukraine, are untilled. Everywhere there are to be seen deserted houses without roofs because the straw was eaten up by the inhabitants. Areas covering hundreds of kilometers are



not tilled. I have seen neither cattle nor people." In spite of this terrible situation, Moscow issued orders that countless trainfuls of Russians were to be sent from the Volga areas to Ukraine. These Russians then robbed the Ukrainians of their homes, grain and clothes. Mention must be made of the fact that the Ukrainian people were forced to fulfill the fixed delivery quotas for agricultural products as ordered by Moscow. According to a report published in the newspaper "Byednota", Ukraine was in this way robbed of 1,520,000 tons of grain in one year alone.

Why did Moscow, after proclaiming the "independence" of the Ukrainian S.S.R., resort to such a terrible method of annihilating it,—namely, famine? Why did Moscow permit such an organisation as the "ARA" to help a few Ukrainian districts only? Why did Moscow conceal from the Western world the fact that the greater part of the Ukrainian population died as a result of the famine?

Having conquered Ukraine with the help of the Red Russian Army and the so-called "White" Russian armies, too, Moscow decided to break Ukrainian national revolutionary resistance by terrorism, plundering, destruction of Ukrainian culture and by ruthless Russification. The continued resistance of Ukraine—after the Russian occupation in 1920—is confirmed by the official documents of the Russian occupation authorities at that time. In April, 1922, the newspaper "Visti" reported the following incident: "A few days ago, a gang of Ukrainian bandit-rebels raided the Executive Committee of Tereshcha... The insurgents killed 140 Communists." On March 6, 1922, the same newspaper had already reported that "the Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee recommended that the secret political police, the GPU, should organise military revolutionary tribunals in Ukraine, the task of which should consist in sentencing to death all Ukrainian insurgents." According to another report in the same newspaper, all the members of the Commission of Zhytomir, which had been ordered to set up Party organisations in the villages of Volhynia, were found dead on the road from Kyiv to Zhytomir. A big anti-Russian insurrection also flared up in the districts of Tyraspil, during which the farmers destroyed railways, bridges and goods trains. The All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee approved, on the same day, the sentence passed by the governmental revolutionary tribunal of Volhynia on the "Volhynian Insurgent Army", namely that 64 persons were to be shot. These insurgents were

then executed in Vynnytsia. In Zhytomir 53 persons were shot because they were "suspected" of having collaborated with the Volhynian insurgent army. In the spring of 1923, the newspaper "Visti" reported as follows: "We are informed that another big counter-revolutionary insurrection has broken out in Ukraine. In the regions of Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnipro, martial law has been proclaimed; strong military units equipped with every type of arms have been sent out to deal with the rebels."

The newspaper "Communist" in the summer of 1922 contained the following report: "Raids and assaults by Ukrainian insurgents are once again increasing. Even in the city of Kharkiv these gangs of bandits are very active; what is more, they are often aided by officers of the Red Army." The Russian representative in Ukraine—the Hungarian Communist, Bela Kun, informed the French Communist, Laporte, as follows: "In 1921 we encircled the Ukrainian villages with machine-gun cordons, set on fire all the cottages and killed the whole population—old people, women and children—with machine-gun fire... Why? Because we knew quite well that all the Ukrainians were taking part in the insurgent struggle against Bolshevik rule in Ukraine."

For the purpose of defeating the Ukrainian rebels, so the paper "Communist" reported, the Volhynian Provincial Executive Committee issued the following orders to the garrisons:

- "1) persons who are arrested and refuse to give their names are to be shot on the spot;
- 2) in villages where weapons are found, hostages are to be taken and shot;
- 3) in cases where weapons are found in cottages or on other premises, the elders of the families concerned are to be shot on the spot;
- 4) those families in which some of the members are insurgents are to be deported to the Russian Federated Republic or to Siberia;
- 5) if an insurgent escapes, his family is to be shot, their house set on fire and their property confiscated and seized by the state."

On March 10, 1923, 36 farmers were tried in Zhytomir on a charge of having taking part in insurrections. They were all sentenced to death. In Vynnytsia 85 Ukrainians were shot because they had worked in the forbidden Ukrainian cultural organisation "Prosvita". The newspaper "Visti" of March, 1923, accused them

of having planned an anti-Communist insurrection. In the summer of 1923, the same newspaper reported as follows: "The secret police, GPU, of Kharkiv has arrested numerous students and workers because many anti-Bolshevist leaflets have been distributed in the city." ... "Cavalry units have been sent to Dnepropetrovsk from Odessa in order to overthrow the Ukrainian insurgents there."

The armed revolutionary resistance of Ukraine against Red Russian enslavement is also referred to in the speech of the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, D. Lebed, at the Party Conference in Kyiv: "Since we began to *liquidate the Ukrainian national vagabonds*, the influence of the Ukrainian chauvinists has gradually become weaker; but the results of the activity of our authorities in the Ukrainian villages are almost negative" ("Communist", March 23, 1923).

The insurrections on the part of the farmers and the ineffectiveness of the so-called war Communism eventually forced Moscow to approve a new economic policy, the N.E.P., at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party. Moscow was, however, determined that this economic concession should in no way influence the political sphere of Soviet life. Accordingly, on December 30, 1922, the Soviet Conference formed the so-called "Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" (U.S.S.R.) which Ukraine was obliged to join as an indivisible and constituent republic. With the introduction of the New Economic Policy, terrorism abated somewhat; mass executions, which had been the order of the day during the war Communism policy, were no longer practised. The New Economic Policy brought about certain improvement in the economic life of Ukraine. The results of the famine of 1921-23 were gradually obliterated; the farmers now tilled their land with far more care and interest since they were allowed to keep the products of their labour; there was a steady increase in industry; the Ukrainian language now predominated and the press was also printed in Ukrainian. It was during this period that the anti-Russian national forces become extremely powerful. When Stalin became dictator of the Soviet Union, however, the entire administration and all military and foreign affairs, too, became centralised in Moscow. The bureaucratic Party system was intensified, the N.E.P. was liquidated, and the first of the notorious Five Year Plans was introduced. It was at this stage that Moscow began to plan its imperialistic aggression against the Western world. In addition to



its aggression plans, Stalin's policy also had as its aim the complete annihilation of the anti-Russian resistance of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, above all, of Ukraine. For this reason, Stalin in 1927, on the occasion of the 15th Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party, approved the general collectivisation of agriculture; and in 1929 collectivisation was imposed on Ukraine. By means of exorbitant taxes, confiscation of the farmers' property, reprisals and the so-called "De-kurkulisation" (liquidation of wealthy farmers), Moscow forced the Ukrainian farmers to join the collective system. Thousands of farmers were deprived of their property and deported, together with or without their families, to Northern Russia or Siberia. Ukraine's reaction to these terrorist measures was to put up a general resistance; individual representatives of the Russian administration were persecuted, acts of sabotage were carried out and numerous villages and even whole districts (as for instance Pavlohrad, Lozova, Nikopol, Zolotonosha, Yahotyn, etc.) started insurrections.

Compulsory collectivisation in Ukraine was finally completed in 1932. But even then, anti-Russian resistance in Ukraine, Caucasia, Byelorussia, the provinces of the Don and the Kuban did not cease. Seeing that deportations, murders and executions, arrests, the increasing confiscation of grain and the military encirclement of numerous villages and districts failed to break this resistance, Moscow once again resorted to its old method of organising famines. In 1932-33 a terrible famine, artificially created by Moscow, once again swept Ukraine. By this means and by the general collectivisation, Moscow hoped to crush Ukrainian resistance for good. In 1929 the GPU had discovered the existence of a Ukrainian underground organisation—the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), and had also succeeded in liquidating the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, after having accused it of anti-Russian activity. After discovering the SVU, the GPU liquidated countless well-known Ukrainian personalities in an atrocious way. About two thousand members of the SVU and the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) were executed without ever having been tried before a court.

In 1931 the GPU discovered the existence of the Ukrainian National Underground Centre and once again liquidated countless Ukrainians or deported them to concentration camps. Part of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) was discovered in 1933.

Orders were then issued by Moscow that mass purges were to be carried out in every sphere amongst those Ukrainians who could not be accused openly of any anti-Russian activity. Numerous Ukrainian nationalists were the victims of these purges.

On November 19, 1933, Postyshev made the following statement during the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine: "I must admit that during the recent purges in the People's Commissariat of Industry more than 300 nationalists were liquidated. In eight other central Soviet departments more than 200 Ukrainian national chauvinists were liquidated, whilst in the cooperative and agricultural sectors the number of persons purged amounted to two thousand..."

Famine and disease raged in most of the Ukrainian villages, but despite this fact Moscow continued to demand further deliveries of cereals from Ukraine. These delivery quotas were fixed by Moscow not according to the yield of the harvest, but according to the acreage of the land that still had to be tilled. The farmers were thus obliged to hide their cereals by digging them into the ground, but special detachments were sent round to all the villages to find the cereals which had been hidden. These brigades confiscated all the cereals they found and arrested the farmers and took them to concentration camps. By the spring of 1933, the famine had become so terrible that cases of cannibalism occurred. The people were so desperate with hunger that they ate anything they could lay hands on,—straw, the carcasses of horses, dogs, crows, old shoes, etc. The Russian press took good care to conceal this terrible famine in Ukraine from the Western world and even went so far as to publish accounts of the happy life led by the workers on the collective farms and of the great enthusiasm with which they went about their task. In reality, the streets of the villages and towns were strewn with corpses of the victims of the famine. Special brigades of grave-diggers from time to time collected the corpses and buried them in the forests. Starving dogs frequently snatched away corpses and dragged them into fields. And whilst this terrible tragedy was being enacted in Ukraine, long goods trains full of grain that had been stolen from Ukraine moved in the direction of Moscow, Leningrad and other Russian towns. There was no famine in Russia; indeed, foodstuffs of every kind were available in Moscow at the lowest prices. In order to escape from the famine-stricken areas of Ukraine, thousands of Ukrainians fled to Russia, where

bread was not scarce. But the frontiers between Ukraine and Russia were guarded by Russian secret police and militia, and countless Ukrainian refugees were arrested and sent to concentration camps.

It is interesting to note that whereas in Ukraine 90 per cent of the privately owned farms were forcibly incorporated in collective forms during the years from 1929 to 1932, in Moscow, however, the corresponding figure was only 20 per cent. The periodical "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn" ("Economic Life"), No. 294 (published in 1933), stated that the confiscation of cattle in Ukraine amounted to 70 per cent; at the same time, the stock of cattle in the Moscow area increased by 20 per cent, owing to the fact that it was augmented by cattle that had been taken from Ukraine; in the areas to the east of Leningrad the stock of cattle increased by 12 per cent.

Although Moscow was well aware of the terrible conditions which existed at this time in Ukraine, it continued its policy of exterminating the Ukrainian people by artificially created famine, since even starvation failed to stop the anti-Russian struggle of Ukraine.

It was stated by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Kosior, in 1932, that 4.8 million tons of cereals had been lost in Ukraine. In addition, about 4.5 million tons of crops were lost because the Ukrainian farmers refused to work on the collective farms. In 1932 the harvest in Ukraine was good, but many of the cereals were not mown, whilst others were mown at the wrong time. Only relatively small quantities were damaged by rain. The farmers, since they refused to work on the collective farms, were, above all, anxious to secure the cereals for their own needs. On August 7, 1932, a special decree was issued regarding "the protection of socialist property", according to which persons who collected ears of corn for their own needs were sentenced to deportation for ten years. Hence, once again thousands of Ukrainian farmers were deported to concentration camps.

In January, 1933, a plenary session of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party was held in Moscow, and one of the speakers on this occasion was Kaganovich. One member of the Central Committee who had toured famine-stricken Ukraine commented: "In Ukraine people are already eating each other". To which remark Kaganovich replied: "If we lose our nerve, they



will eat us up and you, too... Would that be better for us?" ("The Socialist Courier", No. 5, 1956, p. 93).

In the course of the above-mentioned plenary session, it transpired that artificial famines had been organised not only in Ukraine, but also in the provinces of Kuban and the Don, in Caucasia, in the Kirgiz, Bashkir, Uzbek, Kazakh and Tadjik Republics, that is to say in those countries where the non-Russian peoples opposed Moscow. Twenty million persons are said to have died of starvation in these countries. In Ukraine the number of victims of the famine of 1932-33 increased from 3.5 millions to 7 millions.

When news of the famine in Ukraine eventually reached the Western world, the latter immediately offered to help. But in order to conceal from the world the Russian policy of genocide in Ukraine, Moscow rejected this offer of help and Stalin hastened to proclaim the deceitful watchword, "We are living better, we are happier now!"

Although the resistance of the Ukrainian farmers was partly broken by Moscow's starvation policy in 1932-33, Ukraine nevertheless continued her anti-Russian liberation fight. This fact is corroborated by the underground activity of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), by the refusal of the Ukrainians to fight for Russian interests during World War II, by the proclamation of a new Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, and by the armed struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on two fronts. Further proof of Ukraine's anti-Russian liberation fight can also be seen from the underground activity of the insurgents in Ukraine during the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and from the collaboration of the soldiers of the Red Army of Ukrainian descent with the Hungarian freedom fighters. In addition, reference is frequently made in the Red Russian press to the passive and active resistance of the Ukrainian population in the collective farms and in industry.

Twenty-five years have passed since the artificial famine was organised in Ukraine by Moscow in 1932-33 for the purpose of crushing obstinate Ukraine for ever. We should like to remind the free world of this fact, since it often forgets that Moscow continues to advance for the purpose of conquering the entire civilized world, be it by means of "peaceful" coexistence or by force.

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Dr. D. Donzow

## **RUSSIAN BARBARITY REMAINS UNCHANGED**

Anyone who reads the accounts given of Russia in former times by foreign travellers and diplomats is bound to come to the conclusion that Russia has not changed at all. Russia in the days of Ivan the Terrible (cf. Fletcher's book of travel), in the days of Nicholas I (cf. the account given by the Marquis de Custine) and in the age of Bolshevism has remained one and the same thing. Quite by chance I have come across a book which depicts the Russia of Nicholas I. And what makes this book still more interesting is the name of its author,—a Russian; in fact, a Russian nobleman, *Ivan Golovin*, who had his book, entitled "Russia under the Autocrat, Nicholas the First" and published in London in 1846, translated from French into English.

In the first place, this book presents an interesting analogy with our present times, inasmuch as Golovin was a "nievozvrashchenets", that is to say one who disregarded the Tsar's order to return to St. Petersburg immediately from France and, instead, remained in Europe as an emigrant, just as many have done in our day who received a similar order from some Red tsar or other.

On this subject Golovin writes as follows: "The Russian law is decisive, it commands every subject to return to his country at the first summons". He adds "It is true, I was innocent, but who would say that I had not been calumniated? Russian spies are very numerous in Paris"—is that not the case nowadays, too?—"and a slight offence given to one of these gentlemen is quite sufficient to induce him to inform against the offender to a superior authority... Informers enjoy the strictest incognito, they are never confronted with the accused, and their word has more weight than that of an honest man." Exactly as is the case nowadays!

After the failure of the December revolt of the Russian nobility against Nicholas I (when he ascended the throne in 1825), almost all the relatives of those suspected of having been concerned in the revolt—just as would be the case nowadays—disowned the latter as "public enemies", as one says today, and were praised and lauded by the Tsar for doing so. A manifesto issued by Nicholas I informed the world that he had seen with pleasure "the nearest relations renounce and give up to justice the wretches who were suspected of being accomplices".

Further on in the book the author writes: "The Russian imbibes the mania of beating with his mother's milk and this mania does not leave him on this side of the tomb... The master of the police beats the commissary of the quarter; he again the police officer, who, in his turn, takes revenge on the soldier of the city, who vents his ill-humour on the first individual with whom it is possible for him to find the most trifling fault."

Between Russia and Europe there was, in Golovin's opinion, a difference as if between two worlds: "... we landed at Travemünde, I fancied that I had trod on another Planet; the almanac indicated a distance of twelve days, between the two countries, but to judge by the appearance of nature, there was a difference of months." Of his first journey abroad, when he returned to Russia, Golovin writes as follows: "I entered the country at daybreak and the first incident, which attracted my attention, was a blow with a whip, which my postillon gave a peasant, who was passing harmlessly along in a low sledge. My heart was wounded; the peasant said not a word... It is still—exclaimed I, sadly and thoughtfully,—the country of the knout!"

It is at this point that the author again returns to the subject of the unfortunate December revolt and remarks: "The relations of the conspirators of 1825 were dancing while those unfortunate men were made to pass through the city. Instances are not wanting of relatives who have abandoned their sons and their brothers in Siberia without an attempt to save them, and then enjoyed the property, to which they had become the heirs by their condemnation"... Does not exactly the same thing happen nowadays in Bolshevik Russia?

As regards freedom of opinion, things were just the same in the days of Nicholas I as they were in Stalin's day and are now under Khrushchov's rule. In those days, according to Golovin, "nobody in Russia dares to differ in opinion from the Emperor, even on the most trifling subject, on a question of art or literature. When he has once given his opinion, nothing remains but to accede to it or to remain silent." Today, men like Zdanov, Shepilov or Khrushchov himself play the part of the Tsar. "I one day—writes Golovin—asked a journalist if he would give a review of the History of M. Buturlin, Adjutant-General of the Emperor? He answered with much simplicity,—I have not got two heads upon my shoulders." And Golovin goes on to say: "It is difficult to decide whether brutality and despotism exceed the baseness and servility of the Russian courtiers; as they mutually support each other, they are necessarily equal and deserve to be equally condemned."

A particularly interesting chapter in Golovin's book is the one which deals with the tsarist police, and here, too, one is struck by the similarity between the tsarist and the Bolshevik police: "The secret police of Russia has its ramifications both among the upper and the lower classes of society. Nay, many ladies notoriously act as spies and are yet received in society and have company at home; even men who are stigmatized with the same reputation, are not the worse treated on that account... There is not a single regiment of the guard which has not several spies; in the theatres there are often a larger number of spies than of mere spectators. In short, there are so many spies that people imagine they see them everywhere, an apprehension which admirably serves the turn of the Government... The majority distrusting everybody, feel themselves shackled and are so reserved in their intercourse that it is impossible to conceive any conversation more insipid than that which is carried on in the drawing-rooms of St. Petersburg"... Does not this picture presented by Golovin tally exactly with that of the "society" of Bolshevik Moscow?



"There are—so Golovin adds—spies in uniform, spies in disguise, there are the police officers, fashionable spies, travelling spies, who reside abroad, or are sent on special missions, certain functionaries are spies *ex officio*." And there are not only spies, but also murderers by order of the state. Golovin relates how General Dibitsch was suspected of having hesitated to take the necessary steps to crush the Polish revolt in 1832 because he allowed himself to be influenced by his Polish wife: "Nicholas had not the courage to dismiss him, and Dibitsch died of the cholera, or of poison, taken either by choice or compulsion, a point which history has not yet been able to clear up. The death of Constantin (whom the conspirators in 1825 wanted to proclaim Tsar instead of Nicholas) followed soon after, at the very moment when he was about to become an object of constraint to his brother. His physician was not present at his death, and his place was supplied by the physician of the city, who received an order of knighthood; the governor of the province was also recompensed." Does not this account bear a striking resemblance to the practices of the Bolshevik regime in the Kremlin today!

And here a few anecdotes by Golovin which illustrate the stereotype standardisation—applied in those days as it is today—which is the fundamental feature of the Russian character. A General of the Tsar who had been appointed rector of a university "said to the celebrated Professor Ledebuhr, as they were walking together in the Botanical Gardens: 'All these flower-pots ought to be of equal size'. 'How can that be', said the Professor, 'without cutting the plants?'—'Very well, then, have them cut'."... Nicholas "added Stanislaus to the saints of the Greek Church, because when it was proposed to introduce the Polish order of St. Stanislaus, the clergy observed that there was no such saint in the Russian calendar. 'Very well', replied the Emperor, 'then the order need not be given to the priests', and so the affair was settled." And another method of consolidating the power of the ruling clique,—a method which has been repeated again and again under every regime and in every century: ... "A degraded nobleman in the Caucasus, while in the ranks, received a blow with the fist from his serjeant, upon which he immediately thrust him through with his bayonet. He was condemned to run the gauntlet, and General Lavrentzov ordered all the degraded nobles, who are very numerous in the Caucasus, to be present and take a share in inflicting the punishment, thus making them act the part of executioners"... In our day the Bolsheviks force the soldiers of non-Russian nationality—or Party men—to become the hangmen or murderers of their fellow-countrymen. In cases where the father of a man who was sentenced to death had a position in the Party, Stalin forced him to sign the death sentence of his own son.

The picture of Russia in former times is identical with the picture of the "new" Russia. It is still the land in which tyranny rules and the people are subjugated and enslaved,—the land of spies, murderers and murdered, according to secret orders issued from above, the land without law and justice, the land of conformism dictated from above, the land of another planet, the land which is separated from the West by a gulf that cannot be bridged, the land of barbarity which threatens to engulf the West, but even today still has many adherents in the West who admire it.

K. Kononenko

## **The Abolition of the Machine and Tractor Stations\***

The "three-sector structure" of property—the "socialist" sector, the cooperative and the private sectors—which had existed in the U.S.S.R. at the time of the so-called New Economic Policy (NEP, 1921-1926), was steadily changing the whole time in one direction: the elimination of private property, the decrease of cooperative property and the increase of "socialist" property. The later era of the so-called "established socialism" is characterised by the existence of two sectors only,—the "socialist" and the cooperative sectors. The further transition from "socialism to Communism" is to lead to the disappearance of the cooperative sector, that is to say to the consolidation of a single form of property, namely the "socialist" form (what is involved, of course, is the possession of the means of production and not that of the goods used for individual consumption). Accordingly, the present "cooperative societies"—the collective farms (the so-called kolkhozes) and the industrial trade or handicraft cooperatives—are to be replaced by a certain form of state property.

This trend of the so-called socialisation process has existed unchanged all the time, without any deviation whatever. And now we are suddenly confronted by the plan to abolish the machine tractor stations (known as the MTS) and to hand over the agricultural machines to the kolkhozes, that is to say to transfer them from the "socialist" to the "cooperative" sector, a step which seems to be exactly the opposite of the process which has taken place so far and of the demands for a transition to Communism.

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\*) A slightly abbreviated translation of the original Ukrainian text which was published under the same title ("Skasuvannia MTS-iv") in the Munich periodical, "Suchasna Ukrayina" (1958, No. 5-184).

It is true that this plan has so far been confined to a statement made by Khrushchov at a conference of the leading men of Byelorussia's agriculture on December 22, 1957, and as yet no decree has been issued in this respect. But the way in which Khrushchov formulated his statement leaves no doubt as the fact that such a decree will be issued in the near future. Khrushchov also stressed the fundamental principles according to which this plan is to be realised, so that there is every possibility of this measure on the part of the Kremlin already being applied now.

Thus, the first question to be raised in this connection is, in what light is this consolidation of the "cooperative" sector at the expense of the "socialist" sector to be viewed? Is it not a change in the course pursued so far, a step backwards in the policy of the transition to Communism?

In our opinion this new measure must be regarded from two different aspects,—that of the ultimate aim and that of the current policy.

If one regards this matter as it were from the point of view of long-dated aims, then the transfer of the machine depots to the MTS is by no means a deviation from the general course. It merely looks as though it is, if one considers it in connection with a shorter period of time. But according to its character and its final result, it represents an important step in the change from a "co-operative" to a state sector, that is in the transformation of the collective farms (*kolkhozes*) into Soviet farms and of the farmers into hired workers, namely into the agricultural proletariat.

It is not difficult to convince oneself of this fact. As far as the three basic factors which determine agricultural production are concerned—land, capital and work,—collective farms and Soviet farms differ as regards the last two. The collective farms have no right of ownership to all the means of production which take part in their production, whereas the Soviet farms have. As far as work is concerned, payment on the collective farms is according to the number of working days, on the strength of certain regulations issued by the central authority, whereas the workers on the Soviet farms receive a wage like industrial workers.

Thus, the transfer of the machine depots to the collective farms does away with one of these differences and makes the collective farms more like the Soviet farms. The only difference that remains is the different method of payment for work. And in this respect,



too, there are already certain important indications of an alignment in the near future. The first step in this direction were the advance payments for future working days, which were introduced in accordance with a decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1955 and which are nowadays made to a large extent.

But that is not all; articles have recently been published in various papers to the effect that the system of fixed wages is now being applied on individual collective farms (in Ukraine, too). And the September edition of the journal "Voprosy ekonomiki" ("Economic Problems") mentions the fact that this type of payment has been introduced in several collective farms in the district of Tambov, Amur region. And the conclusions drawn and the valuation of this experiment by V. Antipin in the said journal clearly point to the farreaching application in the near future of the principle that "for the collective farmers fixed monthly wages are a new effective form of stimulating work in the collective farms"; "...it is neither possible to set a fixed level nor to organise the daily calculation of the cost price, if the extent of the wage is not determined beforehand."

In connection with the future application of this system in all collective farms, V. Antipin raises the question of the necessity of introducing uniform production quotas. Once the MTS have been liquidated, the spreading of this system of payment to all the collective farms will ultimately make them equal to the Soviet farms and this will mean the end of the kolkhoz system.

Indeed, herein lies the fundamental trend of the plan to abolish the MTS. Apart from this conclusion, however, one must not overlook the predetermined order of the said plan. Just as the capital for the collective farms was obtained by forcibly seizing the property of the farmers (the "socialisation" of horses, cattle, agricultural implements, etc., without any compensation), so, too, in the course of the present transformation of the kolkhozes into sovkhoses the farmers are once again being robbed in order to obtain the stock capital for the new sovkhoses. Khrushchov has affirmed that the machines on the MTS "are to be sold to the kolkhozes" and that "the kolkhozes have to undertake to pay the full value of the machines and the maintenance of the technical staff". The value of the machines that are transferred will thus be entered as a debt on the part of the kolkhozes to the state and they will have to pay

off this debt together with the interest over a certain period of time. In the same way they will also have to pay for new machines that they buy from the state. It is thus obvious that the deductions of the interest for the indivisible funds (out of which such expenses are met) will increase, whilst the amount left over for payment of labour will accordingly be bound to decrease. In other words, the machines will be paid for at the cost of the amount due to the farmers for their work, that is to say they will be paid for by the farmers.

It is difficult to assess these sums in terms of figures, but they are bound to exceed one hundred milliard roubles. And if, in addition, the kolkhozes are declared sovchozes, all the machines will then once more become the property of the state. Exactly the same thing will happen that happened with regard to the land. For forty years the farmers paid off mortgages to the state for the land and when all the mortgages had been paid, the land was once more declared state property.

And that is what the question of the abolition of the MTS looks like when considered from aspect of long-term aims. And as regards the current policy, too, it is no less important. Here it affects one of the most complicated problems of the present economy of the U.S.S.R.—the market problem. The overwhelming development of the heavy industry and the concentration of this industry on the production of arms and producer-goods has reached a stage in which it is becoming increasingly difficult to preserve the hitherto prevailing character of consumption. So far, production and consumption of the main production—of the producer-goods—formed a complete circle. The state produced and the state purchased goods on a large scale, and the state budget played the part of a clearing-house for this market. The purchased product partly replaced the wear and tear of industrial equipment, but for the most part it passed into the newly erected industrial enterprises. Since production increased steadily from year to year, it needed a corresponding increase from year to year in new industrial enterprises, where the product was to be distributed. The balance of the market in this sector was based not on the increase in national consumption, but on the expansion of industry. But such a state of affairs could not continue for ever. When Moscow increased the steel production to 63 million tons, it could allow the production of armaments to increase as it liked,—there was still so much steel left that 120

thousand metal-cutting machines and 16 thousand forging presses, etc., had to be made every year. And in order to use these new machines, new industrial enterprises are needed. But the use of more and more metal for the manufacture of mass consumption goods (which the population needs so urgently) is in antithesis to the level of the purchasing power of the population. The increase of industrial production for private consumption inevitably leads to the necessity to let the wages go up.

The limited nature of the budget sources makes it impossible to continue the hitherto prevailing speed of setting up new industrial enterprises, and it thus becomes necessary for industrial production to break through the above-mentioned complete circle. The economic expansion of the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of distributing its production in the African and Asian countries in the form of credit granted under preferential terms,—this is one of the expressions of the said necessity. And the intended law on the abolition of the MTS serves the same purpose. The production of agricultural machines—and this industry occupies a conspicuous place amongst the other branches of the heavy industry—will, in future, in its overwhelming majority leave the said circle, will evade the budget in its market turnover and will be included in the “cooperative” sector.

Naturally, the question presents itself as to whether the Kremlin will not in this way have to forgo all these advantages, inasmuch as it will no longer obtain from the MTS those agricultural products which the kolkhozes so far supplied as payment in kind for the work of the MTS. The extent of this production was considerable: 15 to 18 per cent of the gross yield in grain and a considerably higher percentage where technical cultures were concerned. But, apparently, this danger is out of the question. At the above mentioned Conference Khrushchov made the following statement: “Some workers have raised the question . . . as to whether the quantity of products, which are placed at the disposal of the state, will not decrease? Such fears are unfounded. . . The quantity of products which are placed at the disposal of the state will not only not decrease, but will undoubtedly increase” (“Pravda” of January 25, 1958).

Khrushchov's statement is based on the argument that the purchase of products by the state is now just as obligatory as the delivery of products to the state and only differs from the latter as regards the amount of the price. Thus, everything which the state



so far received in the way of deliveries as payment in kind from the MTS will now be transferred to the quotas of products purchased by the state. Of course, these products will now have to be paid for; but it looks as though the state intends to make a profit in this respect, too. "An agreement must be reached with the kolkhozes so that this change does not result in the products which are supplied to the state becoming dearer", is what Khrushchov said. This means that on the whole the kolkhozes will not receive more than they formerly did. And, in addition, certain expenses for the maintenance and upkeep of the MTS will now no longer be entailed,—expenses which made the products received by the state through the agency of the MTS actually much dearer than the products obtained by the state by direct purchase.

In conclusion, one other result of this reform must be mentioned: the controlling function of the MTS as regards the kolkhozes will cease. As far as the production process of the kolkhozes was concerned, the MTS were hitherto the representatives of the will of the state. It is true that during the past few years their function in this respect has diminished considerably in favour of the actual Party organs, but formerly it assumed enormous proportions. One can safely say that the MTS were the instrument which, in the first place, made collectivisation possible and then later carried it out. But the cessation of this function of the MTS does not by any means mean that the leading role of the Party has been undermined; it is merely a case of transferring the function of the MTS to the Party executive committees of the various districts and of the kolkhozes themselves.

These are the main points (and we do not intend to discuss secondary points here) which must already be stressed in the planned reform,—a reform which will undoubtedly take place.

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## ***Further Decline in Stock-breeding in Ukraine***

One of the main sectors of every agricultural system in the world and in the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, too, is stock-breeding. Whereas agriculture provides the population with cereals and bread, stock-breeding provides them with milk, meat and fats, and, at the same time, also supplies industry with such raw materials as skin, hair, bones, etc. Stock-breeding, however, is always dependent upon agriculture, namely with regard to such factors as pasture-land and fodder, etc. It is thus essential, if a normal economic life is to prevail, that

- a) there should be a correlation between stock-breeding and its feeding basis in order to promote the increase of the former;
- b) industry should be supplied with natural animal products;
- c) animal food products should be available for the population in adequate quantities;
- d) the level of stock-breeding should not be lower than that in other countries.

Moscow claims to have had its own planned "socialist" economy for the past forty years and in this connection propagates the idea all over the world that agriculture, stock-breeding and industry in the Soviet Union, and, of course, in Ukraine, too, are harmoniously correlated and develop in an equal degree.

A study of the official statistics for stock-breeding in Ukraine, however, reveals that these Soviet Russian propagandist assertions are not only lies, but are also disseminated in order to camouflage the stock-breeding catastrophe there.

All the Red Russian statistical departments, without exception, are always eager to compare all the "achievements of the socialist economy" with the figures for the year 1913, in spite of the fact that this year cannot be taken as a basis for a comparison with the Soviet Russian statistical falsifications. In 1913, the ratio between arable land and stock-breeding in Ukraine was 0.60 heads of cattle (in former Tsarist Russia 0.53) to one hectare of land. During the civil war, stock-breeding in Ukraine deteriorated very considerably, but even so, during the NEP (New Economic Policy) period, it surpassed the level of 1913 with 0.64 heads of cattle to one hectare of arable land. In 1956, there was a considerable decline, namely only 0.38 heads of cattle to one hectare. We have no complete statistics for the year 1957, but on taking the data of the Central Statistical Office into consideration, according to which the number of heads of cattle increased by 23 per cent and the population by 44 per cent as compared to the year 1956, it will be found

that the decline in stock-breeding in Ukraine is at present even greater than it was up to 1956.

Stock-breeding in Ukraine is not in a position to supply either the light or the food industries with raw materials. It is, incidentally, difficult to ascertain the extent to which the light and the food industries of Ukraine are supplied exclusively with the raw products of Ukrainian stock-breeding, for the simple reason that all raw materials in Ukraine have, first of all, to be sent to the All-Union centre, from which they are then distributed to the entire industry of the Soviet Union. But in general it can be said that the present level of stock-breeding in Ukraine is so low that it cannot possibly satisfy the needs of the population and promote the development of the light industries. The serious situation of stock-breeding in the Soviet Union was, incidentally, also stressed by the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., of June 29, 1956: "On the combatting of the unlawful waste of state supplies of cereals and other consumption products". This decree is still in force at the present time. Furthermore, Khrushchov's propaganda about "flooding America" with milk, meat and butter is proof of the increasing and inevitable catastrophe in the sector of stock-breeding not only in Ukraine, but also in the entire Soviet Union. Indeed, Khrushchov himself admitted the decline in stock-breeding in Ukraine during the session of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in December 1957. On this occasion, he ordered the Ukrainian collective and Soviet farms to "flood America" (U.S.A.) with stock-breeding products within the next two or three years.

In order to put an end to private farming in Ukraine, the decree of June 29, 1956, stated that the Ukrainian collective and Soviet farms were in future to buy cattle from the Ukrainian private farmers. But this acquisition by purchase did not lead to any positive results, nor did it help to improve stock-breeding. The Ukrainian farmers were unwilling to sell their cattle to the state. Accordingly, since January 1st, 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. has been obliged to suspend the compulsory state manufacture of products from cattle belonging to private farms. The Communist Party, needless to say, explains this suspension as the "great care on the part of the Party for the welfare of the population", but actually it is proof of the constant decline and deterioration in stock-breeding. As a result of this suspension, there has been a drop in the wages of the collective farm-workers, a fact which Khrushchov was also obliged to admit in a session of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

According to the newspaper "Pravda Ukrayiny" ("The Truth of Ukraine") of April 19, 1958, there are no prospects of stock-breeding in Ukraine



improving in the near future. This newspaper reported on a session of the Ukrainian Ministry of Agriculture, during which it was stated that the production of milk had decreased during the past three months in the southern and central regions of Ukraine, namely Poltava, Odessa and Mykolayiv, etc. It was also pointed out that in 18 regions of Ukraine there had been no increase whatever in stock-breeding, namely in the area of Kyiv, Poltava, Sumy, Carpatho-Ukraine, etc., and that in other districts stock-breeding was neglected to a very considerable extent. Instead of improving stock-breeding, the farmers, so it was said, were, for instance, selling pigs on the markets.

Such is the situation in one of the most important sectors of Ukraine's agriculture. It is, however, interesting to note that, in spite of Muscovite Russian terrorism, private stock-breeding in Ukraine exceeds compulsory state stock-breeding. And this fact proves that even after forty years of Soviet Russian terrorism and oppression in Ukraine, the system of the collective farms is not able to crush the Ukrainian anti-Communist spirit. The inclination of the Ukrainian farmers to engage in private farming has not been and will not be suppressed by Moscow. Thus, it is not so much mismanagement as, rather, the tough and determined resistance of the Ukrainian people to Red Russian enslavement which has brought about the decline in stock-breeding in Ukraine since it has been included in the system of collective and Soviet farming forced upon the Ukrainian people by the Soviet Russian occupants.

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# The Tale of Kharkiv

## (Continuation 2)

### CHAPTER TWO

#### 1.

Anatol is an old friend of mine whom I knew from the University. He only returned from a journey yesterday, and when I saw him his face still bore traces of fatigue and weariness,—the result of sleepless nights and nerve-wracking waiting for trains.

At our first meeting he told me: "In view of present conditions, I am forced to make a decision which is not in your favour. Our reality can hardly be said to be philosophical; it has been brought to a state of mechanical centralisation. And this compels the individual to be subordinate to the masses, without exception. Mass—a measure of value—individually placed itself at the service of generality. What is your function and who are you? You are a mechanism of the centrifugal action and, therefore, an antithesis of the mass. My Soviet patriotic duty compels me to break off all connection with you. . . All is over between us."

"And I thought that with your return from Western Ukraine our friendship would continue and become even firmer!"

"Leonid, Lenin preached that moral degeneration leads to political disorder. And this is a serious matter. The world must be put in order. The wheels of history turn sluggishly, and completed forms of combinations are cast out as if were on to a conveyor belt. Our watchword is: where my horse trod, the grass will not grow, but only steel, fire and the sword. Moscow does not trust tears. Those who are not of one mind with us, are against us; and if the enemy refuses to surrender, he must be destroyed."

Anatol's attitude surprised me. I felt I wanted to remind him of our childhood, of how we grew up together and shared everything. But what was the good of reminding him of this! So instead, I coldly replied:

"Thank you for your advice! It somehow reminds me of constructing machines! You are apparently incapable of talking about living human beings. I came to you with an ordinary, everyday request, which has nothing to do with either militarism or state security. In fact, I merely wanted to ask you for the notes which you promised me on the local dialects of Western Ukraine."

"What? Are you mad? Are you out of your mind? If you don't pack up your belongings and leave town within the next two or three days, and it is essential in the interests of the Party and the government that you do so,—then I don't know what I'll do to you. This matter concerns not only you and Maria,—it concerns the Soviet nation. I will force you to leave the town."

"I have listened attentively to your orders. And now I do not wish to disturb you any longer. In future I shall respect your views, even though I consider them completely artificial."

"What was that you said? Here, sit down! It is my duty to re-educate and influence people."

"Oh, indeed! Anatol, you have cut me to the quick. You interfere in my most private and personal affairs, matters in which even Comrade Lenin himself would have been ashamed to interfere."

"What! After you harmed the girl who believed in you by your ultra-cynicism, after you even went so far as to treat her mother as if she were some worthless creature, you still want me to keep up friendly relations with you? Life no longer holds any secrets for me. I have had time to learn everything. What is it I want? I am fighting for the new Soviet customs, for the new Soviet family. And finally, if you wish to know,—for the new Soviet love."

"How can you fight for such things as these when a divorce in this country only costs 50 roubles?"

"But the masses must be re-educated to become conscious of these things!"

"Oh, I see, conscious! Very well. So you want to have a discussion with me, do you? But there can be no true scholarly discussion between us. It would only be a chaotic mutual interchange of opinions,—that the world is divided in two, in yes and no, and white and red."

My memoirs are open at the first page. I have never really liked these memoirs. A cult of memory is rather like a heavy rucksack on one's back. Anatol is an idealist of the new type of Communist, and his idealism is therefore influenced entirely by dangerous doctrine. Aesopian conditions have been created among the people: they only see the results of events, but they make no attempt to analyse the legality and causality which formed the origin of these events. And, paradoxically, the degree of conflict or of oneness with reality wavers in Anatol's attitude, too. I tried to convince Anatol that in my opinion Maria was a girl whom I never wanted to leave. I said to him:

"But I left her because I deny myself life more than anyone else. Don't think this is a trick. If I were not like that, I should have to become popular and rise, like yeast, with the development of your monolithic masses. I should then long eternally for the place where, as the poet said, there are 'kings, mansards, poets, the sun and Paris', and should perhaps even resort to suicide. But because of beauty, which is invisible like a vitamin and which exists on this planet somewhere—or perhaps it does not exist—I must be an ascetic against my wishes, even though this word does not fit in with our beautiful epoch. Every day I think about the stupid nonsense which occurred between Maria and me. I imagine all kinds of possible variations, until they



almost seem to be real. And in the end I forget that this has become a kind of obsession with me and that Maria is not standing in front of me, and the words of annoyance and possibly of insult, which I have prepared to say to her, vanish. Yes, I am a coward and possibly a Kharkiv industrial boaster, too. But, unfortunately, I feel that a sense of privacy does not exist in Maria's family, but only flowers, music, books, courtesy and commonplace conversation. In fact, when in their midst, I feel as though I were standing in front of the desk of an official of the Soviet Commission or of a Party controller,— as though I were an accused on trial! In such offices they lead people in and lead them out again. I, too, went in and came out again,— without any animosity or startling outbursts. But then, things are made easy for me.

Sometimes an inevitable tragedy fascinates us, for it moulds and improves us, stirs our fighting spirit, but does not depress us. Anatol, listen to me! At the moment I feel a certain power within me. I feel I could swiftly and imperceptibly trip up all those who put obstacles in my path, send them crashing to the ground and thus oust them from their fancy positions. But instead, I shall only stand aside and smile. All these eccentrics, who, as it were, are devouring live flesh in the various administrative departments, are carrying out the dictates of the Party and the government, are trying to find enemies of the proletariat where there are none, are blind to the new force which is growing over their heads. When Khvylovy shouted "Away from Moscow!" they regained consciousness too late. It fills me with disgust to think that these men, some of whom are not even bad, but merely scared and foolish, are willing to be trampled on by a man who refuses to live by the standardised feelings and principles of the world, or perhaps even struggle, ineffectually and slyly, because gentlemanlike fighting is forbidden in the labyrinths of Soviet reality. We have surrendered to the influence of such chimerical laws of living that our actions, our deeds and thoughts will never be understood by future generations and foreign peoples. No solution will be found for our sufferings; only the fact of their existence will be established."

## 2.

After her first meeting with Leonid, Sophia's mind is full of all sorts of new impressions,—so much so, that she does not give a thought to the impressions which he may have gained of her. Her impressions follow each other and change in rapid succession.—How peculiar Leonid is! He calls me by a new name every day. One day, for some reason or other, he says that long ago, whilst he was still at school, 1941 appeared to him to be a complex and horrible year. Was it superstition or was it simply the conflict of a man with the cosmos? If you start saying to a child at play, "Well, why are you sad? . . . why are you shy?", the child may actually become sad and shy. But how can one change all these ideas?—always borrow, transcribe and learn? One cannot say that Kharkiv is a pessimistic city. Future history will belong to the big cities exclusively.

Sophia is studying phrases: "... principal motive of the story : dire poverty of the peasants up to the revolution..."

Andrew Soloveyko... Only by means of revolution, the world proletariat, with the weapons in their hands..."

"Oh, no matter how much I study, no rosy prospects lie before me. But I can become a part of or an addition to someone else's triumph. '... Bourgeois writers assist capitalists in exploiting workers. They do not have...' Studying to me is not a serious task but is like joking or irrelevancy, because I am not a born student, but only, at the most, a born secretary or typist. Leonid has promised to come to see me this evening, thanks to my obtrusiveness. It is as well that all the other girls have gone out. But, of course, we shan't stay here. Why doesn't he give me his address or invite me to his rooms? Sophia, Victoria or even Ophelia,—they're all the same to him!"

"Come in. Ah, good evening!"

"Yes, my room-mates have all gone out long since. They're preparing for exams. But why should we stick in this room?"

"Oh, how helpless you are! In my opinion it isn't so difficult to concoct a programme for the evening,—considering the weather, money and time."

"Leonid, why don't you invite me to your rooms or give me your address?"

"Yes, I thought of that possibility. I should have to tidy it up for you and arrange the books and scientific works in order and put flowers on the table. The art of creating comfort is the monopoly of women."

"For what purpose? Natural domesticity is the responsibility of an understanding girl. Yes, indeed, you are an individualist!"

Leonid goes over to the large window and sits down on the window-sill. He then proceeds to tell Sophia that if she does not diligently read through the last lesson, they will not go anywhere this evening. It is a dreary evening and the rain is falling steadily. The sky is dismal. Leonid is mechanically drawing meaningless figures on the misty window-panes. The view from this window on the fourth floor gives one a feeling of superiority and power. Below, one can see the entire panorama of the city. To master the expanse in three dimensions is the key to complete knowledge of the universe. Marshal Voroshilov was right when he said, "Those who are strong in the air, in our day are strong generally."

Life must be grandiose,—that is why it is measured in tiers, in ciphers of the State Plans, in concentration,—and individualism is illusion. But the builders of the future cities, because of the promised "happier life", will have to include the residuum of individualism, which the contemporary cities dislike. They are built so that strange eyes are always watching you. It is true that this is a sharp and brutal reaction to the salon-bourgeois West. And the latter will have to pay for its fancies! A cult of power and unofficial asceticism,—such is the theme and purpose of our times.

Suddenly Sophia asks:

"Leonid, tell me, for what reason are the military training schools speeding up the final exams for students taking the military and political courses? Is there really no other reason, but only that of wanting to save time, behind it all?"

It is characteristic of our times that a majority of attributes of life which form and mould the human being are lacking.

Sophia does not want to sit reading her textbook, as Leonid has told her to do, and she now says:

"You really are quite bourgeois! No! I meant to say that there is something despotic about you that suppresses the enslaved! Why? You still dare to ask? In any case, what right have you to force me to read this dull textbook? Why do you deceive me? And who goes for walks at midnight, anyway? How many times have I asked you to show me Kharkiv! Oh, naturally, the state spends money on my education, but does that worry you? What? In other words I merely wanted to emphasize that our state is not a pauper. . . . a person like Kotsiubynsky. . . . Love toward the suppressed people and passionate hatred. . . . Only the meaning of creation remains."

The sounds of the city are slowly fading. The last empty trolley-cars have clanged away in the distance. Night hovers over Kharkiv like a swarm of black devils. New and again, belated cars, like hungry mice, rush out of the cross-roads, proceed cautiously across a field, and then vanish into a by-path. Leonid and Sophia walk along imposing Czernyshevskya Street and come to the building of the telephone exchange.

"Leonid, aren't you afraid?"

They reach Derzhynsky Square, bounded on one side by the Medical Institute and on the other by the Hotel International.

"We'll walk straight on, across the Square, and then turn into the main lane that leads through Shevchenko Park."

"I already know some of the buildings here."

The buildings of the city are silhouetted against the sky. Here and there, electric lamps overhead are swayed by the wind, but cast no shadows on the pavements,—only a golden reflection. It is not really night yet, for it is only five to one and people are still promenading about the streets. Here and there, the fountains are still playing. Multitude—means popularity; being alone means being different from others.

"Look, there is our Institute."

White letters on a red background indicate that this is the "Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute—City of Kharkiv".

"Leonid, are you always so taciturn, or only today? Well, anyway, tell me, what sort of a man is Dniprovsky and what sort of ideas does he support? Oh, now you're angry. Yes, it is quite impossible to carry on a conversation with you!"

"What? What was that? Say it again. . . . How insincere you are! No, you're shameless! And you dare to defend such a person? Well then, go to the devil! All right, try and convince me. Leonid, there can be no doubt about the fact that there are many trustworthy people, who have strong Party characters, in similar administrative positions. Although Lenin taught that carelessness in customs and manners leads to imprudence in politics, in spite of this, in practice, their communal and private life is limited by fixed bounds, and it was the latter that I had in mind. Then, you say, why did I ask? To convince myself definitely that he is a scoundrel, an impudent rogue,



with long arms. That was the reason why I asked you. Yes, you are right,—people are transparent and almost changeless. Indeed, why did I ask you? How foolish of me! But then I'm only a girl and shall have to learn how to react more carefully to my surroundings."

The newspapers write about such evil people, but one cannot generalise, since our nation is young and beautiful. There are people who dangle at the tail-end; there are others who are hypocrites and secretly break away from the general lines of the Party; and still others who get to work with a silent scythe,—the squealers, counter-revolutionists, diversionists, all of whom, generally speaking, are enemies of the people.

The foreign consulates in Kharkiv have long since been closed, for vigilance is the sacred duty of every citizen. An attack will be answered with an attack. Our motto is: fight the enemy on his territory. And for this reason, our course lies in every part of the world. We are self-confident, for in the 20th century everything can be motivated.

### 3.

With incorruptible sincerity Sirovy tells Leonid:

"I shall always continue to strangle them,—the social parasites. They continue to breed,—and from amongst us, at that,—probably from such as you, Leonid. They grab the best positions, establish themselves in big concerns, and bring in their friends, and then the government is forced to fight against wastefulness and is compelled to issue decrees regarding the responsibilities of labour and the penalties for grafters. You think I just simply carry out my Party directives? Oh, no! As soon as I notice that someone is a parasite or a 'soft-hand', I promptly expose him. And no Party membership card or position can save him. We shall wipe them out completely. Our long-suffering nation has strong shoulders and can stand a lot. You often laugh about me and think I have no spirit and am quite ignorant. I learnt to read in the Party library in my native village. As a farm labourer, I was sent into the city with a sack of seed leavings. To begin with, I very often wanted to leave the city again, for to live there, one needs to have a certain equilibrium, which I did not have. Our nation has had and will have many Moseses, but they suppressed us. It is only now that we are rising above the rich black soil and, in all probability, within two or three generations we shall become competent to distinguish ourselves as leaders. At present we are still somewhat blind, fearful and unprepared. But the day will come when all this is changed. And then, do you think that the various Ivanovs, who have lived all their life like canaries, will be able to oppose us? I often go to the Blahbaz Market and linger for hours among the kolkhoz carts. I am sad at the thought that I betrayed the kolkhoz peasants, with their furrowed faces and their patched coats. I become angry with myself, but my anger helps neither me nor them. On my way home I often see peasants—members of the same social class from which I come—standing in front of the windows of breadshops, afraid to enter because they will be told, 'We don't sell bread to kolkhoz-men!'

And who is it, do you think, who suppresses them? Or maybe you will not believe me when I tell you that I have noticed that the graduates of the Institute are sent goodness knows where on commissions, to various parts of Kazakhstan for instance, and that from there replacements are sent here. You, Leonid, made no attempt to try to suppress me and that is why I am sincere with you. The people of my class are strong, in that they tell you the truth to your face. In the past, a kolkhoz worker could enter a cultural shop, pull out of his pocket a begrimed piece of paper and reading it, ask: 'Have you a gramophone record about Bayda? Or perhaps about Morozenko?' Then when he noticed that the shopkeeper or the salesmen were laughing about him, he would simply retort: 'We are not frightened of anything. Even now we dare to laugh at the Soviet government. And they do not prosecute us for doing so, because we are poor and, in addition, only stupid repressed peasants.' Leonid, be friendly towards us. I would never do you a wrong. I may be beside myself with anger, but you have nothing to fear from me. But we must wipe out these social parasites like flies. Some of them have betrayed us and disappeared. History repeats itself and others will experience the same thing,—the same hatred on the part of the parasites. They fooled us because we were simple-hearted and unprepared, and that was why justice was wrung from our tough but inexperienced hands. But we feel there is a force behind us. I have more leisure now and I shall devote it to the preparation of material. Leonid, you have helped me a lot. Don't be afraid of me, but beware of those like me. Because when we take action, the guilty and the innocent alike suffer. Later on, we feel sorry for our victims, but when we are enraged we lose all self-control. I recall that during the October revolution in Myrhorod, our guards broke into the house of an oculist and smashed all his medical instruments and tore up all his books. Later, when the revolution was over and all was quiet again, people suffering from eye diseases came to consult him. Pointing to his wrecked laboratory, the oculist said to them: 'This is your work. Now I have nothing to treat your eye diseases with. Go and live in blindness!' Leonid, our people do not want to remain blind. And even though there is once more a flurry of meetings, changes and Party commissions, my books will not be forgotten."

#### 4.

Leonid was so engrossed in thought that he was greatly surprised to suddenly find himself in front of the door to Anatol's rooms, for he had no recollection of how he had got there.

"So that's it, is it! This is most entertaining. It would be interesting to know where Anatol is at the moment, for there's no one in his rooms. A queer, puzzling girl—Sophia. You clod, give her your address and take her to your rooms. Whilst she is tidying up there, she will look through your papers, books and conspectus and will even place flowers on the table. Can she really think that I am so indiscreet? No, Sophia must be a provocateur. And if she is, then she can attach herself to everyone and everything. Why,

she even tries to provoke one in obvious gossip; what dealings have I with Dniprov? What have I in common with him? And I an expert on human character, or what? Questions, questions all the time. What business is it of Sophia's if the final exams are being speeded up in the case of students taking military and political courses? What is she anyway,—a first-lieutenant, or what? As the popular saying goes, perhaps it's wisest to say,—let's not, girl! But no one will drive me out of Kharkiv until I have completed and read my dissertation. Sometimes people are weak-willed and passive and then they easily get caught in a spider's web. Berdiansk girl, or girl from Berdiansk! Where did you come from to trouble me? But what is the good of my asking you this question, seeing that I have broken my own rule,—not to make casual acquaintances, but only such acquaintances as are in my interests. Life is tricky; it gives birth to millions of doubts. Life is like the edge of a razor. But what will happen, if, as the result of my own injudiciousness, I get involved goodness knows how! I may be making a serious mistake if I don't detach myself from this suspicious girl! If, on the other hand, I act otherwise, I shall be on the safe side, but then I shall have the undeserving insult to Sophia on my conscience, all the more so as she, in all probability, will not know what it is all about. But how can I admit my doubts? Even here, there can be various versions—positive and negative. And another axiom to remember is that life belongs to the strong."

"At last, there you are! Your absence, Anatol, has unnerved me completely. I have a most urgent matter to discuss with you. Hurry up, open the door! No, don't turn on the radio, it will only disturb our conversation. Now don't confuse me, especially not with trifles, for I don't want to listen to them."

"Very well then, but say what you have to say, quickly!"

"What? You saw the Berdiansk girl with Dniprov? Listen, why are you telling me this? I advise you not to continue using disparaging remarks! Just a minute, tell me, you aren't lying, are you?"

"No, no, she even told me on one occasion, 'there is nothing of the sort'. Don't switch on the light. We don't need it to illuminate our conversation. To come to the point,—yesterday, you and I had a slight misunderstanding,—no more, no less. I appreciate and shall continue to appreciate you as a fellow who places the interests of the masses above everything else."

"Tell me, quite candidly, will I, with my mediocre dexterity, manage to bet out of a possible predicament if I go to Western Ukraine? You're surprised, aren't you? But what else can I do? I'm going,—definitely going! I'm only afraid of losing my application, my commission."

"No, no, I shall not make a mistake. To begin with, I plan to skate on the surface, so that bureaucracy does not suck me in."

"What? Is it possible? But, tell me, what are the opportunities for promotion?"

"In other words—easy! Tell me, are they inclined to fraternisation?"

"Yes, yes, I understand, you cannot explain. Fundamentally, therefore, one has to have a good nose for things, and, to begin with, I shall ease myself in gradually. I have long wanted to assume the pose of a light-hearted vagabond, for it is very difficult to be over-serious, especially now."



## 5.

There are still living remnants of Leonid's childhood in his character. One of them is luxury, though all that is left now is the struggle for luxury. And for this reason he has met Sophia again.

They are just coming out of a cinema together. The film they have seen plunged the audience into illusions and dreams, for they did not comprehend the pitiful contrast between their sordid life and the life shown on the screen.

"Why do you talk like that, Sophia?"

"What do you mean by 'why'? Oh, let's drop the subject. It's already very clear and understood that I shall never be your fiancée. So why talk about it any more!"

Whilst carrying on this conversation, they come out of the cinema into the Spring twilight. Mental pictures of the film's story flash through their minds: in order to prevent Strauss from going on a concert tour with Anna, the singer, his hopeless but determined rival rushes to Strauss' wife and warns her—"fight for your happiness". At the end of the concert, the passionate gaze of the miniature woman meets that of the robust singer. Yes, they knew how to fight; they knew how to conceal their passions from others.

No, there is only one way to save yourself; flee from the city at once, slyly, like a thief; or no, fall out—but with a feeling of revenge and reciprocity. To live in illusions is blindness and passive unprincipledness. Leave this city, burn your manuscripts, abandon this girl who is now walking at your side, silently and easily. Abandon her, for her nearness is dangerous; no, not because she is not good,—this girl would not do an evil thing; she is a very good girl and she has an air of remoteness about her that reminds one of a distant sea. Leonid gazes at her. She has a very rare gift—reserve, and this makes her all the more fascinating. He is uncertain whether at the crucial moment he will be able to stop at the toll-gate and say: far enough. He may behave like a rogue. And so he is, as it were, at a crossroads which presents four possibilities,—there or here—East or West, and two girls strangely alike, but with different names.

So far, this evening has only been an ordinary kind of evening, and as they stroll through the city, Leonid begins to feel easier in his mind. They cross the bridge over the River Lohan and stand and gaze at the stars mirrored in the silent water. The streets are full of people, for Kharkiv is an overcrowded city and building activity there is not in any way in proportion to the increase in population.

Suddenly, Sophia interrupts the conversation to ask:

"Excuse such a sentimental question, but, tell me, is it possible to procure lethal poison in Kharkiv by some means or other?"

"What do you need it for?"

"I'm afraid to talk to you, Leonid. You are such a... But why have you never been interested in me, simply as a companion? I'm a newcomer here and I haven't anyone to turn to in distress. You, too, are like a sealed book to me. I can learn nothing about anything or anyone from you."

"That is because I observe a maxim of my mother, who only told the truth about people after they were dead."

Leonid is reminded of the exotic light in which the unforgettable Russian poet Yesenin shows death. When the poem which he wrote just before his death became known, scores of students in Leningrad and Moscow stuck their heads in nooses, although this kind of suicide is neither a protest nor is it heroic. The poetry of Sosiura, written in memory of Yesenin's death, was constantly being passed from hand to hand amongst the students in Kharkiv: "... Looked about for the last time, and outside, the snowflakes fell..." Some time ago, Leonid perused a number of thick volumes of pre-revolutionary Russian journals. They contained numerous letters by correspondents who had suffered injustices and dealt with such subjects as: "Wherein lies the essence of living?", "Where to go?", "On the edge of collapse!", "In the midst of filth."

Sophia is talking about poison. This is really amusing at the moment. It is like a symbol of human imperfection. It is painful to hear such words from her. Leonid certainly has good reason to adopt an attitude of suspicion towards her: perhaps she is involved that she can see no way out?

"Sophia, why are you making this kind of a scene? Your words give me an unpleasant premonition. Or is this merely a capricious idea on your part? Is that it?"

To which Sophia simply replies:

"Oh, we can talk about this matter tomorrow, if it is not too late by then."

"But it may be too late as far as I am concerned, too, for in all probability I shall be leaving Kharkiv."

"In that case, there is no sense in my talking about it at all. Oh, why did I confess to you? What a fool I am! No, no, excuse me,—not that, I wouldn't go to your rooms with you for anything. You have already made your plans. But why invite me just at this time? I am afraid of you,—you will scold me. And in any case, I am afraid of being in the same room with you, because your room will be in darkness as they have cut off the electricity in order to have the illuminations display in commemoration of Aviation Day."

Leonid is not in a mood to reply to Sophia's banter or to change the subject, and as he walks in the direction of his quarters, he comes to the conclusion that Sophia's discontent is the result of uncertainty and uneasiness because unexpected circumstances have arisen which force her to make a decision at once, instead of being able to ponder over the matter at leisure.

"You are not offended at what I have told you? No? In your opinion, Leonid, taking a perfectly sane view of the question, do you think it a good thing for a Soviet girl to behave so freely? What? But I have convincing arguments in my defence. You haven't heard my side of the question yet. That scoundrel Dniprov won't leave me in peace. If I go to the library, he follows me; if I go to my room, he follows me; if I tell him that I am going to bed, he says it is too early to go to sleep. Oh, you are clever! But it is not as easy to do as you say. For the big difficulty lies in the fact that he has invincible strength! It is quite impossible to offend him or get rid of him. I have already called him an idiot, a boor, a scoundrel,—but it doesn't help,—it's like water off a duck's back! And this happens every day. And

no end in sight! Leonid, you can't imagine the limits to which this type of man can bring a girl like me. I feel I haven't the energy to live. He drags me to the theatre, he threatens me if I refuse to go, and I don't know how all this is going to end. In some tense moment or other I shall be forced to consent to everything. You are surprised? You ask why I never mentioned this earlier to you! Well, why didn't you ask, instead of always evading the issue and beating about the bush!"

Leonid is walking to and fro in his room and trying to think of some effective method to get at Dniprovyy,—or better still, of how one could place some obstacle in his way so that he would be thrown out of the Institute at once and for good.

Finally, he gives instructions to Sophia: "Intentionally defy him on every possible occasion. After a time try to provoke him to carry on a conversation or do some deed which is entirely forbidden under Soviet conditions. Nothing will happen to you, but he will get all that is coming to him. Why do you shrug your shoulders at this suggestion? You ask, to what end? Oh, to have a spring-board from which to leap at his throat."

## 6.

"... of which I wrote you in my previous letter have changed. Unfortunately, I shall have to remain here for a while, but not for very long. I am especially interested in the connections between Stanyslaviv and Lviv. Professor Ivanov sends you his kind regards. He has a favour to ask of you, but he says he will do so personally. At the moment he is playing the part of a Maupassant waiter, who is used to seeing everything and observing nothing. I, too, am trying not to disturb him. Until we meet, ... Leonid."

Leonid has sealed and addressed the envelope and he now keeps glancing at the clock. Then he begins to pace the room nervously and from time to time looks out of the window, though if Sirovyy is actually approaching, he cannot be seen from here. He is late already, but Leonid tells himself that Sirovyy is never punctual and that he must therefore be patient. Eventually, Sirovyy enters the room, breathlessly.

"Don't be angry. We had another meeting about the preparations for military sanitation. Well, let me have the conspectus you have prepared for me."

Leonid points to a pile of books. "Look how many I've delved into. And here are all the thoughts I've written down. A deed for a deed. You'll find everything here,—the Marxist lining, the dialectics and the same idea that runs right through from beginning to end. And now, come and sit down."

"Here, have a smoke, Leonid."

"Thanks."

"Tell me, who was that with you the evening before last?" asks Sirovyy slyly.

"How do you know?"

Sirovyy laughs, delighted at having hit the nail on the head.

"Listen, Leonid, I want you to find me a girl."

"So that's what you're driving at, is it?"



Sirovy has recently taken to playing the polite gentleman. He almost ran into Sophia and Leonid the day before yesterday, but thought it would be more polite not to greet them or join them, as he had usually done on previous occasions.

"Too bad. You were badly needed at precisely that moment. I know you've no idea that the fate of this girl depends on you. But you are an influential person of position and authority. Your words is law. Dniprovyy is torturing the life of the girl you saw me with. In fact, he may cause her to commit suicide. You must publicly denounce this situation. What? Don't snort! And morality, local degeneration, loss of Party authority in the eyes of the student masses—what are they to you—jokes? I shall prepare all the necessary material you need!"

"Yes, you will live and I shall only taste."

"You fool, you have a lot to gain by this; you will increase your prestige by pushing this social parasite out of his position. You will promptly be elected in his place. No, don't argue,—just listen! The whole thing will be prepared and your task is—to attack first. The idiot already counts me as one of his opponents, and I already feel that I'm moving on slippery ground. They now want to send me into the provinces: "We reared you; we are proud of you, but leave the city, for this is the wish of Dniprovyy'."

"Don't frown! I know what you think of the girl, but one must act honourably towards her. One must do something in life. Forgive me, Sirovy, for the compliment, but I probe you like layers of ore and each time I find a new, unknown and interesting crystal or virgin ore. To me you are a good example of how our sick, trampled-on nation rises up out of the virile black soil. Sometimes it seems to me that the course of life is like you,—it is this mighty power to grasp the surface of life at once; it is the painful desire of self-perfection, to be a sponge,—to absorb the whole experience of humanity. My acquaintanceship with this girl is very interesting. At first, I was afraid of her, evaded her, ran away from her,—like two thieves who come to steal the same thing run away from each other in the darkness. I suspected that she had a guilty conscience, that someone had sent her to me on purpose, as they say nowadays, with a commission from some foreign country. You will have to be bold and daring. I don't know what Sophia's reaction toward you will be for such an honourable deed,—when you defend her honour. All the more as you will not be endangering your own safety, but on the contrary will be increasing your authority."

## 7.

"Enough. I'll put a full-stop here. I can't write any more. And why should I, when this thought always makes me uneasy. What is struggle? Immaterial what kind of a struggle,—elbows, pistols, artifice, whole armies, or the struggle of classes, nations, states. Struggle in the political sense is a self-understood thing. For instance, in countries beyond our frontiers the capitalists dump milk into the rivers in order to raise prices. The starving unemployed want to get hold of these supplies of milk, but the police appear on the scene and scatter the crowd. But the unemployed refuse to give up the

struggle and are constantly starting uprisings of the enslaved against the slave-drivers."

Leonid pushes the sheets of paper away.

"I can't write. I don't want to write a prosecutor's accusation against myself. But what is the struggle of passion, the struggle of the instinct of self-preservation... the symptoms of the struggle which occur beyond the limits of the mind's control? The workers of the Tractor Works were returning home from work at midnight when they broke into the bread warehouse; they then acted like gentlemen and, after putting money in the cash register, only took one loaf each. They did this not with the intention of changing the constitution, but simply because hunger drove them to it. Similarly, a peasant woman beat the "activists" who had come to deprive her children of the last crust of bread, with a heated thong, not because she was observing the principles of class struggle, but solely because she was prompted by the instinct of self-preservation.

I am not surprised at Sophia. She is young and inexperienced. And this in itself is almost like a magnet. And a girl who is a magnet can easily catch fire. She must be guarded. In any case, I am greatly worried, for I am not even sure for whom she wants the poison; it is quite possible that it is not for herself at all. Our girls are not like Mayakovski's Marias,—they are heroines and disturbers of the sea."

The telephone rings. Leonid picks up the receiver... "No, no, if you please. Have a rest first after your trip and we can meet later. Certainly; such a surprise. Very delighted... well then, till we meet!"

So there we are! She has a father. Maria has a father. It's just as though he'd dropped out of the sky. Where has he been all this time... where has he come from... phoning me up immediately on his arrival at the station? And why is he so keen to see me? Ah? Is he by any chance catching up with me? It's obvious,—no matter how you twist, life is built on springs. I can already see it all: this man of high position will come to see me and will start tormenting me with patriotic astuteness, frontiersmen, divergenists, as regards the directives of the Party and the government. It's strange that Maria never mentioned him to me. Oh, the devil! He has spoiled all my plans. But I shall greet him most politely. And everything must be so planned that there is no danger of her coming to my rooms without warning. It would also be best if Sirovy, too, kept away, for he is too sincere in conversation.

Leonid hurriedly gathers his papers together, locks his rooms and catches a trolley-car, which clatters along in the direction of the "Giant". Everybody seems to be on the move,—from the factory, to the factory, into the restaurants, from the libraries, from floor to floor,—but this is quite usual. Leonid walks along a long corridor, counting the doors in a whisper,—thirteen, fourteen, fifteen. His attention is caught by a notice posted on one of the doors: "No salt. No water. We are sleeping. Please do not disturb." On another door there is a huge placards which shows a fat capitalist peeping out fearfully from behind the back of a woman-weaver. She is in the act of casting an election ballot into an urn and is gazing at the capitalist with an

ironical look on her face. At the bottom of the placard there is an inscription, or rather, a quotation from a poem by Michael Lermontov. He dedicated it to his sweetheart, but in this case the words, "I am sad because you are happy", have been placed in the mouth of the fat representative of decadent capitalism.

Leonid raps at the door to Sophia's room, he enters and finds her there with Dniprov.

"Are you still hanging about in Kharkiv?" asks Dniprov, but he puts this question in a friendly tone in order to feign sympathy for Leonid, in keeping with the present situation.—"And why does one never see you these days?"

"Library work. I'm busy delving into pre-deluge publications, preparing a paper. I want to surprise the scientific world of the Institute."

Dniprov in appearance somehow reminds one of a semicircle, and, measured by the standards of classical features, his physiognomy certainly gives rise to many doubts. His face which as a rule wears a severe expression often produces a comic effect on the beholder; his head always tilts forward, as though there is a spoke missing somewhere in the wheel. And for this reason, people misunderstanding this motion of his head often reply as though to a greeting, "We'll have a game of dominoes, shall we?"

Leonid thinks to himself, don't try to play the fool, for I know perfectly well that one can't make jokes with you as one can with Sirov. Towards a secretive person one must be secretive, too, . . . yes for yes. Leonid now turns to Sophia and markedly ignores the presence of Dniprov.

"Why do you only address yourself to Sophia, as though she were independent and a girl with no responsibilities? I'm also present."

"Why, Comrade Dniprov, I didn't know you wanted to discuss politics. I'll be only too pleased to listen to your assertions."

Dniprov jumps to his feet:

"Don't wrap your insolence in fine phrases. In the twenty-sixth year of the proletarian revolution you dare to interfere in foreign relations, in a foreign locale. Although you have achieved the fame of Werther, I look upon you as an incorrigible careerist. And I am speaking not only as a private individual, whose personal honour has been touched, but also as the secretary of the Party organisation of the Institute, who fears for the moral purity of every student, and for you, Comrade Leonid, in particular. . ."

Leonid interrupts Dniprov:

"You fear!? Most interesting. I'm delighted to hear it. By the way, do you know that well-known fop, with the red tie, in the third course of the Historical Faculty? Do you know how old he is? Twenty-seven. And do you know how many times he has already been married? Twenty-six times!"

Dniprov, assuringly:

"It's a good thing you have told me. This matter will be set right without delay. And do you know how he will pay?"

"I don't, but I do know that he has already paid fifty roubles for each divorce. But, Dniprov, why are you angry? Am I taking Sophia away from you illegally? Why are you checking up on all that I say to her and do with her?"



"If it were not for me, she would never have seen either you or this Institute. She is indebted to me because I got her into our student group through illegal channels. And either you tell me, as secretary of the Party organisation, at once what you have come here for, or else I shall bring this matter up before the Party meeting!"

"And precisely what are you going to accuse me of?"

"Of amorous intervention,—that you sow seeds of amorality among the students."

"There, that's precisely what I wanted to hear from you! Please be so kind, Comrade Dniprov, as to keep your word and bring this matter concerning me up before the Party meeting."

Dniprov's face assumes an expression of alarm:

"Why? Ha! It will be all the worse for you. You think that because it is not a political matter, nothing will happen to you? Why, even love can be used as a cloak for politics."

"I want publicity. . . Sophia, don't listen, this doesn't concern you. . . I want to cleanse my guilt publicly. Let them punish me or even throw me out of the Institute. I will obediently leave the city. Although I am not one of the Party, I am a non-Party Bolshevik, and because the Party leads the masses and because only the Party can be the vanguard, its word is very precious to me. Now, Comrade Secretary, you prove to the Party organisation that I am not correct. In any case, Sophia is not an inanimate thing and she is not our mutual discovery, so she can therefore decide the matter of our duel herself. Do you hear, Sophia, I am ready to leave at once."

Leonid and Sophia leave the room. Sophia:

"Oh, now you've done it! You can take me where you like now. I daren't return there for the night after this. He's capable of sitting there waiting for me, till dawn. He won't let me go. He'll get hold of my hand and I shan't be able to free myself."

Leonid is silent for a moment or two. Then he says:

"Go downstairs, Sophia, and wait for me at the entrance. I'm going to settle up scores with him personally."

Five minutes later, Leonid joins Sophia again.

"What did you say to him? Why won't you tell me? But I'm not asking you to give me details of your conversation,—I only want to know what the subject was. Wait! Stop! Have you thought about what happened and what this means? What? This means that I've been thrown out into the street. Without any means of existence, without so much as a scholarship. Yes, naturally, I accepted. He did not begrudge me the money. But this does not bind me in any way, for he never presented any bills and I never promised any interest."

People are coming out of the Karl Liebknecht cinema. Leonid speaks to Sophia in a casual manner, and she laughs. He then suggests that they should turn into a street that is quieter,—Klara Zetkin Street.

"Sophia, I came to warn you. During the next few days, do not come to my rooms without letting me know beforehand. Don't ask me why. It is not ill will on my part that prompts me to say this to you."

Obvious of the shadows of the city all around them, they gaze into each other's eyes seriously for a moment and then Sophia says:

"How frightening and empty it all is. A minute ago, I laughed, and now I lose the last person whom I felt I could, to some extent, trust. One recognises one's friends in times of trouble. No, no, don't justify yourself. You are not to blame for anything that has happened. I understand your feelings; you want to protect me, and because of doing so, you have got into trouble."

Sophia and Leonid walk along together in silence, but after a little while Sophia says:

"Leonid, it is time you went home. No, no, please don't escort me. This evening must end differently. It's quite simple really. Just squeeze my hand and go. What has it to do with you, anyway? And what right have I to cast my worries on someone else? No, no, I've thought of something. I'll manage somehow,—somewhere. That would, of course, be possible, but he will have searched all the rooms. Look, I can go with you. I'll take your advice, but don't get angry. Why? Because I look upon you as my protector. But, to come to the point, does Dniprovyy know your address? But perhaps he can find it out through various channels? That's fine! No, no, you see, I'm willing to go with you."

As arranged, Leonid goes to see Maria's father. Somewhere, a loudspeaker is blaring forth: "... I bid you goodbye, gypsies, as to foreign lands I depart. Don't remember..." Hear that? And they say tenderness is a thing unknown in our country! But, more to the point,—Leonid recently read the following account in the press about an incident that really happened in Western Ukraine: a peasant-woman was about to cross a narrow bridge, a peasant woman formerly trampled on by the Polish bourgeoisie. The Red soldiers and their commander stepped aside and gave her the right of way, as if she were a princess, and waited patiently until she had crossed the bridge. The woman was astonished and deeply touched, for the newly routed capitalists in a similar situation would have pushed her into the water. We undoubtedly give others the right of way, but, at the same time, we boldly press forward.

After introducing himself, Leonid begins a conversation with Maria's father. His name is Constantine Pavlovych, and his face seems to consist entirely of a black moustache. He converses easily and carefree, like a person who always adapts his words to the situation. In this respect, Leonid finds him quite agreeable.

"Having got rid of the women, we can now feel more at ease," he says.

For the most part, however, Constantine Pavlovych expresses what he has to say in such a tone that his words sound full of profound feeling and tact and are not a contradiction to argument.

"It is somewhat difficult for me to converse with you, since we are complete strangers and have so far not experienced the mutual pleasure of each other's company. I purposely hastened back here so as to still find you in Kharkiv and to have you as a companion for the further journey to Western Ukraine.

Yes, yes, Maria wrote and told me that you were preparing to leave the city and also gave me your address and phone number."

The conversation continued on this note and Leonid was obliged to convince Constantine Pavlovych that he was not a scoundrel, but that he found himself between two poles, one positive, the other negative, a fact which could only have a negative result for him.

"For instance, I always entered this room, in which we are now conversing, like a thief,—stealthily, stepping on the floor as if it were slippery ice which might crack any minute. I was always afraid of slipping and falling. In order to enter the other room to see Maria, I was always obliged to face your wife in this room, sitting there like a watchdog. I would always pretend to be not in the least surprised to see her there, and, in any case, it would have been quite natural for her as a mother to be interested in me because of my friendship with her daughter. But her chief and foremost interest in me lies in the reason that she might possibly have to give the Party Committee a report about the kind of people with whom she and her family are on friendly terms. In principle, I greatly respect your wife's perseverance. She might quite well have been a great aviator. I completely believe in her sincere endeavour to make life easier and more beautiful. But her recipe for improving life is not convincing enough and, therefore, not conducive to action. Apart from the fact that I have personal interests which are not connected with social and administrative work, your wife's point of view bores me. Her opinions are too schematic and, what is more, she generalizes too much and tries to reduce everything to a common denominator. Excuse my frankness. Perhaps you think me cynical, but I am being perfectly frank with you on purpose, so that you will have no misapprehensions as to my conduct, which you do not seem to understand. Under such circumstances I am not afraid to be frank and to show my cards."

Apparently it is difficult for two generations to live in harmony and have mutual interests. They always seem to clash. And after he has spoken, Leonid is suddenly struck by the idea that perhaps it might be better to behave like a beast, gnash his teeth with rage and rid himself and Maria of these involuntary patriots, whose ideals are questionable, to say the least.

But Constantine Pavlovych is saying:

"Comrad Leonid, don't take all this to heart so seriously. Look at it as I do. We are intelligent people and must respect the embryo in a person from which the fantasy of creation begins,—the aspect of individualism. Yes, yes, you are quite right, in that case one must respect it at a distance, after having set up a demarcation line. It is not quite to the point, but since we have touched on the subject, I will now tell you something. You have not yet asked me from where I returned. Yes? If you knew, then you would be completely assured that I understand you and, in fact, understand you very well. You see, during the past year and a half I was buried in a province forsaken by God, and I only returned yesterday, after freeing myself as if by a miracle. And what do you think,—I was sent there as an act of good will and kindness? Nothing of the sort! My own wife got me sent there! I worked in Kharkiv... it doesn't matter where... but I had an extremely responsible job which concerned vital state matters. I fulfilled my respons-



ibilities honestly and tried to keep pace with life, but how could I have foreseen that a certain system in my work was not to someone's liking, that unexpected changes would occur, that various new decrees would be issued and that I would receive a clout on the head! They accused me of distorting the directives of the Party and brought this matter before a Party meeting. And then my wife appeared at the meeting and, so that they should not suspect any family or mutual adoration on her part, demanded that they should send me, her husband, into the provinces for reeducation. A lot of people were eager to fill my position, and I was replaced at once. Perhaps she made this suggestion from fear, that is, so that my punishment should be less severe."

"But they won't allow you to go to Western Ukraine now, for you are a tainted person with a dark past."

"But I justified their trust in me, cleared my name of guilt, and, in any case, the Party and the government never average themselves on anyone."

Since it is futile to discuss this matter any further, Leonid now turns to an entirely different subject:

"What is your opinion, Constantine Pavlovych, of the rumour recently published abroad by TASS that relations between us and Germany are by no means as friendly as they were and that there is the possibility of a military clash?"

Constantine Pavlovych does not use the arguments of a Party-man in his conversation today; he is tired and a little confused. And Leonid continues to paralyse him with his conversation. As a rule, however, he is more lively and ready with his answers.

Leonid, however, is delighted to be conversing with Constantine Pavlovych, who seems to him to be a concrete embodiment of memoirs of Maria. Leonid will now most certainly travel to Western Ukraine and strike root in a family that seems to be one unit again. And Maria will listen to him, and not to her parents. She has a sensitive and natural intuition when it is a case of having to resort to action and she has the right to do so. Let the danger of romanticism enter Maria's subconscious mind and she will retreat from the word "dual" and will resort to the necessity of putting her will against that of her mother. In principle, Maria has adopted the attitude that Leonid should not travel with her, but this has involved much sacrifice on her part. Maria has a will of her own, she knows how to argue and contradict and to distinguish between good and bad. It is perfectly evident that we, the younger generation, will never and under no circumstances whatever become reconciled with the older generation. Our parents, having seized the administration, want to equalize everyone according to the same mediocre standard and accept as their line the common idea that a farm labourer, as an intellectual phenomenon, can never be elevated to the rank of a highly cultured person, neither with the aid of force nor by means of decrees. But the reverse can be done and, in fact, very easily, namely by having a pistol in one drawer and administrative powers in the other. It is very easy to make a farm labourer of a doctor or academician. In the era of proletarian dictatorship, a backward child was admitted without objection to the high school if its father owned not more than four hectares of land, and a talented child was admitted if its

father had less than four hectares, but if he owned five hectares, a talented child was refused admission to an educational institution. Little did our parents—did Maria's mother—realise what horrible vengeance the unreality of the course chosen by them would bring upon them, when they shouted: "Don't go to sleep, worker, on the landowner's pile of dirt; the enemy doesn't go to sleep!" What unpleasant recollections I have of this frightening vision of proletarian dictatorship, even though it has long since vanished into the ashes of reality: "Go forward, people; take your cannon and shoot like revolutionists, stubbornly. The red rank will conquer all. Long live the banner of Communism and freedom!"

Justice is not a simple thing. The path to it is long and painful. Under pressure of force, justice will inevitably vanish. The older generation introduced an equalizer,—those who work and those who sleep, those who create and those who utilize—and exhorted everyone to join the ranks, telling them that they would all receive 300 grammes of bread and 120 roubles. But they did not realise that it is harmful and, indeed, dangerous to generalize.

But we of the younger generation see life from a very different aspect and hold opinions which run counter to those of the older generation. We do not want to reconcile ourselves to the smallest measure. We want to take the farm labourer by the hand and, carefully, so that he does not stumble, lead him upwards. Let him grasp within his hands that which is within his power, for if he grasps what is beyond his spirit and his realm of understanding, he will not only destroy the peace of others, but also himself. We want to see his suppressed natural talents, so that they can, as it were, be placed in the sun and give forth fruit. Our primary consideration is—equality. We want to weigh everything on the scale in order to ascertain its true worth. We are not only a change in the sense of the Red generation, but we also carry this change over into the psychology of social life, a field that has been ignored. We are young, but we are already round-shouldered from bending over books and studying conspectus lessons in the University lecture-rooms. We, therefore, have no choice in the heritage of the simplified, mechanised way of thought of our parents. They, however, are oddish and fight continuously in an attempt to exterminate the "Trotsky-Bukharin and nationalistic rabble". They fight like grim opponents, one against the other, but fail to notice that we are already treading on their heels. That is to say, not we, for we stand on the side-lines, but our intellect. At every step, we encounter the primitive social creations of our parents—the creators of the October revolution. When the building of the Regional Executive Committee in Voronezh was erected, three times more money was spent on the facade than on the entire building. Perhaps everything else is conducted the same way.

Leonid is troubled at the thought that Sophia may have become a blood donor. But he does not like to ask her, because if this is not the case, she will be offended. In any case, to outward appearance our country is the happiest, and, in principle, the wealthiest, and for a young person to admit that he is short of anything or of money, is a big disgrace. Why does our country need so much blood? Can there be so many sick persons? It is true that a litre of human blood costs a lot and, in addition, blood donors receive plenty of food, too. It is quite possible that Sophia resorted to this means. In any case,

donors are no longer anything so very unusual in Kharkiv, especially not among the workers.

"... My friend, put on your garments... Let today be spring..."

Music does not disturb conversation. It winds among the words unnoticeably and becomes, as it were, a third conversationalist. Leonid, however, does not tell Constantine Pavlovych all that he has in mind; some of his observations he keeps to himself. Sometimes, in fact, we convert serious matters into jests, so as to prevent possible surprises. A person who commits a crime whilst under the influence of drink, for instance, is dealt with lightly when sentenced.

Leonid, as though summarising a serious and problematical conversation, now turns to Constantine Pavlovych and says:

"You may be planning to bomb foreign cities or to compose a symphony—it all comes to the same thing: either they will shower orders on you or they will beat you unmercifully. Every action calls forth a reaction. Before I say goodbye to you, you would like me to say something more concrete, wouldn't you? Very well. In addition to giving your wife and Maria my kind regards, tell them that I shall inevitably be arriving in Western Ukraine. I should have left a long time ago, but I was delayed by my work on a paper which I am to read at the meeting of the Literary and Language Faculty, so as to receive favourable character references for the journey which are likely to be of advantage to me on future occasions. Responsibility is responsibility, but at present we are all careerists. Isn't that true?"

## 8.

"Tell me frankly, Sirovy, do you regard me as your friend? That's fine! And now tell me,—as a friend would I wish you ill, or wilfully incite you to evil or danger? Oh, no, don't talk nonsense! I quite realise that Party obligations must come before personal interests, but isn't it possible to find some convincing argument regarding the charges of a friend, so that the commission to Lozova can be postponed to a later date? Nothing will happen if you read the lecture to the railway workers at the Lozova Club, by taking the short Party courses on the 16th instead of on the 13th. Look, Sirovy, this is your business, and it is not my place to make demands, but I consider it your duty to bring up before the general meeting of the most active members of the Party the question of Dnirov's misuse of his position, in other words, to put it plainly, his terrorisation of a woman-student. Otherwise, he will finish me off within the next few days. The chief point is time. You are a Leninist, and Lenin taught that to attack on the 6th is too soon, to attack with arms on the 8th is too late, and that the only thing to do, therefore, is to attack on the 7th and that in the morning. At the critical moment, you must stop him from extending his authority too far, so that at least I can remain at the Institute until the day on which I have to read my paper. If I fail this time, it will be the first time that I have been defeated. But you must realise that in that case you will not fare well, either. Who will prepare your conspectus? I know you are competent to do so, but as a result of constant commissions and meetings, you have no time, and, in any case, you don't like working until three o'clock in the morning. Don't be such a coward,



—you're behaving as if you were a fine lady who is frightened of stepping into cold water or jumping onto a moving trolley-car. Why are you making such a fuss about my simple request? Just consider the other side of the question; nobody likes Dniprovy, but they're all afraid to be the first to oppose him. And if you take the initiative in this respect, then not only I, but all the sincere Party and non-Party Bolsheviks will be grateful to you. Here is your opportunity to start a new mass movement for the moral improvement of the Party ranks. Why, they may even name this new movement in your honour. We already have the movement of the "500", of Khetagurov, of Krivonis, and finally we shall have the "Sirovy Movement". Needless to say, I am depending in principle entirely on you, for the struggle to maintain moral purity in the Party ranks is your direct responsibility. Sirovy, don't try to wriggle out of this matter, and don't rush off, but sit down! You have time to think it over and as soon as some intelligent idea comes to your head, just tell me. In the meantime, I shall go on reading these books."

This is more or less mere talk on Leonid's part, for he finds it impossible to concentrate on what he reads and nervously turns the pages, putting one book aside and picking up another. Restlessly and fearfully, his eyes move from line to line, but he is not capable of taking in the meaning of the words he reads: . . . "We cast aside altogether the assertions of the bourgeois theoreticians. . . ." A new book from the series "Fire-light". The poetry of K. Simonov: "Peacefully rest the British soldiers, we never take revenge upon the dead. . . ." "The last phase of capitalist development inevitably results in proletarian. . ."

"Listen, Sirovy, I'd like you to deliver a note for me. Is it all right? Well, then, wait, I'll just write it. Now then, take this note to the "Giant", enter the VUIKO corps department, on the second floor, right side knock on the fourth door and give it to Sophia. You must wait, so that she can read this note in your presence. No, no, you mustn't give it to anyone else. When does the general meeting begin? At seven. Then in that case, you definitely must be back here not later than six. That is not compulsory; but it is extremely important that you should be present, and if Sophia should arrive, it doesn't matter. Well, so long for the time being. But, remember, be discreet."

It is just as well that Sirovy departs so quickly without raising any objections, because, for some reason, Anatol has told Leonid that he would like to come to see him about something. Left alone, Leonid ponders on whether all the separate pieces are now falling into place, and he comes to the conclusion that he and Anatol are like a married couple that cling together merely because they are a man and a woman.

From Sirovy one can always expect more hindrance than help. But he is perhaps not to blame,—it is simply because he is made that way. And, if one scolds him, he always looks quite astonished and says, "But why?" Sirovy is a person of very mixed feelings and qualities,—pride, spitefulness, anger, jealousy, generosity and meanness. In fact, there is a little of everything in his character. But consequently, there is, at the crucial moment, never enough strength to get out of a difficult situation easily.

Although Anatol has not promised definitely that he would come to see Leonid, he arrives nevertheless.

"Anatol, you undoubtedly know that I have a permit to travel to Western Ukraine and, at the moment, it is still valid."

"Yes, I know."

"Have you told anyone else about it?"

"No."

"Well, then, don't do so."

"But why? Or have you already sold it to someone?"

"Why, what queer conjectures you make! I feel that I'm about to witness something very interesting, but what it is, I don't know. A network of intrigue seems to be nearing its culmination. My permit is only valid until June 30th, and it is not convenient to have it extended. You ask why? It might very easily arouse suspicion. So far, everything has gone smoothly and without hindrance. I am to read my lecture on June 21st. And I'm fairly sure that it will be a success. I shall receive a favourable character reference, and then I shall be off."

"Work makes a person happy, and intellectual work also refines and moulds a person's mind. Our epoch is the epilogue to the beginning of the precise standardisation of human individualism. Why, even at present, waitresses in restaurants, when disgusted because you force them to serve food faster, loudly retort, "On principle, we shall not serve you." By force, by a stroke of the pen and within a day the right of property has been taken away from us. And what is there left for us to do? Ha? Especially for the younger generation?"

Leonid interrupts his thoughts, for he sees that Anatol wishes to say something:

"I understand you perfectly. The construction of socialism has wearied you. But who finds life easy? Nothing is created easily. What is the good of torturing each other with question such as who forced whom to stand on this platform, which is violently thrusting us forward? It is like falling to the bottom of an abyss,—you will break your neck, just the same. People who are married keep quiet. But you go on talking, Leonid. I'll listen to you. And forgive my impatience."

"Very well, then, I repeat, what is left to us? It is quite surprising that what is left to us, is—happiness, which we do not know how to use,—simple human happiness."

"Ah, Leonid, I like to hear you say such things. It means that the workers' class is the happiest in the world."

"Now don't jump to conclusions. Because you don't know what I'm thinking. Just look about you. And let's consider this question, for instance: why do wealthy families breed such good-for-nothing, rotten children? Because they are reared in beds, they sleep, eat and even learn in bed. Send such a blockhead to defend the Soviet frontiers, and he will immediately fall asleep, and, right under his very nose, spies from other countries will cross the frontier and enter our midst. But young people who are destined to experience the hardship of life, unconsciously develop a certain solidarity, power of discernment and the ability to help themselves in dire circumstances. We are forced to struggle eternally. Our material possessions are limited. And, like

wolves, we sway to the other side, for spiritual self-perfection is not restrained. The spiritual life of person is difficult to control, since it is not always apparent to outward appearance. For instance, how can you know what I am thinking of at the moment, or what my thoughts were after I had read this book? No one has the power to eliminate the inequality of human development. There is only one way to solve this problem,—create harmony in this inequality, for no theory of equilibrium, no theory of proletarian dictatorship, nor the present monolithic union of the Soviet people can withstand the test of history. Life can be improved not by theories, meetings and decrees, and not even by the police or by the organs of state security, but by all-embracing science. If you, Anatol, want to burden yourself with progress, write a dissertation on this subject and expound these thoughts of mine. Well, even a short paper on the subject of the 'psychology of social development' would be something. Aha! He's coming. Why are his steps so hurried? Anatol, wait here for me. I'll be back in a minute or two."

"Why, Sirovy, what's your hurry? Let's go downstairs. I have a client in my room. Wait! Keep quiet, don't say anything now. Yes, I see you're intrigued, but be quiet! I purposely don't want to listen to you now. And don't start asking questions. Very well, speak... And what were my instructions? Naturally, not for me,—I'm only making a request. Generally speaking, you are doing the cause of honour and justice a service; and to put it more specifically, you are defending Sophia against Dniprov. If you place an obstacle in his path, we shall be killing two birds with one stone,—we shall be conquering reaction and furthering progress. How should I know why he has such a queer name? A kind of peculiar mimicry. Well, go ahead. I am relying on you completely. You have at least half an hour's time. Will Sophia be waiting? Very well, then hurry up. But be sure that you come back to me as quickly as you can with a note, after the meeting today."

Leonid, to himself, after Sirovy's departure: "It is almost amusing. It's as though I were a railway switch."

"Excuse me, Anatol, for keeping you waiting. Our room is like a cabin on board a steamer that has not yet docked, and we can throw about free time, like money. And there is no night either. Industrial night, with steam whistles and fires, is not really night. It is only some incidental shadow which hovers over our large city. The poets say: 'Night flapped her black wings'. We resist night, and fall asleep late, not because it is dark, but because we are exhausted. Let the loudspeaker blare. Our boat will sail onward and we shall come out upon clear waters."

Leonid thinks to himself: If I manage to get out of the city, I shall gather wild flowers. The sun will set again, and once again the radio station 'Comintern' will greet us with a 'good morning', and the announcer Vysoetskaya will read the headlines from the 'Pravda'. Some people will listen to him, for conversation frequently tires us, disturbs or even angers us."

The silence of night has gradually descended, and somewhere a clock chimes the hour,—ten, eleven. Anatol has left long since. It is already very late. And Leonid is still waiting for Sirovy, who fails to put in an appearance.

(To be continued)



*Mykhaylo Ostroverkha*

## **MYKHAYLO MOROZ**

### **A MASTER OF UKRAINIAN COLOURING\*)**

The month of August was enjoying its last warm days and was waiting tensely for Autumn to come. The sun dipped its hot rays into the warm and placid water of the ocean. The gulls called to each other with raucous and greedy voices and brought me back to irksome reality once more,—to the realisation that here I should hear neither the song of the lark nor the cooing of the doves.

But my soul was completely in harmony with God's creature—with Nature—and I was secretly watching the painter Mykhaylo Moroz. Yes, I was secretly watching him! For I felt a desire to get to know him aside, as it were: what he looks like when he encounters Nature, how he conceives the beauty of Nature in his soul, in his heart, in his thoughts, how he reaches a state of enthusiasm and how he creates his works. This is not the first time that I sit next to him whilst he paints. It often happened in our native country, when he was staying as a guest at the country-house of the Ukrainian writers near Dovbush Rock, above the River Prut (in Western Ukraine), that the two of us would wander together through the fragrant vales of our picturesque and sunlit mountainous landscape,—and he, Mykhaylo Moroz, would transfer the landscape of the Carpathians on to his canvas by fits and starts, whilst I sat next to him and admired Nature on his canvas. But in those days I did not pay attention to his creative process itself.

Let us now, therefore, wander through the countryside with Mykhaylo Moroz. He is wearing a pair of Bavarian knee-breeches, a shirt with short sleeves and a straw hat; he carries a box slung over his shoulder and a camp-stool, an easel and white canvases in his hands. As he strides out, his clear and lively gaze sweeps across the expanse of grassy hills and rippling blue sea stretched out in front of him and he says:

"All this is so beautiful that it makes one want to weep because one's heart is so full of beauty!"

After surveying everything, like a general before a battle, he opens his camp-stool, sits down, puts a canvas on the easel, opens his box and takes out his palette. And in doing so, he reveals his soul as it were. For as he puts the colours on the palette, his soul and his heart begin to raise a hymn of praise to the beauty of Nature.

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\*) A slightly abbreviated translation of the original article in Ukrainian, entitled "Arystokrat ukrayins'koho kol'orytu", which was published in the monthly magazine "Ovyd" ("The Horizon", Chicago-New York-Toronto, 1957, No. 1).

His palette itself is a colourful riot of tones,—in turns violent, lyrical and mournful: ochre, carmine, vermilion, cobalt, Veronese green, Venetian green and emerald.

And as if transported with a profound ecstasy, Mykhaylo Moroz begins to paint his canvas; every one of his lines forms a new tone placed in exactly the right spot, and every one of his strokes with their pure and transparent colour forms a new chord in the painter's colourful and harmonious symphony. Delighting in his creative process, he goes on adding new, chromatic, interesting and extraordinarily melodious tones; and he takes them from the sunshine and from the landscape before him.

And he says softly, as if to himself:

"I cannot put the whole of Nature, as my eyes see it, into my landscape painting! So I choose what is best in Nature and, having created a centre for it, I put it on my canvas."

Mykhaylo Moroz is silent again. A crow screeches. And a few minutes later, Moroz once more continues his thoughts:

"Sometimes I scream out loudly in my picture! But immediately afterwards I beg forgiveness for such a loud tone."

And, indeed, with a semi-tone—but it is an accentuated one—he moderates his "con passione".

\* \* \*

The magic play of his colours reminds me of qualities to be found in the works of other artists; of Fra Giovanni of Fiesole with his gentle "Last Judgement" (in St. Mark's, Florence) and of Benozzo Gozzoli with his "Hunting Scene" (Palazzo Riccardi, Florence), with its depth and richness of colour; of Paolo Veronese with his "Visit to the House of the Pharisees" (in the Brera Gallery in Milan), where Mary Magdalene pours out all her love and feeling as aromatic oil over the feet of Jesus; and also of Fragonard, of whom an authority on art once said that, though his landscapes are purely ornamental, he caressed them as if they were living beings. And, finally, one is reminded of Van Gogh with his "crazy" combination of "thirsting" tones.

But the painter's art of applying colours is most closely related to the colouring of Ukrainian folklore—of Ukrainian embroidery, ornamental national painting, etc. And as regards the scale of tones, certain trends in the Ukrainian art of painting sacred subjects (iconography) in the Middle Ages and later on, too, can be compared with the art of Mykhaylo Moroz.

\* \* \*

In a private conversation a Dean of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Father Volodymyr Andrushkiv, once said: "Mykhaylo Moroz allows us to see Nature as it was before man's fall."

This is a very apt remark. Mykhaylo Moroz is an artist whose works reveal a noble and clearly marked culture. His creative and passionate soul has delved deeply into the very essence of Ukraine's past and present. But his art is not a cold ornamentalism based on formal traditions; it has a mystic

quality; it resembles a prayer—expressed in the most eloquent colours—of visible Nature to God, the Eternal Creator and Saviour.

Nowadays, Mykhaylo Moroz, at the height of his mastery of the art of colouring, is one of the most outstanding representatives of Ukrainian national culture in the field of graphic art. Not only his scale of colours as such, but also the entire complex of his tone, style and form is characteristic of Ukrainian painting. It is very doubtful whether there are still, at the present time, any artists in Soviet Ukraine of such outstanding talent as Moroz, and if there really are any, their aesthetic creative talent cannot develop as freely under the Soviet Russian yoke as it is the case here, in this part of the world which is not restricted by Bolshevik tyranny.

### A MESSAGE OF A GREAT FRIEND OF UKRAINE

Office of the Prime Minister, Canada.

Mr. Arthur Maloney, M.P.,

Parliamentary Assistant to the

Minister of Labour,

Ottawa, Ontario.

Ottawa (4)

December 12, 1957.

Dear Mr. Maloney:

You were good enough to inform me that you had been invited to be Guest Speaker at a Banquet to be held in Toronto on Saturday next, December 21, on the occasion of the Seventh Annual Convention in Canada of the League for Ukraine's Liberation.

On the eve of my departure for Paris, I would be grateful if you would convey my good wishes to the assembled gathering and communicate the contents of this letter to those present.

As the Prime Minister of a free people, I recognise the right of all peoples everywhere to freedom and self determination. I am aware, too, of the deeply rooted aspiration for their homeland which animates the hearts and minds of that substantial segment of the Canadian people who are of Ukrainian birth or descent.

I know full well the courage and spirit of dedication which motivates the members and sponsors of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation. It is clear too that the freedom enjoyed by those of Ukrainian origin in this country has not in any sense dampened in their hearts the desire to see restored to the ancient and historic homeland of their people the freedom and independence which they last enjoyed, only briefly, after the First World War.

I should like to make known to you that I take pride in the fine contribution to our beloved Canada by Canadians of Ukrainian origin.

The roots of our country strike deep among many peoples and races. It is our pride and our heritage that from these varied beginnings we are bringing forth a nation united behind the principles of freedom and human dignity and it is our hope that the freedom and independence we enjoy here will in the end become the common gift of all mankind—including that of Ukraine.

Yours sincerely,

(—) John Diefenbaker



## ***THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE***

After the collapse of the Russian Tsarist empire, the national independence of Ukraine was proclaimed on January 22, 1918, in St. Sophia's Square in Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital. The re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state in 1918 was again a glorious event in the thousand-year old history of Ukraine. The unfortunate Treaty of Pereyaslav, concluded in 1654 between the two independent states, Ukraine and Muscovy, meant for Ukraine the loss of her independence, for, from the start, Muscovy had no intention of observing the terms of the Treaty. Consequently, the Ukrainians were obliged to struggle for the restoration of their national independence and freedom for over two and a half centuries. The Russians were constantly afraid of losing Ukraine, for—as the Hon. Michael Starr, Canadian Minister of Labour, rightly said during the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian independence in Winnipeg, on January 26, 1958,—Ukraine can live and survive without Russia, but Russia can hardly live and survive without Ukraine.

Ukraine's liberation war against Russia lasted for more than two years. Since the Allies, however, supported not Ukraine, but Russia, and in particular the "White" armies of Denikin and Wrangel, the young Ukrainian national army was eventually obliged to succumb to the superior numbers of the Russian troops. The Polish, Rumanian and Czech neighbours of Ukraine took advantage of the temporary weakness of the young Ukrainian state and annexed the southern, western and north-western territories of Ukraine. Nowadays, these peoples, who were so eager to incorporate large regions of Ukraine in their own territory and refused to support Ukraine against Russia, are forced to endure the same Russian yoke as Ukraine.

It is obvious that the Ukrainians at home, who are forced to endure the terrible conditions of Red Russian occupation, have not been able to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, this glorious but brief climax in the long history of Ukraine. But Ukrainian emigrants in every part of the free world have celebrated this anniversary of their short-lived but genuinely independent Ukrainian State, which was then finally crushed by Russian Communist armies in November, 1921.

The Russian Communists, incidentally, issued orders that the 40th anniversary of Communist rule in Ukraine was to be celebrated, but no mention was made of the anniversary of the Fourth Declaration of the Ukrainian Tsen-tralna Rada (Ukrainian Central Council), by virtue of which Ukraine was declared independent of Russia. And Nikita Khrushchov visited Kyiv in order to take part in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of Russian

Communist rule in Ukraine. He wanted to create the impression that the present Ukrainian Communist government is a genuine political expression of the will of the Ukrainian people and that Ukraine is truly free and independent. But he failed to mention the fact that Ukraine has been a land of concentration camps, artificial famine, genocide, Russification and constant religious persecutions ever since she has had a Communist government and Communist rule imposed upon her.

The Ukrainians in the Free World, however, remembered the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of independence. The most significant commemoration of the anniversary of Ukrainian independence took place in the U.S.A. and in Canada. In a telegram sent to Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine, which was celebrated on Sunday, January 19, 1958, in New York, President Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote the following message:

"To members and guests of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, I send greetings.

The Ukrainians who have emigrated to this country have brought with them cultural and spiritual values which have contributed much to the American heritage. Holding in common the right of all peoples to determine freely their own form of government, we share a basic concern for the privileges and responsibilities of freedom. Best wishes for a memorable meeting. Dwight D. Eisenhower."

We should like to quote a few passages from the Proclamation of the State of New York, Executive Chamber, Albany:

"January 22 this year marks the 40th anniversary of a historic event, the day on which Ukraine proclaimed itself a free and independent republic. It was a day of great joy, climaxing a long and heroic struggle for freedom by a spirited and enterprising people proud of their distinctive culture and ways of life. The Ukrainians immediately set up a democratic form of government.

Unhappily, the span of Ukrainian independence was brief. The Ukrainians were among the first of many free peoples to fall victim to the treachery and brutal aggression of the masters of the Kremlin. The latter, under the pretence of 'liberation', confiscated their lands, desecrated their churches, liquidated their institutions of learning, and made the proud Ukrainian people slaves of an alien state. But in spite of all this and subsequent hardships suffered under the godless and tyrannous rule of Communism, the spirit of freedom still burns bright in Ukraine.

Recent events in Eastern Europe make it very plain that there is no finality to man's quest for freedom. It is clear that the peoples of Eastern Europe and elsewhere behind the Iron Curtain are determined to obtain for themselves their God-given rights to freedom of worship, civil liberties and national independence.

This year, Americans of Ukrainian descent will again celebrate the January 22nd anniversary as a memorial to a once free and independent Ukraine, and it is fitting that all of us join with them as they reassert their belief in the

inalienable right of all liberty-loving peoples to live at peace with God and His many children in a great democratic family of nations.

Now, therefore, I, Averell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby proclaim January 22, 1958, as

*Ukrainian Day*

in the State of New York, and call upon our people to join in all appropriate observance of the occasion, joining with their fellow-citizens of Ukrainian descent in their hopes and prayers that the liberty and independence of the brave people of their homeland can soon be restored.

(L. S.)

By The Governor:

(Signed) Jonathan B. Bingham

Secretary to the Governor.

GIVEN under my hand and the Privy Seal of the State at the Capitol in the City of Albany this seventeenth day of January in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight.

(Signed) Averell Harriman.

Similar Ukrainian "Independence Day" proclamations were issued by the following Governors and Mayors on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, on January 22, 1958:

Governors: Abraham Ribikoff, Connecticut; Orville L. Freeman, Minnesota; John E. Davis, North Dakota; George M. Leader, Pennsylvania; Dennis J. Roberts, Rhode Island; Vernon W. Thomson, Wisconsin; Robert B. Meyner, New Jersey; B. G. Straton, Illinois.

Mayors: Mayor Tedesco, Bridgeport, Conn.; John B. Hynes, Boston, Mass.; Albert J. Zak, Hamtramck, Mich.; John Rosenblatt, Omaha, Neb.; Stephen J. Bercik, Elizabeth, N.J.; Paul G. De Muro, Passaic, N.J.; James J. Flynn, Perth Amboy, N.J.; Leo P. Carlin, Newark, N.J.; G. T. Di Domenico, Bayonne, N.J.; Rudolph I. Roulter, Cohoes, N.Y.; H. Klavitter, Milville, N.J.; Edward A. Mooers, Elmira, N.Y.; John. Burns, Binghamton, N.Y.; David A. Burkhalter, Johnson City, N.Y.; Robert F. Wagner, New York, N.Y.; J. J. Purcell, Troy, N.Y.; Robert P. Alex, Akron, Ohio; Arthur J. Gardner, Erie, Pa.; Frank Zeider, Milwaukee, Wisc.; Charles S. Witkowski, Jersey City, N.J.; R. J. Daly, Chicago, Ill.

In a speech which he delivered at a rally held by the Metropolitan Area Committee of the Ukrainian Congress Committee in New York City on January 19, 1958, to mark the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, the Hon. Averell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York, made the following noteworthy remarks:

"... The life of the Ukrainian republic was short; but the memory of it is long. There will be no public celebration in Ukraine of its fortieth anniversary of Ukrainian independence; the tyrants in the Kremlin will see to that. But in the hearts of the people of Ukraine there will be remembrance, and renewed determination to win freedom... It was my good fortune to visit Ukraine while I was Ambassador to the Soviet Union during the war... I visited Poltava at that time. I was greeted with warmth and enthusiasm as the representative of the American people by the Ukrainians. The national



culture of the Ukrainians and their aspirations for freedom have endured through centuries of oppression. They have survived the division of the Ukrainian nation. They have survived the cruel attempts of conquerors to stamp out the Ukrainian leaders and scholars. They have survived the autocracy of the Mongols and the Czars. And they will survive the tyranny of the Kremlin. . ."

In his message to the Ukrainian Independence Rally in New York City, Meade Alcorn, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, said: "...the historic event of Ukraine's independence on January 22, 1918, symbolised the true and genuine independence that was destroyed by the first wave of Russian Communist imperialism in 1920. This fortieth anniversary symbolises the Ukrainian nation's will for true national freedom and the certainty of its eventual liberation. . . The work and progress of your leaders furnish adequate evidence of the many contributions to our nation. . ."

We should also like to draw special attention to the following remarks which were made by Mayor Robert F. Wagner when he addressed the New York Rally:

"...A democracy, fashioned around the concepts of our own great president, George Washington, was the answer, so lovingly voiced by your great poet and statesman, Taras Shevchenko, to the age-old longings of a great people for freedom and national independence. Today, as we gather to celebrate, we cannot avoid the consciousness also of sorrow, for thirty-seven years of Communist duplicity and tyranny have stripped the home of your forbears of its language, its culture and the last vestige of its autonomy.

In the midst of the Soviet call for peaceful coexistence, for cooperation between the peoples, for the rights of minorities to their freedom and to their own autonomous national culture and government, a loud cry is heard—what has happened to your free independent Ukraine?.. Certainly, as we look ahead, there must be no vacillation in our foreign policy. We must have the courage to remain steadfast to our American principles in our dealings with other nations. Only in this way can we fulfil our moral obligations to the less fortunate peoples of the world."

Thirteen Senators and 28 Congressmen paid tribute to the Ukrainian people when the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives convened at Capitol Hill on January 21, 22, and 23, 1958, during the second session of the U.S. 85th Congress. The speeches which they made in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence were filed in the Congressional Record. All these leading American personalities expressed their sympathy with the Ukrainian people, their recognition of the latter's right to freedom and the hope that Ukraine would very soon regain her independence.

The session of the House of Representatives on January 21st opened with a prayer read by the Rev. Meletius M. Wojnar, and the Senate session on January 23rd with a prayer read by the Very Rev. Stephen Halick-Holutiak.

The Hon. George B. De Luca, Lt.-Governor of the State of New York, attended the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian independence

at New York's Manhattan Center, on January 19, and commented as follows: "... It is significant that the City of New York has been selected as the place to memorialise the deeds of the many Ukrainian heroes who, through the years, fought and died for man's cherished ideals—liberty, justice and freedom... The declaration of the free and independent Republic of Ukraine forty years ago, was a most glorious achievement in Ukrainian history. Thirty-seven years ago, Communist Russia suppressed liberty and freedom of worship in Ukraine... If we are resolute, patient and wise, I have no doubt, that with God's help, the yoke of oppression and tyranny in Ukraine and all the other captive nations will be cast off eventually, and peace and justice will reign once more in the world."

In connection with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, millions of television viewers in the New York area had an opportunity to see the story of Ukraine's fight for freedom on the screen. This special programme which lasted an hour also included addresses given by Canadian Senator William W. Wall, Governor Averell Harriman and Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, and Congresswoman Florence P. Dwyer of New Jersey. Senator William W. Wall told viewers: "... The anniversary of Ukrainian independence provides us with significant instructive lessons, if the Western world wishes to learn something from the Ukrainian tragedy—its subjugation by Russia."

Congresswoman Dwyer said: "We as Americans should let it be known to the people of Ukraine that they and their heritage are not and never will be forgotten or forsaken; that our cause is their cause; that we are striving to preserve and strengthen, for all men, the glorious dream that has never died in their hearts."

Senator Ives, whose speech was recorded, expressed the hope that there would be an early "day of liberation" for the Ukrainian people. He said that the Ukrainians had sounded the warning long before other free peoples had awakened to the Communist threat to their freedom.

Further messages from Senators Clifford P. Case and H. Smith of New Jersey and Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York were read by the master of ceremonies, John Romanyszyn.

Over 3,000 Americans of Ukrainian descent from New York and the entire metropolitan area assembled at New York's Manhattan Center on January 19, 1958, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. The rally received many greetings and messages expressing sympathy and support of the Ukrainian liberation struggle from many prominent American personalities and from countless representatives of the peoples subjugated by the Soviet Russians. In addition to the special message sent by President Eisenhower, mention must also be made of the striking speech delivered by Governor McKeldin, who said: "Although I am speaking as a citizen, I have no hesitation in asserting that the cause of the Ukrainian patriots engages not merely the sympathy of the American people, but also their calculated interest..."

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Professor of Soviet Economics at Georgetown University and national Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, commented on the present tensions all over the world caused by

constant Soviet Russian pressure. He pointed out that it was high time to make the United States and other countries of the free world realise that the best weapon we could use against the Soviet Russian world danger was to be found in the Soviet Union itself, namely the fact that all the non-Russian enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union and above all the Ukrainians were at present striving to gain their freedom and liberation from Red Russian oppression.

During the celebration at the Manhattan Center, Ukrainian blue and yellow national flags were presented to Mayor Wagner of New York and Lt. Governor De Luca. These flags were then flown from the City Hall of New York and the state Capitol building in Albany on January 22.

Representatives of Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Estonian, Latvian, Georgian, Slovak, Lithuanian, Idel-Ural, Cossack, Ghana and Polish-American organisations attended the Ukrainian celebration rally in New York.

The Ukrainian community of Chicago commemorated the 40th anniversary of Ukraine's independence on January 19. The speakers on this occasion were the Canadian Minister of Labour Michael Starr, U.S. Congressman B. O'Hara and Professor Roman Smal-Stockyi of Marquette University and president of the Ukrainian Shevchenko Scientific Society in the U.S.A.

Other Ukrainian communities in the United States, as for instance those in Cleveland, Johnson City and elsewhere, likewise celebrated this anniversary.

In its edition of February 9, 1958, the "Izvestia", the official organ of the Soviet Russian government in Moscow, attacked Governor Harriman and Mayor Wagner for having taken part in the celebrations held to mark the 40th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. It even went so far as to blame not only the Ukrainian leaders of 1917-1920, but also Governor Harriman, Mayor Wagner and other "Wall Street warmongers" for the present situation, and wrote as follows:

"... A large number of treasures went abroad from Ukraine to the monopolists at that time (that is, during the existence of an independent national Ukraine,—Editor's note), to the monopolists who always stood behind all Ukrainian 'independent' pseudo-governments. Such an 'independent' Ukraine is desirable today for Wall Street.

"These same people are trying to make out that the gilt cupolas of Kyiv no longer reflect the sun of freedom and that only the nationalist 'governments' represent the interests of the Ukrainian people..."

#### 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE IN CANADA

In Canada, too, the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence was celebrated by the Ukrainians and the Canadian authorities. As many as 2,500 Canadians of Ukrainian descent attended the Ukrainian Independence Day rally held at the Odeon Carlton Theatre in Toronto. For the first time in the history of Toronto's large Ukrainian community, the 40th anniversary of Ukraine's independence was celebrated this year by one big joint rally, sponsored by the three Ukrainian organisations,—the Ukrainian League for Liberation, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and the Ukrainian Youth Organisation. In his speech at this rally, Professor Dr. A. Granovsky of Minnesota said: "Let us never forget the happy sound of the church



bells in Kyiv some 40 years ago when they rang in the short-lived freedom of our former homeland." He added: "The proclamation of Ukrainian independence 40 years ago is an event that is important not only to the 44 million Ukrainians, but to the whole world." He stressed the fact that there would not be any freedom and peace in the world until the Russian Communist empire was disintegrated and the captive peoples of the Soviet Union were liberated.

Further anniversary celebrations took place in other Canadian towns which have a large Ukrainian community, as for instance Winnipeg, Montreal and Edmonton, etc.

Canada's Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker, told the Ukrainians of Canada at a banquet held in Winnipeg in connection with the anniversary of Ukraine's independence: "Russia must grant free elections in countries behind the Iron Curtain before any 'summit' conference will be held in Canada." In joining with other prominent Canadian political personalities and Canadians of Ukrainian origin in issuing a united appeal for the liberation of Ukraine from Soviet Russian enslavement, Prime Minister Diefenbaker expressed his sincere hope that Ukraine would gain its freedom "without catastrophe and disaster". In his speech in this occasion he praised the "magnificent contribution" made by the Ukrainian-Canadians to the setting up and maintaining of a democratic way of life in Canada.

Leading personalities and officials of the Canadian government attended the Ukrainian Independence Rally held in Winnipeg; they included the Hon. Michael Starr, Minister of Labour, who is the first Canadian of Ukrainian origin to hold this post, the Hon. Williams W. Wall, first Canadian Senator of Ukrainian descent, the Hon. D. L. Campbell, Premier of Manitoba, and many other prominent persons.

The Hon. L. B. Pearson, leader of the Liberal Party in Canada, sent a message to the rally which was read by Senator W. W. Wall. Mr. Pearson expressed his "understanding and sympathy with the motives and purposes of the celebration of the short-lived sovereignty of Ukraine." He stressed his "admiration and respect" for the Ukrainian-Canadians and their valuable contribution to the economic, social, political, cultural and religious life of the nation.

In Great Britain and Scotland the 40th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine was celebrated in all the large Ukrainian communities. In London, the celebrations, which were held on February 2nd in Hammersmith Hall, commenced with divine services and prayers at the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

The anniversary celebrations in Manchester were held in the Houldsworth Hall on February 9th and were attended by many Ukrainians and English friends of Ukraine.

The anniversary celebrations in Edinburgh included divine service at St. Patrick's Church, Cowgate, Edinburgh 1. In the afternoon of the same day, a wreath was placed on the memorial tablet at the City Hall. A rally was also held at the Ukrainian House in Edinburgh.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, Major-General Richard Hilton published a striking article

in the "Coventry Evening Telegraph" of January 22, 1958, entitled "40th Anniversary of Brief Liberty". In this article, Major-General Hilton stressed that in January, 1918, a short-lived but genuinely independent Ukrainian Republic came into existence, but that it was ruthlessly crushed, after gallant resistance, by overwhelming Red Russian armies in November, 1921. Major-General Hilton also expressed the opinion that it was not surprising that the Ukrainians hated the Soviet Union and that it seemed strange to them that British officials should shake hands with their murderers, since this was a conduct entirely unworthy of the great British people.

In South America the Ukrainian anniversary celebrations were attended by thousands of Ukrainians and also by the official representatives of various countries, in particular in Buenos Aires, Paraguay and Brazil.

On the European continent big Ukrainian Independence Day celebrations were held above all in Germany. In the Bavarian capital, Munich, over a thousand Ukrainians, as well as many Germans and representatives of the Bavarian government, attended the celebrations held in the Sophiensaal. Professor Dr. Hans Koch, director of the East European Institute in Munich, stressed the importance of the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian independence not only for the East European peoples, but also for Germany. He expressed the hope that Ukrainian-German relations would not suffer even though Germany had failed in her policy towards Ukraine in World War II.

All the Ukrainian emigrant centres in France, and, in particular in Paris, commemorated the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian independence in a similar manner (with concerts, divine services, etc.) as was the case in other European countries.

The large Ukrainian community in Vienna celebrated the anniversary by a rally in one of the biggest halls of the city. It was attended by hundreds of Ukrainians and friends of Ukraine of various nationalities, residing in Vienna.

Ukrainians living in Madrid and Rome celebrated Ukrainian Independence Day in a modest but solemn way. The newspapers of both Spain and Italy published articles referring to the importance of the 40th anniversary of Ukraine's independence and expressing the hope that the country would soon be liberated from Russian Communist enslavement.

In Australia, Ukrainian Independence Day was celebrated in a number of towns, including Melbourne. To mark this occasion, a lecture entitled "The 40th Anniversary of January 22, 1918" was broadcast by the Melbourne radio station. Other Australian radio stations, in addition to relaying this lecture, also gave programmes of Ukrainian music and folk-songs. On January 26, 1958, divine service and prayers were held at the Catholic Church of St. Patrick's in Melbourne and were attended by hundreds of Ukrainians and Australians. The Archbishop of the Australian Catholic Church blessed this pious commemoration of Ukrainian Independence Day. Both the daily papers of Melbourne commented at length on the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine and stressed its importance both for Eastern Europe and future political events in Europe.

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## ***Jubilee of an Outstanding Political Publication***

It is fifty years since the book "Tsarism and Ukraine" by the well-known, and in those days influential, West Ukrainian writer, Roman Sembratovych, was published in French ("Le Tsarisme et l'Ukraine", Edouard Cornély et Cie, 1907) in Paris. It is true that it was a posthumous edition, for the original German text by the chief editor of the Vienna "Ruthenian Review", who had meanwhile died, was already published in 1905 under the title "Tsarism in the Fight against Civilization", by the Neuer Frankfurter Verlag. But in spite of this fact, the French edition is particularly noteworthy, not only because D. Aitoff has supplied it with an extremely carefully drawn "map of the distribution of the Ukrainian people"<sup>1</sup>), but, above all, because its distinctive feature is a special foreword written by the famous Norwegian author and playwright, Bjoernstjerne Bjoernsen (1832-1910), who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1903 and whom the Norwegians rightly regard as their greatest national author and who had already previously (in the same "Ruthenian Review") expressed his indignation openly and emphatically at the persecution of the Ukrainian language in the Tsarist empire. In this foreword, too, he deplores the fact that "even in Europe there is a nation numbering thirty million people that has been robbed of its language and nationality in the name of state interests, not to mention all the others forms of subjugation and ill-treatment to which it has been subjected", and he expresses the conviction that "the great and invincible nation of the Ruthenians deserves to win the friendship of all free peoples". This great Christian writer and thinker of Norway also warns the Poles that "the sympathy and admiration which they enjoy in many parts of Western Europe will vanish, once it becomes known everywhere that, whilst fighting for their own freedom and unity, they are subjugating another and weaker nation."

Naturally, it cannot be denied that many statements in the book nowadays seem out-of-date or wrongly formulated even in those days. Throughout the entire book, the Ukrainians for instance are designated by the name "Ruthenians", which was already out-of-date before the first World War, even though the author himself stresses explicitly that "Ukrainian" and "Ruthenian" (as well as "Little Russian") are exactly identical: they are merely designations of different historical origin for the same ethnical national object. It is also wrong to affirm, as the author does, that the term "Russia Minor" was originally only used to designate Western Ukraine; its original meaning—it was formed analogously to geographical designations such as "Asia Minor",

<sup>1</sup>) This map is of great historical value, since it shows the percentage of the Ukrainian population in proportion to the non-Ukrainian population (in the countries bordering on Ukraine, too).



"Poland Minor", etc.— was Russia "proper" (that is the original "Rus", the Ukrainian territories of the principality of Kyiv), whilst "Greater Russia" was, to begin with, used to designate the colonial territories in the Ugrian-Finnic north, that is to say "Russia in the wider sense of the word", just as the Greeks called their colonial territories in South Italy and Sicily "Greater Greece".

Here and there, the author also makes other minor historical mistakes. It is not correct (and this error, unfortunately, also occurs frequently in modern Ukrainian publications) that Peter I was the first to assume the title of Russian Tsar, whereas his predecessors contented themselves with the title of "Tsar of Moscow"; officially there never was such a title or a "Muscovite Tsardom", and all the Tsars, from Ivan III and Ivan IV (who was the first to be crowned Tsar) onwards, were simply called Tsars of Russia<sup>2</sup>). Peter I merely added the title of Emperor (Imperator) to the title of Tsar and promoted his realm to the status of an "imperium" in the Occidental manner.

On two occasions (on p. 37 and on p. 50) the author refers to the famous "Aeneid Travestied" by the Ukrainian poet, Ivan Kotliarevsky (printed in 1798) as a "translation", which is not correct, for it is an independent satirical parody.

On turning to actual political question we are hardly surprised to find that the author in the year 1907 confines his aims and wishes to the gaining of a "national autonomy" for the Ukrainians in the sphere of influence of the Russian imperium; naturally, patriotic demands for Ukrainian national state independence and sovereignty were also voiced prior to 1917 (for example by V. Bachynsky, M. Mikhnovsky, Ivan Lypa), but they were comparatively rare; and the position of the Ukrainians in the Hapsburg empire, which from the national cultural point of view was fairly tolerable, but politically extremely strained and inscrutable, made it advisable to be careful about openly proclaiming watchwords of independence. The author, however, was above all concerned with the actual current politics of his day, and in this respect he has fulfilled his task not only adequately, but, to some extent, even outstandingly. Unhesitatingly, he exposes the imperialistic Russification policy of tsarism and the latter's lust of conquest, disguised as "Slavophil" to outward appearance, and his characterisation of so-called Pan-Slavism is applicable even today:

"Slav scholars, who allowed themselves to be carried away by enthusiasm for the idea of the regeneration of various Slav nations and for the latter's culture, were obviously not able to foresee that their doctrine would one day be exploited by the worst reactionary trends and that their propaganda would be played off against the joint action of imperial factors and would serve as a cloak for the exploiters and subjugators of their weaker Slav brothers. The

<sup>2</sup>) Officially, Moscow was and remained (until 1917) a principality, and its rulers as Tsars could only lay claim to "Russia"; a "Tsar of Moscow" would have been as unusual as a "Kaiser" of Berlin or of Brandenburg. It is true that the designation "Muscovite Empire" (*gosudarstvo moskovskoye*) was generally used, but it was not an official designation.

doctrine of the first Pan-Slavists, though in itself extremely praiseworthy, contained too many inner contradictions to be applicable in practice in its original form. Taking as their starting-point the blood-relationship of all the Slav peoples<sup>3</sup>), these first Pan-Slavists dreamt of realising the principle of a political mutuality in this milieu, in order to give effective help to the smallest and weakest groups of the Slav race in the grim struggle which they were obliged to fight for their national existence. They did not by any means want to see the national individuality of certain small Slav peoples suppressed in favour of the more powerful ones; on the contrary, the main aim of their political doctrine was to foster the individuality of every one of the Slav peoples. They never regarded Western Europe as a mysterious enemy of the Slav peoples, as one tries to make the Slavs in Russia (that is to say, the non-Russian Slav peoples of the tsarist empire, the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, —V. D.) believe nowadays."

And what appears even more topical as regards present conditions,—the author is by no means well-disposed towards the Russian "Liberals" and "Democrats": "Like official Russia, non-official Russia is firmly convinced that the Russian people<sup>4</sup>), though consisting of various components, are entirely alien from the people of Western Europe and have only accepted the latter's culture under compulsion. . . And even the representatives of the most progressive political parties are of the opinion that they should not abandon the traditional policy of Pan-Russianism—in this respect they are conservative—and one can search their constitutional plans in vain for some paragraph which would guarantee Ukraine autonomy or might indicate any equality of civil rights for the Ukrainians." And from this the author draws the following conclusion: "As long as the Ukrainians are placed on a level with the lowest classes in Russia, as long as the laws valid in the latter state are not applied in like manner to the Russians and the Ukrainians, centralisation and absolutism will continue to exist even if the form of government should be given a different name. . . As long as the Ukrainian people continue to be regarded as helots, absolutism will continue to exist in Petersburg, even if it should be renamed in the meantime! And the retention of this absolutism and of the all-Russian policy of centralisation can only be of service to the powers of darkness."

Golden words which still hold good today and which show in a striking manner that a West Ukrainian patriot, as early as 1905, knew how to analyse the "Russian problem" for his nation in a far more skilful way than those persons who at the present time are still hoping for a "peaceful" liberalisation and democratisation of the Russian colonial imperium.

V. D.

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<sup>3</sup>) It is true that in this respect blood-relationship was frequently assumed solely on the strength of the lingual relationship as such.—V.D.

<sup>4</sup>) What is meant here, of course, is the allegedly "all-Russian" nation, that is, including the Ukrainians and Byelorussians.

## CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD'S ANTI-COMMUNIST ORGANISATIONS IN MEXICO CITY

Between the 20th and the 25th of March, 1958, representatives of an anti-Communist organisations from 68 countries met in Mexico City for a World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation.

The Preparatory Conference was called by the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was invited to take part.

The aims and tasks of the Conference were defined as follows:

"In view of the fact that Communism is an evil ideology which militates against human nature and destroys the culture of the human race and of the fact that under the leadership of Soviet Russia the International Communist movement is collectively making political infiltration, economic penetration and military aggression against the nations and peoples of the free world to achieve its ultimate objective of world conquest and enslavement of the entire human race, we, the freedom-loving, democratic peoples of the world, will, for, the purpose of ensuring and restoring national independence, freedom and democracy, and for the liberation of subjugated peoples from Communism and Russian imperialism, as well as for the effective destruction of the international Communist movement directed by Moscow, unite to form a World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation of all the races, nationalities, countries and creeds. Our Supreme objective is to unify our programs, co-ordinate our work, and take progressive, concerted actions directed against our common enemy."

Representatives of the following international and national organisations took part in the Conference:

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League representing anti-Communist organisations from 14 Asian countries. (Dr. Ku Cheng Kang—President).

The Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent representing organisations from 20 countries of the Western Hemisphere (Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, President).

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) representing the liberation organisations of 20 nations. (Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President).

Committee of Information and Social Action, representing anti-Communist organisations of 12 nations (Mr. A. B. Gielen—Secretary-General).

The following countries were represented by separate delegations: Nationalist China, South Korea, South Vietnam, Pakistan, Argentina, Brazil, Costa



Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Cuba, Mexico, the U.S.A. and Western Germany.

The national organisations of Ukrainians, Hungarians and Czechs from different countries were also represented. Ukrainians in Canada were represented by the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (Delegates: I. Boyko, M. Sosnowsky); Ukrainians in the United States by the Organisation for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine Inc. (Delegate: I. Bilinsky); Ukrainians in Argentina—by the Ukrainian Inter-Organisational Committee (Delegate: M. A. Rubinetz). Hungarians were represented by the Hungarian Liberation Movement (Delegate: Dr. S. Sandor. Latvians were represented by the Latvian National Federation in Canada (Delegate: H. B. Atoms). Czechs were represented by the Council of Free Czechoslovakia (Delegate: Dr. V. Laska).

The American Friends of ABN and ABN-Canada were represented by separate delegations (Delegates: Dr. N. Protzyk, W. M. Bezchlibnyk).

The Conference approved a political platform as a basis for the convocation of a world Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation which is to take place on the 23rd of October, 1958, in Europe. It also approved Principles Governing the Organisation of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation and elected a Steering Committee to prepare the Congress.

The fifteen-man Steering Committee includes Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, Dr. L. George Paik and Dr. Nguyen Huu Thong—Asia; Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens and Dr. Sergio Fernandez Larrain—Latin America; Hon. Charles Edison and Dr. Lev Dobriansky—United States; Fritz Cramer and George Dallas—Europe; Yaroslav Stetzko and General Farkas de Kisbarnak—ABN. In addition, seats have been reserved for the Middle East and South Africa;

General Secretary is Marvin Liebman—United States (New York); Deputy General Secretary, Francis J. McNamara—United States (Washington); Secretary of the Press, Salvador Diaz Verson—Cuba.

Regional secretaries are Ernesto de la Fe (Cuba)—Latin America; Alfred B. Gielen (Germany)—Europe, and Inamullah Khan (Pakistan)—Asia.

The political resolutions of the Conference are particularly important, since they define its positions regarding Russian imperialism and the restoration of national states after the disintegration of the Soviet Russian empire.

The political platform includes the following statement:

"To be quite clear and not to leave any room for misrepresentation, the following definitions and statements are accepted:

The International communism, is hereby defined as being the huge worldwide clandestine organisation, directed by Moscow, which organisation aims, acting aggressively, at enslaving of all nations on earth under the vile and inhuman communist rule.

Since the international communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism with clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international communism and Russian imperialism the disintegration of Russian empire, now existing in form of so-called U.S.S.R. and satellites, and the re-establishing of national independent states on the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and or Central Europe and Asia."

From the point of view of the fight against the threat of international Communism and Russian imperialism, the Conference was successful, for it laid the foundations for the creation of a world anti-Communist organisation that would link the anti-Communist organisations of the Free World with the liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russia.

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### **A FEW DATA ON THE "ELECTION" OF UKRAINIAN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE SUPREME SOVIET**

On March 19th, the Soviet Russian daily "Pravda" (Moscow) published accurate data on the results of the "elections" to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Nationalities. The lists of names of the persons "elected" on March 16th, incidentally, comprises more than 6 pages.

According to the report published in this connection by the so-called Central Electoral Commission, 133,836,325 persons were entitled to vote in the Soviet Union; in Ukraine 27,989,652 persons were entitled to vote, that is to say 20 per cent of the total number of voters in the Soviet Union.

The Ukrainian Soviet Republic was allowed to "elect" 152 deputies to the Supreme Soviet and, like the other republics, 25 deputies to the Council of Nationalities.

Who are these 177 deputies and what is their social status and political function?

They can be classified as follows:

- 103 deputies belong to the bureaucratic apparatus of the Party, administration, industry and agriculture;
- 10 to the military apparatus, including one political commissar and one representative of the secret police;
- 7 to the mechanised branch of industry;
- 16 to the class of intellectuals (writers, professors, doctors and teachers);

26 to the class of collective farm workers (including two women-representatives);

15 to the class of factory, mine and transportation workers.

It is unnecessary to comment on these figures, since they indicate the methods of Soviet Russian elections only too plainly. It is interesting to note that the 103 bureaucratic deputies can be classified as follows:

41 belong to the Party apparatus;

26 to the class of industrial bureaucrats;

21 to the class of administrators in the agricultural sector (chairmen of collective farms, functionaries of Soviet farms, etc.);

15 to the state administration (Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and also of the Soviet Union, chairmen of district executive committees, etc.).

It is, of course, also obvious that all the members of the Presidium and the Secretariate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine were "elected", namely as follows: 8 to the Supreme Soviet and 3 to the Council of Nationalities. All the secretaries of the district committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine were likewise "elected",—20 to the Supreme Soviet and 6 to the Council of Nationalities.

The following writers were "elected" to the Supreme Soviet: O. Kornijtchuk (Kyiv), V. Vasilevska (Zhytomir), P. Kozlaniuk (Lviv/Lemberg). The writers, M. Rylskyi and P. Tychyna were "elected" to the Council of Nationalities. In short, of the "toiling intellectuals", 5 writers were "elected".

Of the Ukrainians permanently employed in Moscow in high posts in the state administration, the following were "elected" to represent the Ukrainian S.S.R.: Yuriy I. Dudyn, permanent representative of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, S. A. Skatchkov, chairman of the State Committee for External Economic Relations (successor to Pervukhin), Leonid R. Kornietz, Minister for the cereal products of the Soviet Union, R. A. Rudenko, Attorney General of the U.S.S.R., Olexander F. Zasiadko, deputy-chairman of the State Planning Department, and various other persons.

We have only quoted some of the typical data published in this connection, but this should suffice to enable those who are capable of reading between the lines to draw the obvious conclusion regarding the bureaucratic nature of the "Soviet democracy",—namely that it is a system in which the class of Party magnates prevails, a system that could be most fittingly designated as a "Soviet Russian classocracy".

The Kuybyshev factory in the district of Khmelnytskyi recently turned out a considerable number of automatic pneumatic hammers which

were then exported to India, to meet the needs of a metallurgical combine there that is managed by the Soviet Russian engineering experts.



## UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS FEARED BY MOSCOW

The Bolshevik radio station at Lutsk (Volhynia) on January 18, 1958, broadcast a lecture for Soviet voters, which was entitled "The Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists—Fierce Enemies of the People". About the same time, the Russian paper in Kyiv, "Pravda Ukrayiny", of January 15th and 16th, published a short story entitled "The Return" by a writer of the name of Ivan Holovchenko. The story relates how a member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Fedir Hrytsiuk, breaks off his connection with the underground movement and humbles himself before the Soviet Ministry of State Security (M.G.B.). Hrytsiuk's moral collapse is also depicted in the story, when he says to his comrade Bodnaruk: "Neither of us can endure this any longer! People have turned against us! For years we have been rotting in this damp hide-out!—Hrytsiuk points to the open window of the hut.—What have we taken this hardship on ourselves for? For our leader Ban-

dera? He's living in luxury and isn't worrying about us. He has bought a villa abroad and a car, too. He eats tasty food and sleeps in a warm room. And for whose money? For the money of the organisation, that is for our money, too..."

Hrytsiuk's comrade knows what he means by all this.

"Oh, so you, too, have decided to confess your guilt to the Soviets! You intend to become a traitor!..."

In the end, Bodnaruk dies in the hide-out in the forest and Hrytsiuk, regardless of the oath he swore when he joined the OUN, "does penance"...

What strikes us most about this lying propaganda is its primitive character: freedom fighters, who lie in hiding in the forest and thus risk their life every day, are supposed to be concerned about how "their" money is being used abroad!—And what is more, thirteen years after the war Moscow is forced to admit that Ukraine is still conducting its armed fight against the occupants.

## POLISH JOURNAL ON PETLURA

PARIS. The well-known Polish review, *Kultura*, appearing in Paris, in its issue for April 1958, wrote in its editorial comment as follows:

"On February 28th this year, the French Television relayed a programme which had as its subject the trial against Schwarzbart, who in 1926 murdered the Supreme Otaman of Ukraine, Simon Petlura, in Paris. This programme was in its entire character a glorification of the treacherous murder of the Commander-in-Chief of the fight for independence of the Ukrainian people.

There can be no doubt about the fact that there are certain elements who are eager to compromise the Ukrainian resistance movement. Otaman Petlura had to be done away with in 1926 because there was at that time a possibility of the fight for an independent Ukraine proving victorious. And now that new rifts are evident in the Soviet bloc, as proved by the Polish riots, the October Revolution in Hungary, the Harrich trial, and the manifestations of resistance at the universities of Kharkiv and Kyiv, attempts are being made to destroy the illustrious fame of the Otaman.

It is, moreover, a tragedy that attempts are made to use Jewish circles for this deceitful game. The instigators of these intrigues have ignored the fate of the Jewish population in Ukraine and in East Europe, just as they ignored it in 1926.

We are enemies of political murder and of the "martyr cult". They only lead to Fascism,—brown and red alike. We are friends of the Jewish people and the cause of the freedom of Ukraine is also our cause. For this reason we regard it as our duty to protest against such programmes, which inflict unjustifiable suffering on both the Ukrainian and the Jewish people.

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To prove our great esteem for the Supreme Otaman of Ukraine, Petlura,—the great patriot, revolutionary and socialist—the editorial staff of the "*Kultura*", on April 1st, placed a wreath on his grave in the cemetery of Montparnasse, Paris."

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**OBITUARY****PROFESSOR WILLIAM KLEESMAN MATTHEWS**

William Kleesman Matthews, Professor of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London, who died recently, was a loyal friend of Ukraine, a great supporter of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, and an honorary member of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, the "S.U.B." in London. Professor Matthews had many contacts with Ukrainian scholars in Europe and America and always sought to extend these contacts. He had a complete mastery of several East European, Baltic as well as Western languages, which thus enabled him to study numerous problems at the source. Professor Matthews devoted himself to a careful study of East European questions and he frequently stressed the importance of Ukraine in East-West relations. He wrote a significant contribution on the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. Professor Matthews also contributed an article on the characteristic peculiarities of the Ukrainian language to the "Ukrainian Review".

As chief editor of the "Slavonic Review", he published a number of articles by Ukrainian scholars and book reviews on various aspects of Ukrainian learning. Professor Matthews was frequently the guest of Ukrainians living in Britain. On numerous occasions he expressed the sincere hope that Ukraine would be liberated from Russian enslavement, for, as he rightly stressed, a nation with a population of over 40 million cannot be suppressed for ever.

When opening the exhibition of Ukrainian art in 1955, Professor Matthews said: "The Ukrainian Cossack State in the 17th century and Independent Ukraine in 1918 were but short periods of national freedom. At present this country is in a forcible union with Russia; but a nation as numerous as the English nation cannot be very long under foreign domination,—the Ukrainian people must be free to live according to their own way of life."

On March 17, 1956, Professor Matthews, speaking at the celebration held to mark the 80th birthday of Professor V. K. Shcherbakivsky, said: "While somewhere else some people are welcoming Mr. Malenkov, I feel happy to be able to pay my respect to a prominent Ukrainian scholar..."

During the recent Ukrainian Easter, Professor Matthews wrote: "Christ is risen,—Ukraine, too, will rise because I believe in her resurrection." This was his last message to the Ukrainians which the secretary of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain received from him.

The memory of this great scholar and loyal friend of Ukraine will live on in the hearts of the Ukrainians, especially of those living in Great Britain.



**BOOK REVIEWS**

PROCEEDINGS, Vol. II. *Société Scientifique Sevcenko* (Shevchenko Scientific Society), Historico-Philosophical Section. Editor: Volodymyr Janiw. Paris—New York—Toronto, 1957, 64 pp.

The fact that the Ukrainian Shevchenko Scientific Society publishes—under the title “Proceedings”—brief summaries of those dissertations of its members which cannot be published in full owing to a lack of financial means, must, of course, only be regarded as a makeshift. But this is, at least, better than nothing, and since the articles in the said “Proceedings” (of which the first volume appeared in 1951) are printed in an English, French or German authorised translation\*), the continuance of this series helps to a very considerable extent to make those Western circles that are interested in Ukrainian life acquainted with Ukrainian thought and learning in exile.

In this volume almost half the total number of articles (7 of the 16 articles) have been published in English, which, in our opinion, is a very good idea. The use of the French language (5 articles) is no doubt explained by the fact that the editorial department and the entire management of the European department of the Shevchenko Scientific Society has its head office in France, namely in Sarcelles near Paris. The partial use of the German language (4 articles), on the other hand, seems to be less appropriate.

Of the various articles, we should like to mention the following in particular as being especially unique and interesting:

N. Chubaty: “The Conceptions of Ukrainian Nationality in their Historical Development” (in English)—traces the alternate development of the “legal-territorial” and “ethnic-historical” conception of nationality in the course of the history of Ukraine (namely in connection with the political history of Ukraine) from earliest times up to the present; this article also contains a plausible explanation of the historical term “Rus’ka Zeml’a” (Rus’ Land);

A. Koultchyskyj: “The Psycho-Social Study of the Ukrainian Immigration in France” (in French)—from the point of view of methodology, an important survey of a manysided social and psychological investigation of 150 Ukrainian immigrant families (50 families from each of the three branches, mining industry, light industries and agriculture) in various parts of France;

M. Stachiv: “The System of the Hetman’s Government in Ukraine in 1918, and its Characteristic Features as Seen from the Point of View of Constitutional Law”—a very thorough analysis of the legal side of this system of government, the purpose of which is to substantiate the theory that “the Hetman’s regime did not abolish in principle either the sovereignty of the people or the republican form of the State”, for the assumption of power by the Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky “was exclusively intended to save the existing

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\*) The preface and the biographical notes on the authors of the various articles are in French.

Ukrainian State, for it was somehow assumed that, through the bad policy of the Ukrainian Central Council (Tsentrāl'na Rada), the State was allegedly on the edge of ruin" ("evidently" would have been more correct than "allegedly"). The arguments which the author propounds are in part extremely disputable, but they are nevertheless interesting and worthy of consideration.

As regards the rest of the articles, the subjects with which they deal are so manysided that we only intend to list them here according to their titles:

The following articles are published in English:

O. Ohloblyn: "Research Studies on Istoriya Rusov"\*); Y. Pasternak: "Peremyshl\*\*") of the Chronicles and the Territory of White Croats"; V. Senioutovitch-Berezny: "The Creation of the Volhynian Nobility and its Privileges"; V. Sichyns'kyj: "Ukrainian Artistic Register"; Y. Starosolsky: "Material and Formal Nature of Crime".

The following articles are published in French:

E. Borschak: "The Diary of Hetman Philip Orlyk of the Year 1730"; A. Choulguine: "The Collective Will and the Development of the Social or National Movements"; V. Janiv: "The Experiences of Prisoners"; B. Krupnyc'kyj: "The Ideological Basis of the Philosophy of Life of the Author of the 'History of Rus'".

The following articles are published in German:

V. Derzhavyn: "The Ethics of Existentialism in J. P. Sartre and its Main Sources"; N. Polons'ka-Wasylenko: "The Development of the Revolt in Zaporozhia in 1768"; O. Siecins'kyj: "The Technical College in Lviv (Lemberg) in the Years 1942-44"; H. Vascenko: "The Materialistic Conception of Soviet Man".

We should like to stress that all the articles, although their scientific scope and ideas vary considerably, reveal a high standard of methodology and, by reason of their objectivity and historical and philological exactness, represent Ukrainian scientific research on this side of the Iron Curtain in a worthy manner. It is certainly to be hoped that this "Proceedings" series will be continued in the future.

V. D.

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\*) For more details on this Ukrainian historical work ("The history of Rus'") see "The Ukrainian Review", 1957, No. 2, p. 24 ff.

\*\*) According to Polish transcription Przemyśl, the Ukrainian frontier town between East and West Galicia.

Vasyl Markus: *L'INCORPORATION DE L' UKRAÏNE SUBCARPATHIQUE A L' UKRAÏNE SOVIETIQUE 1944-1945*. Préface de M. André Pierre, Redacteur au "Monde". (The Incorporation of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine into Soviet Ukraine 1944-1945. Preface by M. André Pierre, Editor of the "Monde".) Centre Ukrainien d'Etudes en Belgique, Louvain, 1956, pp. 144.

Sub-Carpathian Ukraine is a south-eastern province of Ukraine which belonged to Hungary before the first World War and, after the collapse of Austria-Hungary, became an autonomous part of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. It is a well known fact that Sub-Carpathian Ukraine was one of the European countries in which the entire political world, both on this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain, took an immense interest in 1938-39. In this work the author, above all, gives us a picture of the political aspect of the country after its occupation by the Soviet Russian Army in 1944.

The incorporation of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine in the U.S.S.R. was preceded by long political and diplomatic friction between the governments of the U.S.S.R. and Czecho-Slovakia. In spite of a political agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Czecho-Slovakia regarding the future destiny of the country (according to this agreement Sub-Carpathian Ukraine was to continue to be part of Czecho-Slovakia as previously), the Soviet Russian command in Sub-Carpathian Ukraine secretly initiated the so-called people's movement for the severance of this country from Czecho-Slovakia, in order that it might be annexed by the Soviet Russians within the next few months.

The Soviet Russian occupation authorities in Sub-Carpathian Ukraine then convened a Congress at Mukachevo, which was held there from November 25th to 26th, 1944. The resolutions adopted "unanimously" by the members of the Congress demanded the incorporation of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This demand was based on the "express will of the entire population of the country, of its peasants, workers, intellectuals and clergy of all the villages and towns of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine" (p. 46).

The manifesto issued at Mukachevo in November, 1944, was a very important political document which was constantly quoted by the Soviet Russian occupation authorities and also by local elements. The Soviet Russians even went to the extent of using the newly created so-called Ukrainian Ministry for Foreign Affairs for the purpose of achieving their aims in this respect. This Ministry, incidentally, was nothing but a puppet ministry of Moscow that was destined as a camouflage for the real Soviet Russian plans at the World Conference in San Francisco after World War II and elsewhere during the years immediately after the war.

When the campaign for the reunion of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine with the mother country—Greater Ukraine—had been duly prepared by Moscow, the Kremlin forced Czecho-Slovakia to sign an agreement with Moscow on June



29, 1945, by virtue of which Czecho-Slovakia ceded Sub-Carpathian Ukraine to Kyiv which was at that time and still is under the rigid political control of Moscow.

We cannot agree completely with the statements made by the author in his conclusion as to the positive results of the incorporation of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine in the Soviet Union. It is true that the country was reunited with other Ukrainian ethnographical territories and that its inhabitants can now be designated as Ukrainian citizens. But instead of having to submit to Hungarian and Czech political (and also cultural) pressure, the inhabitants of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine are now obliged to endure Russification and also deportation to distant regions of Russia. Moreover, not all the Ukrainian ethnographical territories to the south of the Carpathian Mountains were incorporated in the Soviet Union; Moscow "generously" presented these Ukrainian territories to the neighbours of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine, since it had probably made up its mind to use this country for its political purposes at a suitable opportunity.

Although Sub-Carpathian Ukraine is a small country, its political importance in the Danube valley is very considerable, owing to the fact that it affects many political matters which were not settled in 1945 and, indeed, have not been settled up to the present time.

The author has based his statements and quotations on numerous sources relating to Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. He himself took part in recent political events in Sub-Carpathian Ukraine, and for this reason his statements and quotations regarding political events there from 1944-45 are trustworthy and authentic. This book will undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of the political trends in this important political corner south of the Carpathians and also of the Ukrainian question in general.

So far, very few books have been published on Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. We should, however, like to mention two excellent French publications on this subject by R. Martel and A. Dami. After 1945, two Czech authors, F. Nemec and V. Moudry, published a book in English (London), entitled "The Soviet Seizure of Subcarpathian Ruthenia", which is likewise well worth reading, although, of course, the Czechs were embittered at the unfavourable course which events took for them in this Ukrainian country in 1939 to 1945.

We should like to stress that the book by Vasyl Markus is outstanding by reason of the wealth of documentary material which it contains, as well as an excellent map which makes comprehension of the subject matter much easier for the reader.

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Volodymyr Janiw: *THE BATTLE OF KRUTY*. The Free World's First Resistance to Communism. Louvain, 1958, 22 pp.

This pamphlet, written by Dr. V. Janiw, the well-known professor of psychology and sociology at the Ukrainian Free University (in Munich), and published by the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (together with its branches in the USA, Canada and Argentina), is dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the heroic battle of Kruty, the first significant military clash—not only in Ukraine, but in the whole world—between Soviet Russian Red imperialism and the freedom-loving democratic forces of the free world. As is rightly stated in the pamphlet itself (Chapter 1: "Introduction"), "Ukraine became the first victim of Bolshevik aggression. Among the numerous battles of that war, one which deserves special attention is the battle fought on January 29, 1918, near the town of Kruty (about 75 miles east of Kyiv), by a battalion composed of Ukrainian students. Greatly outnumbered by the Bolsheviks, fighting against enemy forces superior in battle experience and better equipped, this Student Battalion was completely wiped out\*). The majority of the students died in the battle, while those taken prisoner were inhumanly tortured and shot the next day. The battalion did its duty honourably. It delayed the enemy for several days and thus enabled the Ukrainian government to carry out an organised withdrawal from Kyiv.—However, the moral significance of the battle of Kruty is by far greater in that it produced a symbol under which subsequent Ukrainian generations were reared in anti-Bolshevik spirit. The Ukrainian students, living in countries not under the Communist domination, celebrate the Anniversary of the Battle of Kruty to remind one and all of the unparalleled bravery and devotion of the young heroes. To poets, writers, and artists, Kruty became an infinite source of inspiration."

In two further introductory chapters (2: Bastion of the West; 3: Historical Background), the author describes the historical role of Ukraine in the Middle Ages and in the Cossack period as that of an outpost of European Christian culture in the East, and also gives an account of the external and internal situation in which the Ukrainian people found themselves before the first World War, during this war and from the 1917 February Revolution onwards until the Bolshevik revolution in October, 1917, and the Soviet Russian invasion in January, 1918. The author interprets the entire situation at that time in a brief but concise, lucid and outstandingly objective manner; the great achievements of the Tsentralna Rada (Ukrainian Central Council)—a pre-parliamentary body representing various Ukrainian political parties

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\*) According to the data contained in the pamphlet, the Ukrainian forces consisted of 300 students, 250 cadets of the Kyiv military academy and about 40 regular soldiers; the Bolsheviks had at their disposal 3,000 infantry and 1,500 battle-experienced soldiers of the Baltic Fleet plus 12-gun battery of artillery.

and other organisations) are reviewed as unbiassedly as are their failures in the field of foreign policy and, in particular, their unwise neglect of the military sector of the young Ukrainian state.

The next three chapters (4: Organisation of Youth and the Student Battalion; 5: At the Front; 6: Then Came January 29) give an account of the actual military events. This section of the pamphlet might well have been dealt with in more detail, and a topographic sketch—however schematic—of the terrain in question would have been of considerable use to the reader. Whereas the tactical reason for the defeat is quite clear,—the extreme inequality of the forces, the lack of artillery on the Ukrainian side and, in addition, the inadequate provision of the front line with ammunition, the actual reason for this military catastrophe, in which over 200 students lost their lives\*\*), is still a matter of controversy even today. The author adheres to the opinion which is most widely held, namely that “when a cadet unit occupying a nearby position received orders to withdraw, the students misinterpreted the orders and went into attack. In a hand-to-hand battle that followed, the enemy’s superiority became fully apparent, the whole battalion was practically encircled and the carnage began. Most of the students died in battle, 35 were captured, 7 of them wounded. The remnant of the battalion assembled by a railroad train.” The author should, however, at least have mentioned the fact that there is also another version (which, in our opinion, has much to be said in its favour), namely that it was only during the fairly orderly retreat from the front line, which could no longer be held because of the Bolshevik’s artillery fire, to the railway station at Kruty that most of the units—but not all—of the student battalion lost their bearings and thus got encircled by the enemy, and then tried to break through this encirclement in hand-to-hand fighting.

The last two chapters (7: The Significance of the Battle of Kruty; 8: The Echo and the Message of Kruty), which, incidentally, are excellent, deal with the immediate and further consequences of the Ukrainian Thermopylae, as the battle of Kruty is frequently called. A point of particular interest which is stressed by the author is the political influence of the “legend of Kruty” on the patriotic feelings of the students in West Ukraine, where, during the 1920’s and 30’s, it helped to a very large extent to strengthen resistance against Communist propaganda. And amongst all the Ukrainian emigrants, too, the memory of this atrocity on the part of Russian Bolshevism—“its first contact with a foreign nation which refused to submit meekly”—and of the heroic death of the Kruty fighters is kept alive and its anniversary is observed every year: “The noble feat of the Ukrainian youth at Kruty—the love for their country, the readiness to die for its safety and freedom, the indomitable spirit and courage and tenacity in the face of the overwhelming odds on the battlefield—will be an everlasting source of inspiration to the future Ukrainian generations.”

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\*\*) “Aproximately 50 per cent of the entire Ukrainian force died in battle with the heaviest losses suffered by the Student Battalion”, the author writes.



Special mention must be made of the fact that to all national-minded Ukrainians the memory of Kruty seems to be inseparably connected with the atrocities which the Bolsheviks soon afterwards committed in Kyiv, which they occupied for a short time.

"The Student Battalion, of course, could not save the capital, but it considerably delayed the Bolshevik advance and thus enabled the Government orderly to withdraw from Kyiv and organise a counter-attack. A reign of terror began in the capital as soon as the Bolsheviks took over. In the first two days of the occupation, 5,000 persons were shot by firing squads, including 168 high school students who had been recruited for the battalion but had not gone to the front due to the insufficient training."

And for the West, too, the battle of Kruty and the first occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia, which was directly connected with this battle, should have been an important memento. And not merely because the Bolshevik victory forced the Ukrainian National Government to conclude a peace treaty and an alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary in Brest Litovsk as quickly as possible,—a fact which, incidentally, as far as the Western Allies were concerned resulted in an extremely unfavourable development of events in the whole of East Europe; for in order to prevent this from happening, the governments of Great Britain and France had already recognised the Ukrainian National Government officially and "de facto" at the end of December, 1917 (the diplomatic statements made in this connection by the Representative of Great Britain in Ukraine, Picton Bagge, and by the Emissary of the Republic of France, Tabouis, are quoted in the pamphlet).

What is much more important, however, is that the battle of Kruty, as the author very convincingly affirms in conclusion, "in its positive and negative aspects, serves as both inspiration and warning to the freedom-loving peoples..."

This bloody event of January 29, 1918, combined with its dreadful aftermath—the torturing and mass execution of the war prisoners and the subsequent rage of terror, murdering of innocent civilians, rapes, and plundering of the country in the few weeks that followed, revealed what Bolshevism really was: a Moloch, breathing evil and destruction, hungry for the flesh and the spirit of the free man, and destined to grow to monstrous proportions and to cast its shadow upon the whole world... In this negative sense, the Battle of Kruty and its aftermath symbolize the Communistic 'civilisation' that threatens to engulf the free world of today."

In conclusion, we should like to mention a technical fault of this book, namely the entirely unsystematic transcription of Ukrainian (and Russian) proper names.

V. D.

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## **BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN**

### **THE RUSSIFICATION OF UKRAINE CONTINUES**

In spite of numerous statements regarding the flourishing progress of the "Ukrainian S.S.R. and of Ukrainian culture", constant pressure continues to be exerted by the Russian elements in Ukraine and this pressure is supported by the present Communist regime. All the most important spheres of life in Ukraine are dominated by Russian elements; the Ukrainian language and culture play a secondary role in the "Ukrainian Republic".

The ruling clique in Ukraine tries to camouflage this Russification process. Instead of publishing concrete data on the present status of the Ukrainian and Russian element in Ukraine, the Ukrainian press publishes long, enthusiastic articles about the unheard of cultural "achievements" of Ukraine. But such a discrimination is made between all that is Ukrainian and all that is Russian, that the extent of the Russification process is perfectly evident to anyone who takes care to study any sector, as for instance the scientific sector, of Soviet life in Ukraine. According to the catalogues of the "Mezhdunarodnya Kniga" ("International Book"), Nos. 85 and 85A, which also contain lists of the publications of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, more than half the works of this Academy have been published in Russian (109 in Russian and 102 in Ukrainian). It is thus obvious from this data that the Russification of Ukraine has progressed

very considerably during the past few years. But the Russification process is not concerned with language only. A closer study of the above-mentioned publications reveals that the Ukrainian publications are inferior and only of negligible scientific value, whilst the Russian works are far more extensive and deal with such scientific sectors as technics, medicine, etc. Of the 109 works published in Russian, 9 deal with literature, 7 with art, 34 with technical science and industry, 45 with natural science including mathematics, geodesy, chemistry, biology and geology, 6 with agriculture, and 8 with medicine. Of the 102 works published in Ukrainian, 5 deal with literature, 15 with literary science and criticism, 4 with philosophy, 13 with economics (mostly the history of economics), 7 with history, 7 with archaeology, 14 with linguistics, 20 with aesthetics, folklore and ethnography, 6 with bibliography, and 12 with biology (mostly natural science).

Ukrainian scientific publications are permitted only in certain limited sectors. All the other sectors are the monopoly of the Russians. This is not all, however. Ukraine is being flooded with Russian publications from Moscow, Leningrad and other Russian publishing centres.

Another means used to effect the Russification process in Ukraine are the various scientific and industrial research journals, most of which are published in Russian, as for instance "Coal of Ukraine", "Ukrainian Mathematical Journal", "Ukrainian Chemical Journal", and many others.

This also applies to newspapers and journals of a popular character. At least one daily or other newspaper in Russian appears in all the larger towns in Ukraine, whilst in towns such as Lviv, Chernivtsi or Uzhhorod (Western Ukraine), which have never belonged to the Russian empire, the number of papers published in Russian is even greater. The pressure of the Russification process is even in evidence as regards the publication of literary almanacs and magazines. Russian publications are very frequently in the Don Basin. It is evident from a book review in the "Literary Gazette" (Kyiv) that all these publications are controlled by the Russians and appear only in Russian.

Most of the publications of the Ukrainian universities of Kharkiv and Odessa appear in Russian. Even the West Ukrainian universities of Lviv and Chernivtsi are compelled to publish all their scientific books in Russian and only a small proportion in Ukrainian. A series of linguistic compilations of Lviv University was published in Russian. The Russification of Ukrainian schools is facilitated by the fact that they are under the control of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction in Moscow and not under that of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. About 75 per cent of all high schools in Ukraine have been russified; lectures are held in Russian and most text-books are published in Russian.

#### A NEW THEATRE

A new theatre, built in a Soviet pseudo-classical style, was opened in Ternopil in November, 1957.

#### BOOK PROPAGANDA

In 1957 the month of October was devoted to book propagandade in Soviet Ukraine. On this occasion many articles were published on Soviet books in the Ukrainian Soviet press, and a large-scale sales campaign was launched in the towns and villages. In this way it has been possible to obtain more accurate information on the present state of publishing facilities in Soviet Ukraine. Political publications are printed en masse there for propaganda purposes, but not many persons are eager to buy this type of literature. In spite of the fact that Ukrainian classical works are in great demand, they are published only in rare cases. "The Communist of Ukraine" (No. 9, 1957) complained that the book "Lenin on Ukraine", which was published to mark the anniversary of the October revolution, was little in demand; in the district of Drohobych only 50 copies in Ukrainian and in Russian were ordered, whilst the district book centre in Sumy only sold 50 copies in Ukrainian. Propaganda pamphlets on "the experience of the collective workers" are likewise little in demand. Only 32 copies were ordered in the region of Lviv, and only 35 copies were sold in the district of Kyiv, whilst the district book centre in Khmelnytsky did not even order a single copy of this publication. The average Ukrainian would like to buy Ukrainian classical works, but these are not even obtainable in the district towns as the editions are out of print. The same also applies to journals devoted to research on Ukrainian culture and art, etc. In the town of Chernivtsi, for instance, it is impossible to obtain any publications of this kind.



## NO INTEREST IN PARTY EDUCATION

The "Communist of Ukraine" (No. 9, 1957) complains that people are no longer interested in the instruction given by the Party in Ukraine. The journal points out that whereas in former years about 433,000 persons studied the history of the Party, this number dropped to 140,000 in 1956-57. It adds that only 2.6 per cent of the Ukrainian Party organisations study dialectical materialism and in certain districts (as for instance, the district of Volhynia, Rivne and Ternopil) there is not a single group that is interested in dialectical and historical materialism, whilst in the districts of Chernyiv, Zhytomyr, Khmelnytskyi, Stanyslaviv, Lviv (Lemberg) and Drohobych there is only one group.

## A NEW MEDICAL INSTITUTE

In September 1957, a new medical institute was inaugurated in Ternopil. It is the fifth medical institute in West Ukraine (the others are in Lviv—Lemberg, Stanyslaviv, Chernivtsi and Uzhorod). At present there are 19 professorial chairs, and 634 students were enrolled in the first three courses. It is planned to found 34 professorial chairs and to bring the number of lecturers up to 130.

## NEGLECTED HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

In a letter published in the "Radzanska Ukrayina" (Soviet Ukraine"), P. Biletsky, the director of the Shevchenko Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, complains about the neglected conditions of the finds excavated in Pereyaslav. Part of the St. Michael's Church of the 11th century as well

as walls and a ceramic floor were found during excavations in this town. On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Ukrainian-Muscovite treaty concluded at Pereyaslav in 1654, the St. Michael's Church was restored and a special pavilion was built for the preservation of the finds which had been excavated.

## "RE-EDUCATION" METHODS IN THE DISTRICT OF TERNOPIL

The fact that the Ukrainian people never lose their faith in God is proved best by the Soviet press itself. The Kyiv newspapers of January 8, 1958, reported that a four-day training course for lecturer-atheists was to be held in the town of Ternopil (West Ukraine), at which "scientists" from Moscow, Kyiv, Lviv and Ternopil itself were to lecture. Last year, more than 4,000 lectures on atheistic propaganda were held in the rural areas of the district of Ternopil and several special "brigades" were formed which toured the rural areas from the district centres. It is thus obvious that whole commandos of "scientists" and countless brigades of atheists are needed to make an attempt to suppress the religious faith of the Ukrainian people in a single district of Ukraine.

## A NEW MUSEUM

A museum for the flora and fauna of the Black Sea has been opened in Sevastopol (Crimea). Incidentally, it is interesting to note that there is a Russian biological station but not a Ukrainian one in the Crimea, despite the fact that this country was first taken from Ukraine and then given back to Ukraine again by Moscow in a solemn ceremony! The new museum, however, is controlled by Moscow, not by Kyiv.

### CRITICISM OF TRADE UNIONS

During a Party conference of the Crimean region which took place recently, a speech by the First Secretary of the regional committee, Kom-iakhov, was discussed. In the course of the discussion the activity of the regional trade union organisation was severely criticised. It was further stated that the workers are unwilling to take part in the social competition in many of the enterprises and in the Soviet industrial concerns, and that the directors ruthlessly violate the contracts concluded between the workers and the administration. In numerous cases this violation is even supported by the professional unions, which, it was said, have done very little towards furthering cultural and ideological instruction and training amongst the workers.

### EXHAUSTION OF IRON ORE RESERVES

The "Robitnycha Hazeta" ("Workers' Gazette") (No. 29) states that the reserves of iron ore at Kryvyi Rih (Krivoi Rog) are gradually being exhausted as a result of bad management. Larger deposits have been discovered at a considerable depth, but raising of the ore in this case involves various difficulties. For this reason, two huge combines are at present being erected in Kryvyi Rih Basin. At the same time, new pits are being opened up in order to accelerate the exhaustion of the iron ore reserves there.

### TITANIUM FINDINGS

It was reported by Moscow Radio in January, 1958, that layers of the metal titanium had been found in South Ukraine. These strata are so abundant that the metal can be raised very easily. In this atomic age titanium is very important to Moscow, especially for the construction of long-range rockets.

### UNATTENDABLE EVENING SCHOOLS

The newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" (No. 29, 1958) reports that many of the young persons and grown-ups employed in the factories and pits in the Donets Basin have ceased attending evening school. The reasons for this are an excessive amount of work during the daytime, poor wages, the fact that the workers are overburdened with social duties in various voluntary societies, the lack of school textbooks and untenable conditions in general.

### UKRAINIANS IN POLAND

#### NEW CHURCHES

Two new Ukrainian Catholic churches—one in Rudna in the district of Lublin and the other in Szczecin—have been in existence since September 1957.

The Ukrainians living in the town of Sianok in Ukrainian ethnographical territory (the Ukrainian Lemki area) are having to cope with many difficulties on the part of the Polish authorities. Numerous petitions have been sent to Warsaw and to Cardinal Wyszynski asking for permission to establish a Ukrainian Catholic community and to open a Ukrainian Catholic church in Sianok, but so far these petitions have not met with any success.

#### PERSECUTION OF UKRAINIANS

The numerous letters sent by Ukrainians who were deported to various parts of Poland to the editor of the Ukrainian newspaper "Ukrayinske Slovo" ("The Ukrainian Voice"), which is published in Warsaw, attest to the fact that the Ukrainians who have been forced to leave their native regions are being persecuted by the Polish local authorities and are being deprived of the little property they possess.

## UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

### UKRAINIAN SONS REELECTED TO CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

Michael Starr, Canada's first federal minister of Ukrainian descent, was re-elected to parliament in the Canadian general election on March 31. Besides Mr. Starr, five other Ukrainian Canadians were elected to parliament in their respective ridings, all of them by landslide victories of Progressive Conservatives.

They are: John Kucherepa (PC)—in Toronto High Park riding; Nicholas Mandziuk (PC)—Marquette (Manitoba) riding; Val Yacula (PC)—in Springfield (Manitoba) riding; William Skoreyko (PC)—in Edmonton East (Alberta) riding, and Stanley Korchinsky (PC)—in MacKenzie (Saskatchewan) riding.

Mr. Starr, also a Progressive Conservative, received 26,629 votes in his riding of Ontario, some 16,000 more than the runner-up.

The election of the six Ukrainians keeps the number of Ukrainians in the Canadian parliament at the same figure as before.

Defeated in this election were Ambrose Holowach (Social Credit) of Edmonton, Alta., Fred S. Zaplitny (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation) of Dauphin, Man., and Peter Stefura (Social Credit) of Vegreville, Alta.

### NEW YORK CITY UKRAINIANS PROTEST AGAINST ATTACK ON PETLURA

At a meeting of American Ukrainians assembled in New York City on March 16, 1958, the following resolutions were adopted—Editor.

Resolutions of New York City Ukrainians:

We, American citizens of Ukrainian descent, assembled at the National Protest Rally in New York City, March 16, 1958, unanimously resolved: That the Parisian Television in its program on February 28, 1958, titled *To Your Souls and Conscience*, prepared on the basis of a skit by Claude Barm, was anti-Ukrainian;

That the said program was contrary to historical truth and intentionally falsified historical facts;

That the said program disparaged the honorable name of the Head of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army, Simon Petlura, slandered the Ukrainian people and their struggle for independence;

That the assassin of Simon Petlura, S. Schwarzbart was presented on the said program, not as an agent of Communist Russia, but as a victim and glorified hero, who together with a known communist leader, H. Thorez, defended humanity;

That the misrepresentation confuses and creates hostile feelings among the French towards Ukrainians and their struggle for liberation from the Russian Communist yoke;

That the said program purposely sabotaged the Ukrainian liberation attempts to gain support for their fight among the free nations especially the French, with which Russia-Ukraine had friendly relations, since Kyivan Princess Anna became the wife of King Henry and Queen of France in the eleventh century.

Therefore, we American Ukrainians protest and demand an immediate investigation as to who masterminded the said program in the



interest of International Communism and; we demand satisfaction for the damage inflicted upon the Ukrainians in exile and the whole Ukrainian nation, which stands as a bulwark in the struggle against Moscow-Communist imperialism.

V. Borovyk, Chairman of Rally; J. Lesawyer, delegate of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; R. Huhlevych, president of the United American Ukrainian Organisations of New York City, Branch UCCA; W. Riznyk, delegate of the Central Executive Committee of the Organisation for the Rebirth of Ukraine; I. Yurchenko, delegate of the Central Executive Committee of the Organisation for the Defense of four Freedoms for Ukraine.

#### UCCA GENERAL COUNSEL ADMITTED TO PRACTICE BEFORE SUPREME COURT

John H. Roberts, General Counsel of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, in a colourful ceremony before the full bench of the nine Justices of the Supreme Court in Washington, D. C. on April 2, 1958.

Mr. Roberts who is the Chairman of the Workmen's Compensation Committee of the New York County Lawyers Association, was sponsored by Mr. Jacob Newman, Chairman of the Workmen's Compensation Committee of the Bronx County Bar Association, and Mr. Harry Thau, Secretary of the Workmen's Compensation Committee of the New York County Lawyers Association.

Mr. Roberts is well known in Ukrainian-American organisational circles. He is past President of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America. He was the first president of the Ukrainian American Lawyers' Association, and is now one of the Advisers and Trustees of the Ukrainian American Lawyers' Association. He was president of the Ukrainian Professional Society in 1941. He is a member of many Ukrainian organisations, and has held offices in almost all such organisations of which he was a member.

Mr. Roberts at present is the Vice-President of the Workmen's Compensation Bar Association.

#### MISS YAROSLAVA GLORIA SURMACH BACK IN AMERICA

The young artist, Miss Yaroslava Gloria Surmach, has recently returned to America from her trip to the Soviet Union, where she made a special study of the art of decorating Easter eggs, in particular the Ukrainian technique applied in this respect. For this purpose Miss Surmach visited Russia proper, Ukraine, Latvia and Czecho-Slovakia. In the course of her travels she saw numerous churches that had been destroyed and villages that had been deserted, and also spoke to many of the Ukrainians living in the West Ukrainian border regions which at present are under the political control of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Whilst travelling in Ukraine and the other countries which she visited, Miss Surmach had to cope with many difficulties on the part of the Soviet Russian authorities.

## DEPUTY MALONEY'S PRAISE FOR PEOPLES ENSLAVED BY MOSCOW

Mr. Arthur Maloney, deputy to the Canadian Federal Parliament in Ottawa, recently delivered a speech on behalf of the peoples that are subjugated by the Red Russians. He said that he was speaking in the name of the Ukrainian, Polish, Byelorussian, Hungarian, Czech, Croat and other ethnic groups in Canada that have elected him. The majority of the emigrants of these ethnic groups are living in his election district, Larkdale (Toronto). These refugees of various nationalities have contributed to a very considerably extent to the economic and cultural prosperity of their new native country. They appreciate the freedom they have found in Canada, and for this reason they are so eager to help their fellow-countrymen at home to free their native countries from Red Russian tyranny and oppression. This great devotion of these new Canadian citizens to the cause of freedom is, as Mr. Maloney stressed, an excellent guarantee for the increased prosperity of Canada.

In spite of earth satellites and long-range rockets there is one basic defect in the Soviet Union: lack of freedom. The Soviets have no such thing as free parliaments, free press, etc. The Soviet Union may supply arms to foreign countries, but it in no way supplies freedom. This is evident in the case of Egypt, China and Syria, for instance. But the cry for freedom of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain will one day be heeded by the whole world. We should like to stress the

fact that Mr. Maloney is thoroughly acquainted with all the problems pertaining to the needs of the new emigrants and, above all, to the needs of the Ukrainian community in Canada. He is a sincere friend of all the peoples subjugated by Red Moscow and is doing his utmost to help the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

## "LIBERACION EUROPEA" IN ARGENTINA

In 1948 an international society, "Liberacion Europea", was founded in Buenos Aires. One of the main aims of this organisation in the course of its ten years' existence has been to enlighten the peoples of South America on the liberation movements and anti-Communist struggle of the enslaved European peoples. The "Liberacion Europea" is in touch with all the anti-Communist organisations of South America, that is with the various anti-Communist organisations of Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Guatemala, etc.

In November 1957, a general assembly of the representatives of the fourteen nations that are members of the "Liberacion Europea" was convened. The following countries were represented at this assembly: Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Georgia, North Caucasia, Rumania and Ukraine. The newly elected executive committee of the "Liberacion Europea" consists of the following persons representing various peoples: President: T. Daukantas (Lithuania), Vice-presidents: J. Asansaic (Croatia).

tia), V. Jedisar (Azerbaijan) and Dr. M. Lefter (Rumania); Secretary-General: M. Rubinetz (Ukraine); secretaries: M. Marcsevic (Slovenia), R. Sargava (Byelorussia), S. Chomol (North Caucasia), Dr. L. Arnautu (Rumania), Nemecsek (Hungary), Prof. Dr. S. Mecian (Slovakia), and Mgr. R. Kolev (Bulgaria).

The sessions of the general assembly were also attended by representatives of the anti-Communist organisations in South America (Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Brazil and Uruguay), on behalf of which Dr. Gomez Carrillo delivered a speech, asking the delegates to help South America in its struggle against the totalitarianism which is headed, above all, by colonial Russian Communism.

"LA REVISTA CROATA"  
("HRVATSKA REVIJA"),  
BUENOS AIRES, 1957

The Croat refugees scattered all over the world continue their struggle for the liberation of their native country, Croatia. They are not willing to accept the Communist Titoist regime which has been imposed on Croatia, for the most part by the Serbian oppressors. The Croat emigrants who have settled in South America and, particularly, in Argentina publish a "Croat Review" ("Hrvatska Revija"), a lavishly illustrated magazine, in which the illustrations depict the life of the Croat people at home and abroad. The leading articles of

this magazine are frequently published in Spanish for the purpose of enlightening the South American peoples on the aims of the Croat liberation struggle against the Yugoslav Communist rule of Tito in Croatia. Some of the writers who regularly contribute articles which appear in the "Croat Review" are non-Croats, as for instance Yakiv Hnizdovsky, the Ukrainian writer, who lives in Paris, and others.

The "Croat Review" contains articles on various topics, as for example world events, recent political events in Croatia, the role of Croatia in world politics, the economic system in Croatia, art and other cultural aspects of Croat life. In addition, it also contains poetry and book reviews, etc.

A particularly interesting publication by the "Croat Review" is the book "Pod Tadjim Nebom" ("Under The Foreign Sky"), a collection of Croat emigrant poetry of the period 1945-1955. This book was published by Vinko Nikolic in Buenos Aires in 1957 and contains poems by many of the Croat poets who were obliged to leave their native country owing to political events in Croatia after World War II. On the whole these poems are written in a pessimistic and mournful strain, but they are nevertheless incomparable as regards their spiritual quality and value. Like the "Croat Review", this book, too, is lavishly illustrated.



## EMENDATION

In a letter to the Editor dated March 18, 1958, our esteemed reader, Dr. Oleh Lashchenko (P.O. Box 85, Kingsbridge Sta., New York 63, N.Y., U.S.A.), draws our attention to the fact that the date of the birth of the great Ukrainian poet, *Oleh Olzhych*, which is quoted differently in various Ukrainian sources, is actually 1907 and not 1908, as was erroneously affirmed in Professor V. Derzhavyn's article on "Post-War Ukrainian Literature" ("Ukrainian Review", 1957, Vol. 4, p. 56).

We should herewith like to thank Dr. Oleh Lashchenko for this correction and also for the ideas on O. Olzhych's works which he expresses in his letter. We consider these ideas, however, too specialised, on the one hand, and rather too controversial, on the other, to justify our publishing them here.

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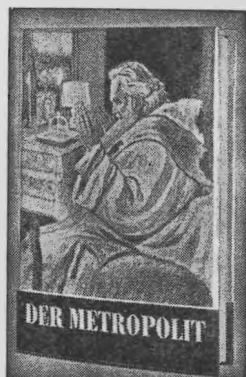
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*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



**III**

**LONDON  
1958**



## UKRAINE



Ukrainian ethnographic territory

Boundaries of Soviet republics and states

### **RESOLUTION AND APPEAL**

**of the Political Manifestation in the City of New York-Newark to Protest Against the Soviet Genocide in Ukraine**

Because the year 1958 is the fortieth anniversary of the Ukrainian national statehood, and

Because, this year is also the twenty fifth anniversary since Soviet Russia besieged Ukraine by means of hunger and

Because it is also twentieth anniversary of the Communist assassination of Colonel Eugene Konovaletz, the leader of the Ukrainian national resistance against the Russian-Bolshevik rule;

We, the American citizens of the Ukrainian descent want to remind the Free World of the rights of our brothers to be free and sovereign, and

We want, furthermore, to remind the free nations of the World of Abraham Lincoln's words: "That no house can stand divided, half free and half unfree," and that there will be no peace in the world as long as any nation is enslaved and as long as the fundamental principles of justice, equality, and freedom are denied to any man;

We want, therefore, to call the attention of the entire Free World to the fact that the Ukrainian people self-determined themselves politically in the years 1918-1921 when the Ukrainian national state was established, and then defended by the blood of the Ukraine's best sons and daughters; and, later on, the Russian Bolsheviks managed to conquer and to enslave Ukraine pursuing their political plans to save the Russian Empire, and eventually, to dominate the whole world;

We want, to remind the World of the later developments, namely, that the

(Continued on p. 83.)

VERLAG SCHLACH PEREMOHY  
München 8, Zeppelinstraße 67

# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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Vol. V. No. 3.

Autumn, 1958.

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**A Quarterly Magazine**

**Editors:**

**Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn, Prof. Dr. V. Oreletsky,**

**and**

**Mrs. Slava Stetzko**

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*Jaroslav Stetzko*

## EUROPEAN THOUGHT AND THE UKRAINIAN IDEA OF FREEDOM

In September 1870, Ernest Renan wrote the following words:

"The spiritual and moral strength of Europe lies in the cooperation between France, Germany and England; united, these powers will in an effective way concentrate their attention on another power, on Russia. Russia would not be a big danger if it were repelled from Europe and if it were to allow the peoples of Central Asia to exist within the structure which is in keeping with their common interests. But Russia is influenced by the old desires and aims which she continues to cherish. Moscow is like the dragon in the Apocalypse and will one day assimilate the former subjects of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. By the union of the European powers the old continent will keep its equilibrium and will possibly master new situations. . ."

Renan exhorts the descendants of his contemporaries to think about the near future as regards the Slav peoples who have been conquered by Russia and who, as he says, "are all heroic and courageous and have no desire to be ordered about and to be incorporated in the big Russian conglomerate."

These words express a profound European thought. The remarkable foresight of this outstanding French thinker regarding the European idea, which now more than ever is occupying the minds of the Europeans, is extremely interesting and informative. Perhaps the European movement will succeed in bringing about a big reconciliation between the Western and Central European peoples and forming a radiation centre of regenerated European values for the enslaved peoples of East Europe. The idea of the ancient heroic Christian culture and way of thought, and not the policy of living in the present without thought of the morrow, can become the basis of the rebirth of militant Europe. Europe will be lost if its

elite is not regenerated in the spirit of the ancient Crusaders, of Aetius, of Karl Martel and of Peter of Amiens, and in the spirit of Palmerston, Clemenceau, Foch, Charles XII and of the Ukrainian Hetman Mazeppa, the fiercest opponent of Peter I. So far, whenever Christian Europe was threatened by deadly danger, men with a profound faith and a victorious idea always appeared to guide its destiny. The Russian Genghis Khan of today dreads a revolution on the part of the enslaved peoples. Does the West, does free Europe intend to help these nations and thus help itself to overcome the Apocalyptic dragon?—The fate of our continent depends on the answer to this question.

European thought and the European movement must not allow themselves to be swayed by any tactical and political considerations as regards the peoples subjugated by Russia. The frontiers of Europe must not be shifted arbitrarily. At one stage in history the frontiers of Europe extend as far as the Oder-Neisse, at another stage as far as the Vistula or, at most, as far as the Soviet frontiers of 1939. But the profound thought that Europe is where the peoples profess their adherence to European values and suffer, fight and die for these eternal European values, is constantly ignored in diplomatic considerations. Europe is not confined either to religious or Romano-Germanic limits. Preponderantly Anglican England, Catholic Austria, preponderantly Orthodox and partly Catholic Ukraine, and Orthodox Greece—all are equally part of Europe. Whether Russia as a spiritual phenomenon belongs to Europe, is a question which is not for us to decide, but which must be decided by the Russians themselves. Europe is not exclusively a geographical but, to an even greater extent, a cultural and ethnical conception, built up on the basis of the Greco-Roman cultural circle and the Christian mentality. And it was precisely the peoples of East Europe, such as Ukraine, for example, who, by warding off the onslaughts of the Mongols and Tartars, preserved the ideas and principles of Christianity with its essential traits of human dignity, freedom of the individual and voluntary social solidarity, and with its clearly marked sense of honour and heroic attitude to life under the common and binding law of the Divine Will.

It would be wrong to exclude someone from the family of European peoples who actively supports the European community at risk to himself. If we really try to understand the mentality of the Ukrainian, Georgian or Lithuanian people, for instance, and

take into consideration the outstanding characteristics of the European spiritual values and social institutions, we shall have irrefutable proof that these peoples form an integral part of Europe as a spiritual unit. And, incidentally, they are surprised when this right is denied to them. We are not hostile towards the Russian people and likewise wish that they may obtain their independence within the limits of their own ethnical territory. If we consider Europe objectively, however, we cannot disregard the attitude of the intellectual elite of the Russian people in the historical retrospect, an attitude which, as is well known, differs entirely from European views. It is certainly no disgrace for someone to refuse to profess his adherence to our European values, but in order to have an objective basis for an analysis and a knowledge of how far Europe extends, we must take facts into account. If a Japanese affirms that he does not belong to Europe spiritually, this does not in any way discriminate him.

If in the following statements we substantiate our arguments with quotations from various Russian thinkers, we do so merely in order to stress the main differences which exist between the enslaved peoples of East Europe and Russia. This fact is also extremely significant for the construction of a European unity, for there must be a spiritual, cultural and ethical unity before there can be an economic and political unity. It is, for instance, astonishing how united the Mohammedan peoples are at present, but, on the other hand, it is alarming that the European Christian peoples have not yet reached this stage as regards the defence of their common values, which have made not only Europe but also the non-European world great. It is significant that the so-called colonial peoples are opposed to the European powers not because they long for the pre-colonial days and want to restore the pre-colonial order again, but because they reproach the European powers for having so far deprived them of the existing European freedoms.

The first great European world-revolution was really introduced five hundred years ago. The European conquerors opened up large continents and actually established mutual relations between various peoples, races and religions. Of course, various unfortunate excesses occurred in this respect, which cannot be excused. But we are concerned here with ascertaining the spiritual superiority of Europe. It was in Europe itself, however, that the power of Europe collapsed.



If we consider historical processes objectively, we shall realize that it was precisely the Russian lust of conquest which suppressed various European nations whose standard of culture and civilization was far higher than that of Russia. This was and still is a conquest of the type carried out by Genghis Khan and Attila. This was the case in the days of the Tsars and still is the case today, and in this respect no one will deny the cultural superiority of the Ukrainian or Georgian people as compared to the Russian element. In this connection mention must also be made of the occupied East Zone of Germany and of the high standard of civilization of the Czech people.

Whether Russia belongs to Europe in the spiritual sense, must, as we already pointed out above, be decided by the Russians themselves. Let us now consider what Russian and other thinkers, historians and politicians have at various times said about Russia's affinity to Europe. I should like to withhold my own comments in this respect, in keeping with my argument that every people professes its own adherence to certain ideas, which I do not intend to violate. But I do feel justified in affirming that the Ukrainian people belong to Europe.

Professor Smolka, who most certainly cannot be regarded as a friend of Ukraine, is convinced that the architecture of the Ukrainian churches reveals Florentine motifs, whilst the Ukrainian roadside shrines resemble the motifs found in the Vorarlberg, in the Italian Campagna and in France. These Ukrainian works of art which were found at cross-roads were unfortunately prohibited by the Tsar in 1843. In his work comprising three volumes, Leroi-Beaulieu also mentions the European character of Ukraine, and the candid Russian Pan-Slavist, Leontiev, in the fifth volume of his collected works ("Sochinieniya", p. 138) writes about the Ukrainians in the same manner as he does about the Dutch and the Germans and shows that *they are exactly the opposite of the Russians*.

All traditions and the historical development were quite different in Ukraine, entirely different from Russia proper, not only now, but also, for instance, when the Ukrainian Catholic Church was liquidated in Central Ukraine (in 1839 the United Church was liquidated in that part of Ukraine which was under Russian rule). Writing about Ukrainian Orthodoxy, the famous Pan-Slavist, Samarin, says that Ukrainian Orthodoxy, its ideas, its culture and organization were latinized. He affirms that "the introduction of

theology as a subject of instruction at the Kyiv Academy was carried out under the influence of the West. The works of the Ukrainian theologian, Prokopovych, could safely take the Jesuits under their protection or the holy congregation 'propaganda fidei' " (Samarin. Vol. V, p. 32).

There are two kinds of Orthodoxy: the Caesarean papist Russian Orthodoxy and the Ukrainian autocephalous Orthodoxy, which today still continues to exist underground as a Church of the catacombs, just as does the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. Ukraine is likewise the *Far East of the Occident*, but *never the far West of the Orient*.

Herzen says "It is most fortunate for the Russian people that they were not changed adversely by Catholicism as equal conceptions of the same category.

In his "A Writer's Diary", Dostoyevsky writes as follows: "Why do practically nine-tenths of the Russians when travelling abroad always seek to establish contact with European radical leftist circles, who, as it were, disdain their own culture? *Is this not an indication of the Russian soul, to whom European culture has always been something foreign?* I personally am of this opinion."

And the Russian emigrant, Alexander Herzen, cursed the Western world with the words: "Long live chaos, vive la mort!"

The tsarist Konstantin Leontiev wrote in the last century in his book, "The Orient, Russia and the Slav Element", "I believed and I still believe that Russia which must take the lead in a new formation of the Eastern states, is to give the world a new culture, too, and is to replace the decadent civilization of Romanic-Germanic Europe by this new Slavic-Eastern civilization." In giving reasons for his political theory, he writes as follows about the European-minded Slav peoples: "For all these peoples (he is referring to the Southern and Western Slavs) as far as their intellectual classes are concerned represent nothing more than the *most ordinary* and most commonplace European bourgeoisie in the history of the world."

And since it was precisely France which in the nineteenth century played the part of the chief representative of this European "bourgeois culture", he expressed the following opinion on this subject: "If it is necessary for the further independence of Eastern-Russian thought from Romanic-Germanic thought and for the adoption of new cultural forms and state forms that the dignity of

Romanic-Germanic civilization should be lowered in the eyes of the people of the East, if it is necessary that the judgment of values regarding that civilization should become violent prejudices against it as rapidly as possible, then it is to be desired that precisely that country, which has taken the initiative in the present progress, should compromise its genius as speedily and finally as possible!"

And he revealed his opinion and that of his Russian contemporaries even more emphatically when he wrote at the time of the Paris Commune: "Would it be possible to imagine the victory and the rule of the Commune without vandalism, without the material destruction of buildings, cultural monuments, libraries, etc.? Surely not; and in view of the present means of destruction, it is much easier to reduce the greater part of Paris to dust and ashes than it was in ancient times to destroy other great centres of culture, as for instance Babylon, Nineveh or ancient Rome. *And this should be the wish of everyone who aims to introduce new forms of civilization.*"

Such is the profound opinion of a Russian patriot and tsarist, who is fully aware of the irreconcilable hostility of his country towards Europe. What interests him most is the kindling of a world conflagration which should destroy European culture.

It would be a big mistake to regard Bolshevism in its origin and development as an extra-Russian phenomenon. The Russian philosopher N. Berdiayev characterized Bolshevism as follows: "... Bolshevism is a *purely national* phenomenon; he who wishes to penetrate its depths must uncover the national roots of Bolshevism and must explain its origin on the strength of Russian history. ... Bolshevism is a distorted and perverse realization of the Russian idea and that is why it has been victorious. The fact that *the hierarchic feeling among the Russian people is only very weak, but the urge to an autocratic government, on the other hand, is very strong*, has contributed to this victory. The Russian people would not hear of a constitutional legal state... Bolshevism is in keeping with the mentality of the Russian people." ("The New Middle Ages".) Berdiayev admits that there is a distinct difference between Europe and Russia: "The Russian people—he writes—cannot create a humanistic empire of a moderate kind and they do not want a legal state *in the European sense* of the word... The feeling of affinity with property, family, rights, furniture and old customs has never stirred the hearts of the Russian people... The European, on the



other hand, regards his possessions as sacred; he will not allow himself to be deprived of them without a hard struggle"...

The West European powers expanded their empires pyramidwise. The upper part of the pyramid has remained standing, but the foundations of the economic development, which for the most part were to be found overseas, are gradually beginning to crumble. It is therefore imperative that some other kind of support should be found for the organic foundations of European unity. The "remnant of Europe" which still remains to us is economically dependent on America and under America's military protection. For this reason it can only establish its own independent economic policy if the East European countries—and by these I mean not only the satellite states, but also Ukraine, Caucasia, Byelorussia and other countries—detach themselves from the Russian empire and set up their independent states once more, and, in this way create the precondition for the formation of a sound Europe as a complex whole. As long as the Russian empire is not disintegrated into independent states, our peoples have no possibility of reaching a free decision, as Italy, Germany or France can do, regarding the European integration. And this fact must be borne in mind from the start.

We must likewise bear in mind the fact that every federation or union in East Europe was imposed on the peoples by cunning and coercion. I refer to the treaty of Pereyaslav in the 17th century between Ukraine and Russia, according to which two states enjoying equal rights formed an alliance out of which a compulsory federation was later forged. Or another example: in 1783 a protectorate treaty was concluded by Georgia and Russia, according to which Georgia was to remain an entirely sovereign state with its own king and only a joint foreign policy was to be observed.

In 1801, however, Georgia was occupied and transformed into a Russian administrative province.

At the peace conference at The Hague in 1907, which was convened at the initiative of the Russian Tsar, the petition of the Georgian people, demanding that the independence of the Georgian state be restored, was submitted to all the delegates.

In 1916, a conference of the representatives of all the peoples subjugated by Russia was held in Lausanne. These peoples again repeated their demand that their independence should be restored. It is thus obvious that there can be no question of forming a federa-

tion with Russia in East Europe as a preliminary stage for a European community. For Russian coercion would always be behind such a federation and Russian imperialism would once more use the duped peoples as a powerful means of ruling Europe and the world. *The fact must be emphasized that the integration of Europe can only be achieved by the disintegration of the Russian empire into independent states, for only in this way would the nations of East Europe who have become independent again regain their freedom of decision.*

It would be wrong to condemn the idea of liberation nationalism amongst the East European peoples—by whom we mean, as already pointed out above, not only the so-called satellites, but also Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Byelorussia and other countries—from the very outset, for one does not condemn Indian or Pakistanian nationalism. Liberation nationalism is by no means identical with chauvinism, with exclusivism or imperialism. It consists exclusively in the will to self-assertion of a people and in their will to freedom and independence which goes hand in hand with patriotism. This liberation nationalism also characterized all the underground movements of the West European countries which rose up in opposition against Nazi occupation. It was also the fundamental principle on which the large-scale resistance movements of the Dutch and the Norwegians were based. The peoples of East Europe who are still enslaved are perhaps even more sensitive to the idea of national freedom, and for this reason one must not, when propagating the European idea, allow the latter to become a contradiction of the idea of national freedom in the East European countries, especially not as it has always been a characteristic trait of the European element since time immemorial to advocate national freedom and independence. *The key to the victory of the European idea in the East lies in bringing this idea into harmony with the idea of national freedom of the East European peoples, by acknowledging the latter idea and integrating it in the entire European ideological campaign.*

It would be wrong of the European movement to rely only on those elements of East Europe which, from the start, accept the ideas formulated so far by the European movement without any objection. It is more advisable to rely on and include those forces which remain faithful to the historical and permanent European values in the struggle against barbarity, and to do so under the

banner of the idea of national freedom, which they do not regard as a contradiction of the European idea, but, rather, as an integral characteristic of the latter. It is understandable that certain "white" Russian circles are likely to adopt a positive attitude towards the European movement for opportunist reasons. These circles want to preserve the regional East European coercive federation, which in any case is fictitious, under Russian domination, and already regard it as a future part of the European federation. But there can be no question of this, as far as the East European peoples are concerned. The Russian paper "Posev" writes as follows in its edition of November 10, 1957:

"The protest against Communism in Russia is more definite in character. It contains nothing of the national factor. But the protest against Communism in Hungary, for instance, contains also the elements of a fight for national independence."

In order to be successful, one must take into account as the primary factor the European idea which is decisive for the fate of every individual European, the fact that our peoples in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries are fighting for national independence, and must incorporate this fundamental demand on the part of all peoples who desire to regain their freedom of decision, in the big European movement as a prerequisite for the realization of the European integration.

It certainly seems somewhat strange that even the ideological European movement should show consideration for the opportunist political factors of the cold war. It is a known fact that an "Assembly of Captive Nations" is held from time to time in Strasbourg, to which only the exile-representatives of the satellite countries are invited; and at a congress of the European Movement in Augsburg, the president of the German European Movement answered the question as to whether the Ukrainians are to be regarded as a European people in the negative. And one has sufficient reason to be pessimistic if one also considers the motives behind the Yalta policy, in which it was decided to do everything possible to appease Moscow and to allow only such servile governments to be set up in the present satellite countries as would not be too frightening for Moscow. The European movement can only fulfil its historical task if it abandons all tactical and opportunist considerations, if it concentrates its attention on the noble aim of



a European spiritual and economic regeneration, if it is based on the Christian philosophy of the world and supports the national-state disintegration in East Europe as a precondition for a future European integration.

The Communist materialistic system of evil and crime must be opposed by a uniform system of good and noble. The achievement of a spiritual regeneration is the precondition for the annihilation of Bolshevism. It does not suffice to preach the watchword of a freedom which is neither determined as regards quality nor precisely defined as regards contents. A formal freedom is no longer adequate, and the values and the ideas which one is trying to realize within its framework must be explicitly stated and defined. Freedom is an essential basis for the realization of noble ideas. Freedom is a precondition for the realization of the idea of justice, which represents man's highest possession on earth. And justice demands that one should accord the East European peoples the same preconditions for a free decision as are afforded to the West European peoples who are now free.

The idea that, if only Western Europe unites, it will be able to form a third force, is in our opinion not based on genuine preconditions. The Marshall Plan has definitely contributed to the economic prosperity of Western Europe, not to mention American military strength which for the time being is protecting the present "remnant of Europe" against a Russian attack. In view of this absolutely necessary dependence on America, how can one talk about Western Europe's independence in this same respect? Without the disintegration of Soviet-Russian-ruled East Europe and without the organic incorporation of the East European countries—on the basis of equality of rights—in Europe as a whole, and without the East European sales and import markets, Europe can never become a permanently sound organism relying on its own strength. Europe can only assert itself as a whole and not if it is divided into East and West Europe.

Nor must we overlook spiritual culture, too; if we consider the ideas which today are still a living force in America or Australia, we shall see that they are still our European ideas. If we compare the spiritual world of these continents with the spiritual world of Russia and if we do not place too much emphasis on the geographical position as the criterion of Europe it becomes obvious that the

Americans or Australians are in every respect more European than the Russians, irrespective of whether the latter are Communist or anti-Communist.

Europe's mission failed because European ideals were not faithfully observed. Just as Europe hundreds of years ago started a big world revolution, so, too, European ideas still live on today in all continents. In order to seize the opportunity of this new division of nations, unhesitatingly and courageously, and in order to establish contact with this world-historical process, the European movement must assume its fitting role, above all as regards the East European peoples. And it is in this respect that an offensive spiritual advance is imperative. Never before in the course of history has the European mentality felt that it was being forced into the defensive and was being defeated to such an extent as is, at present, the case! The spiritual world of Europe always steered a progressive course forwards. Why then should one now timidly want to limit the European movement to the sphere of the remnant of Europe and make its existence depend on wherever the Soviet Russian army is stationed? Europe is becoming more and more limited, but *not in the sense of the spiritual experience* of the peoples incarcerated in the U.S.S.R., who obviously continue to fight for European values, but in the sense of the narrow-mindedness and biased attitude of some West Europeans, who have already lost faith in the European mission and would like to limit Europe to the remnant of Europe for opportunist reasons.

Another factor which reveals the conflict of interests in Europe is the second industrial revolution. Strange to say, in this atomic age the division of the nations throughout the whole world and, in particular, behind the Iron Curtain is now in progress. It is precisely the idea of national freedom which, if rightly conceived, can counteract the agglomeration of thermonuclear weapons as a means of destruction in the hands of the Moscow tyrants, can disintegrate this colossus and, in this way, will be able to wrest its material and human potential from it.

These are some of the ideas for which the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are suffering and fighting.

From the point of view of the subjugated peoples, we thus consider that the future of the European movement lies in the fact that it should detach itself from every kind of opportunist policy

and should definitely and wholeheartedly support the aims which the nations incarcerated in the Russian peoples' prison are pursuing. These are as follows:

1) The precondition for the all-European integration is the disintegration of the Russian empire into independent national states.

2) By means of freely elected parliaments the independent national states are to be allowed to reach a free decision (just as the German, Dutch, French and Italian people were allowed to reach a free decision, for instance, with regard to the European Coal and Steel Community or the EURATOM) with regard to the European Community.

3) Every state, irrespectively of its size, wealth and population, shall be represented equally in the European bodies. The nations are to be regarded as communities and no nation may predominate, since otherwise the integrated Europe will become a new so-called European empire with the strongest nation ruling over the others.

4) More emphasis must be placed on the positive possibilities to be developed out of the European community and less on the limitation of sovereignty, a question which is a sore point with the peoples incarcerated in the Russian empire. The peoples of East Europe enjoy no real sovereignty. It would, therefore, be inappropriate to talk about the limitation of sovereignty.

On the basis of the above-mentioned principles, it would be imperative that,

a) without taking the various policies of the Western governments towards Moscow into consideration, one should admit the representatives of the nations incarcerated in the U.S.S.R., as for instance Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, etc., into the European movement, that is into the advisory European bodies, on the basis of equal rights for all;

b) the representatives of the above-mentioned peoples should be invited to all the congresses of the European movement and that the right should be conceded to them to discuss the European integration in detail from their point of view, which advocates the disintegration of the Russian empire;

c) one should abandon the policy which is based on tactical considerations and still cherishes the hope that there can be a tenable basis—in reality, however, long since outmoded as a result of events—for the understanding which, it is hoped, will be reached with Soviet Russia;



d) the aims of the national fight for freedom of the peoples incarcerated in the U.S.S.R. should be included in the programme of the European movement. In this way, by means of the European movement, the free world will win back the shaken confidence of the enslaved nations, and the European movement will assume a role that is missing in the West, namely that of the champion of the freedom of the East European peoples and will thus fulfil its historical and international political function in the anti-Bolshevist fight, as regards our peoples, too;

e) the leading bodies of the European movement should be extended by including the representatives of the peoples enslaved in the U.S.S.R. who support the above-mentioned ideas, and this should be done on the basis of equal rights for all;


f) in the publications of the Europe movement one should report in detail not only on the fight for freedom in the satellite countries, but also on that which is conducted by the nations incarcerated in the U.S.S.R. and should adopt a positive attitude to this problem. One must not dispose of this complex by classifying it under the general heading "Russia". Neither Ukraine, Georgia nor Byelorussia nor any other of these countries has anything in common with Russia, just as Holland, France and Poland during the Nazi occupation were not identical with the German Reich;

g) it would be extremely important for the European movement to have its own radio station and, linking up with the national fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia and in conformity with their aims, to expound its ideas through this medium; and for this purpose the spokesmen of the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples, who are now living in the free world and who have always opposed Communism uncompromisingly, should also be rallied.

There are certain concrete points which we consider important, inasmuch as they will serve to make our peoples behind the Iron Curtain familiar with the European idea and win them over for it. We must not overlook the bitter experience which our peoples had in World War II, not only as regards Hitler, but also the Western Allies, who did their share towards the subjugation of our peoples by Bolshevism once more. Our peoples are not concerned with investigating who was to blame or not for these events. It is a question of facts which cannot be denied in the world. If, in addition, one takes into consideration the bitter feelings of the

enslaved nations after the Hungarian revolution and also after the insurrections on the part of the Ukrainian prisoners in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norylsk, Kingiri and Mordovia during the years 1953-55 (that is to say after the two-front war waged by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from 1942 to 1945), then it becomes evident that there must be someone in the West to compensate and equalize all this. If the European movement, which seeks to overcome national egoisms and aims to arouse understanding for the other nations and for Europe as a whole, is not willing to take on this task, who else is there at present who would do so?

*Europe's misfortune lies in its retreat.* But the question at issue is the regeneration of the eternally valid European values. The profounder motives which have prompted the West European Monroe Doctrine in the political, ideological and spiritual sense, a doctrine which is gradually being applied in practice and which also accepted a coexistence and containment policy not only in the political sense, lie in the fact that Western Europe has lost itself. In order to survive, one must not isolate oneself from the great and decisive world-processes. The great American democracy is Europe's daughter, and, in any case, it would be too early for the motherland of world-progress to start becoming resigned.



U. Kuzhil

## **The "Scientific" Character of Dialectical Materialism \*)**

### I

The enormous development of science in the 19th and 20th centuries has resulted in its being placed on a hitherto unheard of pedestal. Everybody realizes objectively that it has amazing prospects as regards the far-reaching control and exploitation of the forces of Nature. Thus, it is not surprising that science is becoming of decisive importance in the opinion of the non-expert, too, and that the latter is beginning to regard all theories in any sphere, provided that they are based on scientific arguments, as being above criticism.

It is a well-known process in the clash of ideas and world philosophies to resort to science in order to strengthen one's own position. Science is a weapon and, if used skilfully, guarantees enormous chances of success. The Bolsheviks have rightly realized this fact and have unreservedly made use of the "scientific" arguments to the advantage of their world philosophy, in order to confuse the consciousness of the uncritical and one-sidedly trained Soviet citizen. It is an established fact that no normal Soviet citizen has a chance to study reference works or any kind of basic scientific works, in order to become acquainted with any other ideology. It is true that there are scientific books in the Soviet Union, but they are all imbued with Marxism and do not reflect any of the original thoughts and arguments of the scholars and philosophers of world-fame. Since the Bolsheviks know that science nowadays is accepted unreservedly as the decisive factor and that the intellectual level of the average person is such that he is incapable of seriously criticizing the "scientific" foundation of dialectical material-

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\*) The Ukrainian original of this article appeared for the first time in a publication of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Ukraine in 1947. The author was one of the active members of the revolutionary Ukrainian national liberation movement.



ism, they juggle with the words "science" and "scientific character". As soon as it came into being, Marxism proceeded to strengthen its position by the self-deception that it was the one and only scientific conceivable world philosophy, firmly based on the indubitable results of natural science. The materialism of that era lightheartedly faced and disposed of logical difficulties and, in doing so, appeared to take as its starting-point facts themselves and to eliminate all misunderstanding. Even in those days Marxist socialism—as compared to all other socialist trends—boldly designated itself as a scientific socialism, in order to stress its scientific foundation. It claimed to be a world philosophy that was based solely on what can be corroborated by the senses and by experience, that is to say on positive science. And what argument can the average Soviet citizen advance against such an authority as a scientific theory, seeing that he has no chance to read anything else save the last expression of Soviet philosophical thought, namely Paragraph 6 of the 4th chapter of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (of the Bolsheviks)", on "dialectical and historical materialism"! The non-expert (the layman) must bow to science. If, however, one takes into consideration the fact that for decades this poor creature has had such sentences as "in order to make no mistakes in politics, etc., one must apply the scientific, dialectical method, which is the only method which allows the right conclusions to be drawn", hammered into him, then it is not surprising that he regards the political wisdom of the Bolshevik Party as infinite, for it was guided solely by science. Every law became incontestable, and a state which is based on such a scientific idea becomes "invincible."

The materialists base their arguments solely on the experience of the senses and on positive knowledge. But do the empiric sciences show us the origin and causes of existence? By no means! They only show us the facts and phenomena which appear in sequence one after the other, and in examining them they corroborate a certain continuity of law which connects them. But the empiric sciences in no way mention the origin of the active causes, the reality of the plan, outlined in advance, of the development of the phenomena. And at the same time the materialists without any misgivings base their arguments on these sciences in order to solve problems which do not belong to the latter's sphere at all. Are we not justified in affirming that materialism expresses a certain principle but bases this principle on arguments which do not prove anything?

No scientist of the empiric school will refute our statements when we affirm that, in view of the present status of science, no positive data permit such conclusions to be drawn as are drawn by materialism about the substance and about the first causes of natural phenomena; that, by reason of their very nature, the empiric science cannot deal with questions such as the substance and the first causes of natural phenomena; that science shows us the reality, the present status and, at most, the fact, but not the origin of things; that the direct "how" and the immediate causes of things are the most that science can give us; that the moment materialism becomes an explicit and doctrinarian negation of metaphysics (that is to say, in the scientific sense of this term, the science of basic conceptions—substance, existence, etc.), it becomes a different form of metaphysics itself; that is to say, in attempting to use the data of the empiric sciences, it begins to affirm things that are not contained in this data.

So much for our first argument! Secondly, can science advance dogmatic arguments about the future or guess the inevitable consequences of causes? Materialism likes to base its arguments on positive knowledge, but at the same time it rejects the latter's sceptical caution and in its way degenerates into a dogmatism of a natural science character, a dogmatism which, as regards questions not yet solved by science, is only based on belief, and orders everyone to believe in its dogmas. If we briefly consider the history of the world philosophies of a natural science character, we realize the extent to which their dogmatism is inconsistent.

Primitive man, confronted by the countenance of Nature, which to his superficial power of discernment and judgment seemed just as senseless as he himself was, began to conceive Nature according to his own pattern. He began to ascribe what he erroneously imagined to be a chaotic confusion of the universe to the moods and temper of the gods, that is to say to good or evil spirits. It was only after considerable research on the part of man that he recognized the great law of causality and later found that it ruled all inanimate Nature. He discovered that individual causes, separated by reason of their effect, always called forth the same result. If something happened, it was not due to the incalculable will of super-natural beings, but simply evolved from the direct state of things as a result of unchangeable laws. And this state of things must in its turn have been caused by a previous state and so on.

ad infinitum; the entire course of events was thus determined beforehand by the state of things which existed at the moment when the world first came into being. Once this was realized, it became evident that Nature could only follow a predestined course to a predestined aim; in other words, the act of creation not only called the universe into being, but also outlined its whole future history in advance.

Man, however, did not cease to believe in his ability to influence the course of events by his own willed action, but in this respect he was guided by instinct rather than by logic, science or experience. From now onwards, all events which had formerly been ascribed to the action of supernatural beings were attributed to the effect of the law of causality. The final recognition of this law as a leading and fundamental principle of Nature was one of the triumphs of the 17th century, the illustrious century of Galileo and Newton. It was ascertained that celestial phenomena are the result of the general laws of mechanics and that comets, regarded in former times as an omen of the decay of empires or the death of kings, simply move according to the formulas of the general law of gravitation. These conceptions led to a tendency to visualize the entire material world as a machine. This school of thought became stronger and stronger until it finally reached its height in the second half of the 19th century. One only needed to concentrate more on acquiring a knowledge of the universe and inanimate Nature as a whole would reveal itself to man as a perfectly functioning machine.

All this was obviously bound to influence the explanation of the significance of human life to a very considerable degree. Every extension of the law of causality and every triumph of a mechanical interpretation of Nature was inevitably bound to undermine man's belief in the freedom of will; for if all Nature was governed by the law of causality, why should life be an exception in this respect? It was from such conceptions that the mechanistic philosophical systems of the 17th and 18th centuries derived their origin, as did the idealistic theories which came into being later, after these systems, as a natural reaction. Until the beginning of the 19th century, however, life was regarded as something distinct from inanimate Nature. It was precisely at that time that the discovery was made that living cells consist of the same atoms as does inanimate Nature, and this led to the conclusion that the development of these living cells is undoubtedly determined by the same laws of



Nature; the question obtruded itself as to why the atoms, which are part of our body and our brain, should not be governed by the laws of causality. Not only did one begin to assume but one also affirmed unreservedly that life was likewise a purely mechanical phenomenon. It was affirmed for instance that the mind of Bach, Newton or Michelangelo differed from a printing press, an organ or a sawmill only in the degree of complicated working, and that the function of the mind consisted exclusively in a limited reaction to external stimuli.

The turn of the century brought with it a kaleidoscopic change in scientific conceptions. The 19th century had given science time to convince itself that certain phenomena, above all the phenomena of radio-activity and gravitation, cannot be explained in a mechanistic way. Theoreticians continued to discuss the possibility of building a machine which would be able to reproduce the emotions of Bach, the thoughts of Newton or the enthusiasm of Michelangelo, but all attempts in this direction failed completely.

At the end of the 19th century, Professor *Planck* carried out a certain experiment to clarify the phenomena of radio-activity which up to that time had been inexplicable. The first experiments carried out in this connection later led to the modern "theory of quantities", which today forms one of the dominating basic principles of physics. At the same time, this theory marked the end of the mechanistic age of science and the beginning of a new era. Planck's original theory did little more than assume that Nature proceeds with slow and slight movements like the fingers of a clock. In 1917, however, Einstein proved that this newly created theory, based on Planck's arguments, leads to a number of revolutionary conclusions. This theory had obviously ousted the law of causality from its position and now appeared to be ruling the course of the natural phenomena from this position. Science in former times self-confidently affirmed that Nature could follow only one course, a course predestined from the beginning of time to the end and passing through an unbroken chain of causes and results: namely, that after state A, state B would inevitably ensue. And so far, modern science, too, has not been able to tell us any more, save that after state A, state B may ensue, and, equally, also state C or state D or innumerable other states; it is true that modern science can affirm that there is a greater probability of state B, C or D ensuing, but precisely because it resorts to the categories of probability, it cannot foresee

with absolute certainty which state will ensue after the preceding one.

As can be seen from this brief survey, science is not in a position to answer questions for us which refer to the basic philosophical problems. The picture of the world which science presents to us changes with every age of new epoch-making discoveries in the sphere of natural science, and science has not been able to prove whether each of these pictures is an approach to the objective picture of the world, or whether they are pictures of a world that is considered from a different aspect again and again. None of the scientists who have experienced the past thirty years is too dogmatic, either with regard to the future direction of scientific progress or to the direction in which objective truth is to be sought. One cannot therefore affirm that modern science has something great and new to reveal to us; on the contrary, one might well affirm that science today is not in a position to foresee or to reveal anything, since the course of science has changed its direction too often.

Such is the status of science and such are its prospects, and for this reason it strikes one as particularly paradoxical that the Bolsheviks should rely on the prestige of science to such an extent. By propagating the illusion of the strictly scientific character of the Bolshevik philosophy of the world, they force people who are ignorant of the status and prospects of science to believe blindly in a policy which is allegedly based on exact and unconditional disciplines.

In order to ascertain what actually corresponds to positive knowledge in the Bolshevik philosophy of the world and what is only a hypothesis or an arbitrary conclusion which is not based on any scientific data, let us consider Paragraph 6 of the 4th chapter of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (of the Bolsheviks)", which deals with "dialectical and historical materialism." It is precisely this work by *Stalin*, which must be taken into consideration, since it is of especial significance in the Soviet world. The regime officially presents this book to both workers and university professors as *the source* of Bolshevik philosophical wisdom; it is maintained that it contains the only correct interpretation and explanation of the entire philosophical doctrine of Marxism. Incidentally, nothing new had appeared on this subject since the last philosophical treatise by Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism",

in 1908. Modern Bolshevik philosophical thought merely repeats old platitudes and dishes up quotations from Engels or from the above-mentioned "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" at every opportunity.

According to the dialectical method, however, everything in the world is changeable, every category is endowed with a new meaning in a new epoch, which is formed by epoch-making scientific discoveries. An examination of the fundamental conceptions in this respect or a change in their definition in connection with later scientific discoveries did not, however, take place. On the contrary, all experiments undertaken in this direction were condemned as "deviations" and the authors concerned were designated as "enemies of the people". In this way Bolshevik philosophy has become the victim of stagnation and its unfounded assertions to the effect that recent scientific discoveries are to corroborate its theories, lack all proof.

What strikes one most in the above-mentioned work by Stalin as well as in all Bolshevik works is the peculiar terminology, which is not used anywhere else in the scientific world and is actually in some cases a contradiction of the basic conceptions of science. In Stalin's work the entire explanation of the dialectical method is based on the contrast between this method and metaphysics. Since post-Aristotelian times metaphysics has had a certain explicit significance; it is a science which concerns questions that are not answered by modern natural science, that is to say questions pertaining to the being, the basic substance which forms the world, etc. The Bolsheviks class all theories and philosophical system, etc., which do not tally with Marxist dialectics, together as "metaphysics". And what is more, by means of the Marxist contradistinction between metaphysics and dialectics, the Bolsheviks endeavour to create the impression that all former philosophical systems were most absurd and unscientific and that they all regarded the world as a system of separate phenomena which were in no way connected with one another. In a theory of this kind the entire world facet of man's philosophical thought is deprived of all connection with science. The idea is suggested that the first scientific explanation and even the corresponding conception of the universe begins with Marxist dialectics. But who of the philosophers of recent times has questioned the changeableness of things or the mutual dependence of natural phenomena etc.?



To resort to stereotyped phrases such as "in contrast to metaphysics" is merely to set up and tilt at windmills in the manner of Don Quixote and to ridicule the entire non-Marxist philosophy, in order to emphasize still more the "geniality" of Marxism as regards its determination of the natural law of evolution.

On the other hand, it is definitely unscientific and simply foolish to recommend the dialectical method as the only expedient means of solving all problems, from the less important problems of political and social life to the fundamental problems of philosophy. The fact is overlooked that method alone is not everything. By means of the same dialectical method *Hegel* set up an apotheosis of Prussian imperialism. What the doctrinarian application of a method can lead to, is excellently illustrated by what happened in the case of *Hegel*; with the aid of his dialectics, he ascertained that there could be no other number of planets than those which were already known in his day; but soon afterwards another planet *Neptune* (and later on, the planet of *Pluto*, too) was discovered. Somewhat alarmed, *Hegel's* assistants hesitantly drew his attention to the fact that his theory was not in keeping with the facts, whereupon they received the significant answer, "all the worse for the facts". And all the worse for the facts today if they do not fit into the framework of Paragraph 6 of the 4th chapter of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (of the Bolsheviks)" and do not develop accordingly. It appears to be characteristic of the Bolshevik philosophy of the world that it endeavours to adapt natural phenomena, above all those of social and political life, to an a priori method of research.

The two chief characteristics of the dialectical method are not an invention of Marxism. It has not the credit of having ascertained the two generally known and recognized laws of Nature, that of the mutual dependence of the phenomena of Nature and that of their changeability in time and space. As regards the sudden and erratic or "leaping" origin of the phenomena matters are not so simple. Above all, the definition of the "leap" as a conception is not precise. What speed is needed in order to be able to describe the transition from one state to another as "leaping"? A "leap" according to the Marxist definition is a relative conception. So far it has not been possible to prove an absolute "leap" in the case of natural phenomena, for such a "leap" would have to bring about a qualitative change in the course of the section of time 0. *Stalin*

defines the "leaping" transition as a process in the course of which "changes take place not gradually, but quickly, suddenly". But what is meant by "quickly" and "suddenly"? Surely this is only a subjective conception. Let us assume for instance that in the case of a human being, who on an average lives 50 to 60 years, the duration of a phenomenon which takes place "quickly" is one hour or one minute; then in the case of another being that lives seven years or, like the cockchafer only one month, the conception "quickly" in proportion to the human conception of "quickly" will be one-tenth or one-thousandth of an hour or minute. Thus, the conception of a "leap" is not an objective conception or one that holds good for the whole of Nature, but merely one that has been adapted to man's way of thinking and to man's conception of time. It is perhaps possible to ascertain a number of phenomena in which the transition from one qualitative state to another is rapid, but, on the other hand, one could quote thousands of examples where this transition takes a long time and where qualitative changes actually run parallel to quantitative changes. But before we advance further arguments let us consider the example of water boiling as a standard "leaping" process. Engels writes as follows: "For instance, the temperature of water has, to begin with, no significance for its liquid state, but when the temperature of the water rises or drops there comes a moment when the entire state of the water changes to steam in the first case, to ice in the second case." This is an incorrect explanation of the phenomenon in question. It is an established fact that water changes to steam at any temperature. Water in an open vessel already evaporates at normal room temperature. If the temperature of the water rises, it evaporates quickly, that is to say the amount of water which becomes steam in a second increases as the temperature rises. This speed of evaporation is greatest at boiling-point, but no "leap" takes place; on the contrary, a certain parallelism is evident: simultaneously with the quantitative increase of the movement of the water molecules, that is to say, with the rise in the temperature of the water, an acceleration of evaporation takes place. Surely one cannot talk about a quick and sudden transition in this case?

It is true that certain natural phenomena have a quick, or as Marxism says a "leaping" course (as for example a qualitative atomic change), but the majority of natural changes take place gradually and simultaneously with the quantitative changes. If the

length of waves of light gradually increases, the quality, that is to say the colour of light likewise changes gradually and simultaneously. Thus, as can be seen from the above examples, the Marxist conception of the "leap" is a combination of naive observations and even more naive generalizing conclusions.

In trying to characterize Marxist philosophical materialism, *Stalin* writes as follows: "The world and the nature of its laws are entirely cognizable, and our knowledge of the laws of Nature, tested by experience and by practice, becomes a reliable knowledge which possesses the validity of objective truth." This statement leads up to a "scientific" explanation of the fundamental principles of social life and of the infallibility of the Party, which is based on the same "scientific" arguments. In view of the criminal activity of the Bolshevik party and all its artificial, unnatural social and political experiments, it seems imperative that we should examine the above arguments more closely. In this connection we should, however, like to point out in advance that we shall not take into consideration the question of the primacy or non-primacy of matter or the question of the justification of the materialists or the idealists regarding the problem of the basic substance or being. *This is a matter of belief since science has so far not been able to answer all these questions.* Our sole concern is to ascertain whether the Bolsheviks are not abusing the possibilities of science by using its prestige solely to designate their own senseless theories as correct. The Bolshevik point of view as regards the above-mentioned question has already been characterized briefly and concisely by Stalin's arguments. In order to solve the problem we must, in the first place, answer the following two questions:

- 1) Can man have an objective knowledge of Nature?
- 2) On the strength of the laws of Nature discovered so far, can one set up dogmatic theories about the future of Nature and of human society, or only so-called working hypotheses with all the necessary reservations?

Man recognizes and studies the phenomena of Nature with the aid of his senses. Thus, the objectivity of his knowledge in this respect is already refuted, since the structure of the senses concerned determines the degree and the quality of this knowledge in advance. All external impulses travel through the senses concerned and the nervous system before they reach human consciousness. The fact that impressions pass through this entire apparatus changes them



accordingly, inasmuch as this process creates impressions of colour, of the degree of solidity, of form, etc. With the progress of science, instruments of the greatest precision are invented which can, for instance, show the limitations of human sight and, at the same time, enable one to see white sunlight as a diffracted spectrum, but this latter impression is nothing but an external impulse which only reaches our consciousness after having passed through the entire system of the senses concerned. Thus, it follows from the fact that man recognizes the world by means of his senses that his conception of the world is subjective and dependent on these same senses. The blind have a different conception of the world, and a being which had another sense not known to us would form still another conception of Nature. Which of these different kinds of cognition can we then designate as objective? All attempts to study the nature of substance will fail as long as we have no external basis of cognition. If one is only a very minute part of the world as a whole, it is not possible to regard the latter from a distant perspective or to comprehend the problem in its entirety. Do we by any chance know whether the distant celestial bodies which we cannot even see with the help of the largest telescope are not governed by other laws, by laws which are entirely different from those which we have discovered in the world that is accessible to us through a telescope? Let us consider science once more, from the point of view of whether it has so far provided us with any basis for the cognition of substance, or whether it has merely described and studied laws which guide the changes of substance and in this way determine the phenomena of the external world.

No one actually saw the electron; it was merely observed in rotation, that is in action; its behaviour was observed and this was adapted to the natural phenomena usually observed by our senses. Once science has progressed still further in the field of electronic research, it will set up more precise questions regarding the behaviour of the electron, but these will not be formulas which might ascertain the essential nature of the electron. For the further we progress in science, the more do we convince ourselves that matter is not what we have so far taken it to be. The splitting of the atom has not only destroyed our former conception of matter, but has also provided us with a new conception of matter, but whether this is one that is closer to objective truth, we do not know.

The mechanistic conception of the universe is, according to Marxism, a relative truth, a truth which is based on the present state of science. It is affirmed that every subsequent relative truth must proceed along the path of progress and perfection to absolute truth. But what does all this look like in reality? The subsequent theories—be it the quantum theory or the theory of Einstein—create a new picture of the universe, but it is a picture which is based not on perfect mechanistic foundations, but on entirely different arguments which, as compared to the previous era of science, are revolutionary. But were not all the laws of Newton proved by experiment? And yet, Einstein, as we know, ascertained certain deviations from the law of gravitation by experiments and formulated new propositions which are based on the theory of relativity and invalidate Newton's conception of gravitation. The symbols used to designate the behaviour of individual phenomena of Nature were canonized by the popularization of science as formulas in order to enable man to comprehend these phenomena more easily and more objectively. This false popularization is also characteristic of the picture of the universe created by the Marxist philosophy of the world; it is a system complete in itself, in which there are no deviations and everything proceeds according to known causes and results which can be foreseen. The result is a clear and easily comprehensible picture, which is, however, a false one.

Accordingly, the place of dialectical materialism in the field of the natural sciences can be determined on the basis of the present status of science. Before exposing the illogicality and absurdity of the so-called dialectical method, the indisputable fact *must be stressed that not a single scientist outside the Soviet Union (and its satellites) is interested in the said "theory"*. Scientists and philosophers with entirely different philosophies of the world support certain theories and oppose others, but none of them waste his time discussing the naive philosophical absurdity of Marxism. A closer study of all the inferior Bolshevik publications dealing with philosophical subjects reveals that the said "theory" is merely a confused conglomeration of aphorisms which are in no way connected. For no reason whatever the laws of evolution of individual natural phenomena are generalized with regard to Nature as a whole. Facts discovered and known centuries ago and scientific theories proved long ago are emphasized, in order to acclaim Marx and Engels as discoverers and innovators. In reality, not a single

"basic argument" in all the Marxist talk about natural philosophy is in keeping with the present status of science; on the contrary, the entire Marxist scientific "theory" is a very obvious contradiction of the latest experimentally and theoretically proved deductions of physics.

One more point must be taken into consideration; Marxist philosophy affirms categorically that there are no inalterable dogmas in the development of science, but for some reason or other regards its own theory as unchangeable. The Marxists maintain that in the course of the development of every scientific theory internal and essentially necessary contradictions arise, which put an end to the theory in question as such. Why then should Marxist ideology remain unchangeable and perfect? The Marxists refuse to admit what every objective reader realizes from the outset when reading their authors, namely, that their entire theory is one big contradiction. Of what importance then is it to us to realize the true value of Marxist materialism as a philosophy founded on scientific argument? The answer is of considerable importance. For just as it is said to be to Marx's credit that he applied the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism concerning natural phenomena to social life, so, too, the doctrine of historical materialism concerning social life has the same value as the doctrine of dialectical materialism regarding Nature as a whole, that is to say the value of a fantastic illusion. It is a well-thought out picture of social development as one wants to imagine it, but not as it really is. The entire historical and dialectical materialism of the Marxists is an abstract system, of which a corroboration in Nature and human society is hardly likely to be found. And all the sad and indeed tragic consequences of a search for such supposed corroborations in social and political life are clearly evident in the Soviet Union.



## Post-War Ukrainian Literature in Exile\*

### II. P r o s e

It is a known fact that prose (belles-lettres) — quite apart from its purely aesthetical value — is differentiated according to stylistic trends to a far less degree than poetry; and this applies in particular to Ukrainian belles-lettres, in which romanticism, naturalism and impressionism replaced each other only very gradually and for the most part existed peacefully side by side. This is, to a considerable extent, still the case today,<sup>1)</sup> whereas the stylistic trends which came into being in Europe in the 20th century, as for instance symbolism, expressionism and other forms of futurism, and, finally, so-called surrealism, found expression only in a few outstanding works in Ukrainian belles-lettres; and what is no doubt even more important, the present Ukrainian representatives of these so-called “modern” trends in belles-lettres have so far remained very much in the background and show no inclination at all to form a definite literary school. For this reason, it is no doubt more to the purpose to consider our subject not so much from the point of view of stylistic trends, but rather that of “literary generations” and, without concerning ourselves too much with pedantic exactitude, above all to distinguish between two main groups of Ukrainian post-war prose-writers in exile: an older group, consisting of those writers who had already made a name for themselves prior to World War II; and a younger group, whose representatives first gave expression to their ideas after the war in the Ukrainian li-

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\* ) Continuation of the article published in “U. R.,” Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4.

terature in exile.<sup>2)</sup> Indeed, one might go so far as to say that there is a third group, too, which forms an intermediate link, as it were, between the two main groups and includes those older writers who were already well-known before the war, at that time, however, exclusively as poets (or also as literary critics), but not as prose-writers; as we shall see later on, there are, of course, certain reasons for the peculiar fact that Ukrainian writers in exile frequently — and, indeed, even at a mature age — turn from poetry to belles-lettres.

### 1.

The following point must, in the first place, be stressed: whereas reprints or first prints of those Ukrainian poetical works of the 1920's and 30's which were either banned in Soviet Ukraine soon after their publication, or else were not published at all for some political reason or other, from 1945 onwards played and still play an important and, in some measure, inspiring part in the literary life of the Ukrainian anti-Bolshevist emigrants,<sup>3)</sup> this is to a far less extent the case as far as the prose works (belles-lettres and drama) are concerned. The reasons for this are many — among other things, no doubt the great difficulty in preserving extensive prose manuscripts from destruction, oblivion or confiscation for any length of time, under war-time conditions; but the main reason lies elsewhere. Whereas in the Soviet Ukrainian poetry of the 1920's and also of the early 30's, various purely artistic trends and values *were able to develop*, it is true, not entirely freely, but at least without being systematically exterminated, prose and drama were already ideologically "proletarianized", "socialized" and "standardized" to such an extent at the beginning of the 1920's by the Soviet and Party authorities that their pro-Soviet tendencies are usually repulsive to Ukrainian readers in exile today, even though the latter may realize that the Bolshevik phraseology in some prose work or other more or less fulfils the purpose of an allegorical language, that is to say, to conceal the national Ukrainian protest of the author against the Soviet Russian yoke from the "vigilant" but, at the same time, very stupid Bolshevik censorship. And, incidentally, a prose-writer already had to be a member of the Communist Party or else had to have gained the latter's confidence, usually in a very compromising manner, before he could venture to express his "national Communist" ideas even in allegorical language.

Thus, not many of the Ukrainian prose works banned in the U.S.S.R. have been published in exile, and the few that have been published are not particularly popular. A certain interest is shown in the "historical importance" of these works, inasmuch as attention is drawn to the more or less camouflaged expressions of a somewhat Utopian national Communism (now, quite out-of-date) which they contain, and above all, to the personal fate of the authors in question, who, as adherents of the so-called "Khvylovyism",<sup>4)</sup> paid for their political heresy against "orthodox" Bolshevism with their life. But be that as it may, of the reprints made, the following outstanding works deserve to be mentioned in particular: —

an unfinished "novel of ideas", "The Woodcocks", and two short stories (of the period of the Bolshevik invasion of 1918-1920), "The Mother" and "I", by Mykola Khvylovy himself (1893-1933, committed suicide in order to avoid being arrested);

several satirical dramas directed against the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine, which either remained unpublished in Soviet Ukraine or else were published with various alterations and misrepresentations; the most outstanding of these works is "Sonata Pathétique", which shows certain traits of national heroism, by Mykola Kulish (born in 1892, arrested in 1934; his fate has remained unknown), who was closest to M. Khvylovy in the views that he held;

two novels by Valerian Pidmohyl'ny (born in 1901, arrested in 1934; his fate has remained unknown), — "The Town" and "A Small Drama", both of them directed mainly against the Bolshevik Russification policy among the Ukrainian town population;

"Faust" by Hryhoriy Kosynka (born in 1899, was executed in 1934). This short story, which remained unpublished in Soviet Ukraine, gives a powerful impressionist picture of Bolshevik terrorism in Ukraine and of Ukrainian armed resistance;

"Death" by Borys Antonenko-Davydovych (born in 1899, arrested in 1934, pardoned after World War II). This story reveals the fundamental incompatibility of the Ukrainian national mentality with Soviet Russian Bolshevism in an "allegorical" but nevertheless extremely convincing way;

"Pavlo Polubotok" by Kost Bureviy (born in 1888, was executed in 1934), — a historical drama about one of the last Ukrainian Hetmans, who was deposed by Peter I on account of his love of freedom and Ukrainian patriotism, and died in a Russian prison in 1724.



We should also like to mention the reprints of two early novels by Yuriy Yanovsky (1902-1954), — "The Skipper" (1928) and "Four Sabres" (1930), which stylistically undoubtedly belong to the most outstanding Ukrainian prose works of the 20th century! Although repressive measures were never adopted against Y. Yanovsky, from the early 1930's onwards he was forced by Bolshevik threats to misuse his literary talent more and more for the purposes of the Soviet Russian regime — a fact to a certain degree was already in evidence in the "Four Sabres"; but even so, the fiery Ukrainian patriotism of this "poem in prose", which describes the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian partisans against the "White Russian" and French occupants in the year 1919, remains beyond all doubt, and its style and language are so impassioned and rich in metaphors that one overlooks the faults (and the all too marked stylistic dependence on the famous Russian writer of Ukrainian origin, Nicolay Gogol, which Yanovsky occasionally manifests) of this truly romantic work. It is, therefore, not surprising that this novel was published in several editions in exile, both before and after World War II (whereas in Soviet Ukraine no mention whatever is made of either this work or all the other earlier works by Y. Yanovsky) and still finds many enthusiastic readers.

The further development of Ukrainian post-war prose in exile was thus influenced only to a very slight degree by existent or reprinted works from Soviet Ukraine. In order to assess rightly the further literary developments in this field, however, one must bear in mind the fact that it was precisely Ukrainian prose that suffered heavy losses as regards writers during the years immediately after the war. Several well-known Ukrainian prose-writers and dramatists survived the war, it is true, but died soon afterwards, without having produced any new prose works, as, for example, the very talented West Ukrainian writer, Avenir Kolomyiets, whose style is closely related to expressionism (1891-1946), or Leonid Mosendz (1897-1948), the poet and novelist of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, who emigrated from Volhynia in 1920 and was very productive prior to the war; others contented themselves until the end of their days with writing works in the style of memoirs or diaries, which are not of any great artistic value, as, for instance, Arkadiy Liubchenko (1899-1945), the former "Kvylovyist", who was well-known as a novelist during the 1920's in Soviet Ukraine, and Katria Hrynevychyeva (1875-1947), the West Ukrainian

authoress of historical novels which are outstanding in style. The same also applies in the case of the aged West Ukrainian authoress, Halyna Zhurba, and her younger Ukrainian colleague, Dokiya Humenna, whose novels and short stories of the post-war era possess at best the documentary value of sincere and detailed memoirs, but from the actual literary point of view are fairly crude. Of course, one cannot deny the fact that D. Humenna's chief work, her novel of several volumes, "Children of the Chumaks' Way",<sup>5</sup>) a family chronicle in the naturalistic style, as far as its contents and its depiction both of literary life in Soviet Ukraine and of the "class struggle" artificially kindled by Bolshevism in the rural districts are concerned, contains much that is interesting; but it is no more work of art, than are her other novels and short stories, in which — in league with the less known East Ukrainian authoress, Liudmyla Kovalenko — she for the most part favours an excessive and fairly naive feminism.

Incidentally, it must be stressed most decidedly that the old naturalistic style which before the war definitely predominated in the prose of West Ukraine and of the Ukrainian emigrant writers, has not been able to assert itself in the post-war period. Quite a number of naturalistic prose-writers, whose works before World War II gave promise of their artistic perfection in the future, have either ceased writing altogether since the war, or else have published mediocre works which only reach the low stylistic level of the "literary column" of a daily paper; as for instance the writers of historical novels (of the Cossack era) Fedir Dudko, Panas Fedenko, Wasyl Chaplenko, the satirist Ivan Kernytsky and Bohdan Nyzhankivsky, the regional moralists F. Meleshko and Yulian Beskyd. Nor was the actual progenitor of naturalism in Ukrainian prose, wrongly acclaimed as a great belletrist, dramatist and party politician (pro-Communist in trend) in his day, Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880-1953), who spent the last two decades of his life in France in political and literary isolation and wrote very little, able to reach his former artistic level, and his last novel, "The New Commandment" (1949), which dealt with a social post-war theme, was merely a very insipid combination of Utopian propaganda and stereotyped adventure story. The old naturalistic style was already regarded as decadent at the beginning of the 1940's, but any new trend which was to replace it still needed time to mature.

In the case of the most important Ukrainian prose-writer in exile, Ulas Samchuk (born in 1905), too, one can only speak of a maturity of literary style with certain reservations, although this keen observer, who strives to maintain an objective attitude when depicting modern life, does his utmost to present a "history of Ukrainian society" of the past decades in a belletristic form, that is to say, in a modest way (he concentrated mainly on the mentality of the Ukrainian intellectual class) to solve the same task which Balzac and Zola undertook in France, Galsworthy in England and Dreiser in America. But U. Samchuk's style is influenced more by Hamsun and Tolstoy than by the aforesaid writers; and precisely Hamsun's impressionism can hardly be reconciled with great "epic" mural paintings. It is for this reason, too, that Samchuk's less ambitious short story "Vasyl Sheremeta's Youth" (1947), in spite of its predominantly autobiographical character and its faulty composition, has gained more recognition than his far too lengthy novel "East", which relates the story of a numerous Ukrainian family (descended from a landowner of moderate wealth) from 1918 until about 1948 and of which so far only the first two volumes ("The Moroz Farm", 1948, and "Darkness", 1957), which take the story up to the outbreak of World War II, have appeared. The fact that the scene and plot of this novel are set in Central Ukraine (that is, in the territories occupied by the Bolsheviks since 1920), which the author personally had hardly ever visited, naturally impairs the objectivity of his depiction and results in numerous minor anachronisms and improbabilities, even though Samchuk tries to make up for the gaps in his direct information by considerable book-learning and by extensive historical studies. But the literary composition of the whole work, in itself lacking in form and proportion, is weighed down still more by a number of lengthy political and cultural discussions. And although there can be no doubt about the fact that this work has a high and lasting value as a belletristic exposition of the development of Ukrainian national consciousness, it is, on the other hand, questionable whether "East" as a literary work of art can be regarded as being equal in quality to the best social novels which Samchuk wrote before the war (as for instance, "Volhynia", 1932-1937).

Another later work by U. Samchuk — his novel "The Sun Rises In The West" — is nothing but a report in good prose on the heroic fight for freedom of Carpatho-Ukraine against the Hungarian invasion



(in the spring of 1939, after the disintegration of the Checho-Slovakian Republic), and cannot claim any real literary value. On the other hand, however, his drama "Millstones Swirl" (1947), which gives an impressive and true account of the Ukrainian underground movement at the time of the Nazi occupation and of the two-front fight of the national Ukrainian insurgents both against the German Nazis and against the Soviet Russian Communists, is undoubtedly one of the few Ukrainian dramatic works which, though concerned with a purely political theme, do not deal with it from the propagandist point of view, but, above all, stress the primary importance of the dramatic element. This is, unfortunately, seldom the case in the comparatively few and by no means outstanding dramatic works of Ukrainian post-war literature in exile.

After the war, U. Samchuk unfortunately did not content himself with setting Ukrainian literature in exile a worthy example of patriotic, nationally conscious and finally, artistically qualified (if not always artistically successful) literary activity; he also tried to organize this literature as a united whole and to direct it ideologically. In spite of the fact that this intention was definitely premature, the circumstances seemed to support this ambitious plan on the part of U. Samchuk: on the one hand, the above-mentioned literary bankruptcy of the traditional naturalistic trend in narrative prose and drama and the resultant general feeling of uncertainty in all aesthetic and stylistic problems (as well as in problems pertaining to literary ethics); and, on the other hand, the temporary conglomeration, necessitated by purely external causes, of almost all the Ukrainian literary forces in exile in the territory of Western Germany and Austria — a fact which was extremely propitious for their organized union during the years from 1945 to 1950.

Accordingly, at the end of 1945 a union of Ukrainian writers (this union later also included other artists) was founded (in Bavaria), which, designated as the MUR ("Ukrayinsky Mystetsky Rukh", i. e. "Ukrainian Art Movement"), by means of high-sounding watchwords and unscrupulous propaganda, managed to acquire a position akin to monopolization in the literary life of the Ukrainian emigrants during the years 1946-1949.

Of course, the MUR managed to exist only as long as the temporary concentration of Ukrainian literary forces in exile was, of necessity, confined almost exclusively to Western Germany and Austria, that is to say, about three years: with the gradual resettlement

ment of the majority of Ukrainian writers in other countries of the West (most of them in the USA and, to a lesser degree, in Canada and Argentina) during the years 1949 to 1952, the MUR began to dwindle in importance more and more, until in the end, without being officially disbanded, it ceased to exist. For all that, however, the MUR during the three years of its conspicuous and more or less tumultuous activity in Ukrainian literature in exile, strange to say, produced little that was useful and salutary and much that was questionable and, in fact, harmful.

In this respect we are referring not so much to the "theories" and watchwords which the MUR, with unheard-of conceit and presumption, proclaimed, but rather to the way in which these watchwords were exploited and ruthlessly misused. The MUR, for instance, proclaimed the setting up of a "great literature", which, free from every form of provincialism and conservatism, was to pursue both national and supra-national aims and create "new values" for all mankind. Such aims, naturally, cannot be accomplished to order, and if one nevertheless attempts to do so, the only result achieved is chaos in the existing artistic and ethical gradation, from which only the most questionable literary works and personalities are likely to gain a temporary advantage. And that was precisely what happened in this case. U. Samchuk himself gained little advantage from entire "literary inflation" over which he officially presided. At most, he only satisfied his personal ambition, inasmuch as he was allotted the representative role of a "president of Ukrainian literature". Others, however, profited more, namely, those persons, equally questionable both from the aesthetical and the political point of view, whom the MUR was to help to rehabilitate their literary reputation which they had already thoroughly compromised before the war. One of these persons was Yuriy Kosach (born in 1909), a writer whose extraordinary mania for writing (poetry, prose, drama, literary criticism, essays, etc.), from the quantitative aspect, is almost pathological, and, from the qualitative aspect, belongs to the gutter press, since it always caters for the lowest tastes of the uneducated reader by conjuring up "new ideas" and "new artistic forms" for his benefit. In reality, Y. Kosach's "art" is nothing but a confusion of pretentious and shallow rhetoric, which, incidentally, always remains the same, whatever literary genre he may choose and in spite of all the special variations of his social and political "attitude"<sup>9</sup>) just as his excessive hatred of all

traditions, consistency, customs and morals likewise never changes. This type of intellectual nihilist is almost unknown in Ukrainian national literature (in Soviet literature, of course, and whenever the literature of the non-Russian peoples is involved, this type is intentionally nurtured by Bolshevism). And it was precisely for this reason that Y. Kosach managed to get his literary rubbish accepted as gospel-truth in numerous circles for many years. Indeed, he was even supported most zealously in this respect by a whole crowd of ignorant or unscrupulous literary critics, most of whom either made no secret at all of their Marxist view (as for example, Borys H. Podoliak-Kostiuk, Yuriy Dyvnych-Lavrynenko), or else, by means of vague "dialectics", systematically concealed the differences between materialism and idealism, Communism and anti-Communism, etc., and in any case helped on the ideological disintegration of Ukrainian national consciousness (as for example, Viktor Ber, Yuriy Sherekh-Shevchuk). With the help of such allies (and also some of the "literary youth" whom he had misled), Y. Kosach in the course of a few years succeeded in publishing not only a considerable number of short stories, dramas and essays, but also two longer novels, a "social" novel about the Ukrainian fight for freedom during World War II ("Aeneas and the Life of Others", 1947) and a "historical" novel about the great Cossack Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky ("The Day of Wrath", 1948). In spite of the fact that competent literary critics sharply criticized and rejected Y. Kosach's works, the latter, for the time being at least, enjoyed a certain popularity in numerous circles, and it was years before the reader who was only half educated realized that Kosach by his shallow "revolutionary" pathos compromises every theme that he deals with.

An even more questionable figure was other prominent literary man of the MUR, the belletrist, Viktor *Domontovych*, identical with the above-mentioned literary critic and essayist Viktor Ber — both names being the pseudonyms of the Kyivan archaeologist and university professor, Viktor Petrov (born in 1893), who was well-known in learned circles and who in 1949 vanished from Munich under very mysterious circumstances, without any trace of his whereabouts being discovered. V. Domontovych already made a literary name for himself in the 1920's in Soviet Ukraine with his psychological short story "The Girl with the Teddy-Bears" (1928) and a number of "biographies romancées" of Ukrainian writers of



the 19th century, but from the beginning of the 1930's until the end of the war he published nothing at all. In exile he published two satirical novels, both of them dealing with the life of the Ukrainian elite of science and art under the Bolshevik regime, — "Doctor Seraphicus" (1947) and "Without Property" (1948), as well as a number of historical short stories, several of them dealing with the Ukrainian Cossack period. V. Domontowych is undoubtedly a master of literary style; his prose is extremely elegant, rich in metaphors (sometime too much so, in fact) and frequently rhymed. The ideological value of his works is difficult to define. Closely allied to Anatole France and Oscar Wilde, he is extremely fond of introducing paradoxes, but he does so in a manner, which, in direct contrast to France and Wilde, leaves some doubt as to his actual thoughts, so that the reader usually asks himself whether the author is making fun of the grotesque characters he has created, or of the reader, or possibly of himself. And his political attitude, too, is equally ambiguous: although both the above-mentioned novels are satirical, they do not directly attack either Bolshevism as such or Marxism, and the author seems to have a particular preference for dialectics. Can it be that his dialectics are materialist in character and that he actually believes in a future world victory of Communism? The reader seeks in vain for plausible reasons pro and contra, but the author never reveals his secret. Incidentally, the fact must be stressed that V. Domontowych stands out as an isolated figure in modern Ukrainian literature, and so, too, unfortunately, does his masterly art of depiction.

One of the few authors of the older generation who, from the outset, clearly recognized the dangers of the "literary policy of the MUR and uncompromisingly opposed the alleged "union of all literary forces", was the poet, belletrist and essayist, Rostyslav Yendyk (born in 1908). His poetry has already been mentioned in the previous chapter of this article; his prose, in any case, is far more outstanding, especially as regards style, for he is the successor of the great West Ukrainian belletrist, Vasyl Stefanyk (1871-1936), and cultivates and develops the latter's impressionistic descriptive art and figurative style. Practically all the short stories which he has written since the end of the war have now been republished in the book "Striving" (1957); as compared to the works which he wrote before the war (and during the war), these stories show more literary variety and range from heroic and fantastical compositions

which resemble legends, to simple "extended anecdotes" of everyday life in the 1940's and 50's. In all of them, however, the author, in his own characteristic style, reveals his convinced voluntarism, his optimistic outlook on life, his excellent knowledge of regional peculiarities in West Ukraine and his humour which is sometimes more reserved.

R. Yendyk is likewise the author of a collection of interesting aphorisms, many of which are formulated in a masterly way, entitled "The Banquet" (1951).

## NOTES

<sup>1)</sup> This applies, of course, only to Ukrainian literature in exile, since in Soviet Ukraine (as in the whole Soviet Union) every artistic trend is prohibited.

<sup>2)</sup> In this respect there is no point in discriminating between the outbreak and the end of World War II, since, at that time, i. e. 1939-45, Ukrainian literary production was almost completely paralysed by Nazi censorship and other repressive measures.

<sup>3)</sup> Cf. our remarks on the editions published in exile of the Kyivan Neo-classicists ("The Ukrainian Review", 1957, No. 3, p. 20).

<sup>4)</sup> The so-called "Khvylovyism" of the Ukrainian "Free Academy of Proletarian Literature" (abbreviated to "Vaplite"), which was founded in 1925 by the Communist writer and Party politician, M. Khvylovy, was a kind of Soviet Ukrainian Messianism, influenced by Marxist ideas; and its adherents, in spite of their more or less Communist views, were systematically liquidated in the early 1930's by the Soviet Russian Bolshevik regime in Ukraine which was intent upon asserting its ideological and power monopoly.

<sup>5)</sup> "The Chumaks' Way" (Chumatsky Shliakh) is an old Ukrainian popular designation for the Milky Way.

<sup>6)</sup> From the Communists to the monarchists, there is not a single political group amongst the Ukrainian emigrants to which Y. Kosach has not belonged at some time or other; in recent years he has "served" the Russophil (that is, paid by the Russian imperialists) so-called "Federalists" in the U.S.A.

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*Leonid Lyman*

## THE TALE OF KHARKIV

(Continuation 3)

### CHAPTER TWO

#### 9.

Sometimes we become sad and downcast for no apparent reason. And this is the case with Leonid at the moment. The time between lunch and supper is naturally the most phlegmatic part of the day. Perhaps Leonid is sad and downcast because he is, at the moment, idle. But he purposely decided not to occupy himself with anything today because it is tonight that he is to read his paper. There is a notice posted up on the notice-board near to the dean's office: "The Dean of the Literary and Language Faculty of the Kharkiv State Pedagogic Institute has arranged for a lecture on the 'Portrayal of Human Personality and Character in the Works of Ukrainian Classical Authors' to be held today, June 21, 1941, at 8 p.m." . . . From the window children can be seen playing in the sandy square in Shevchenko Park. Evening is still far off, and there are no pedestrians in the Park at this time of the day. In the distance, the powerful but crude physical culture statues gleam, but the cement of which they are made is already crumbling.

Leonid is glad that so far he has not met anyone. It is pleasant to be alone. Soon, the examinations will be over.

The heat forces people to keep in the shade, and the long corridor at this moment resembles an empty tunnel. They say that temperature hastens motion, but in Leonid's case it has exactly the opposite effect,—he feels sapped of all energy. But temperature increases excitement, when it is a case of having to recall all the educational material accumulated during the whole year. The library doors open and shut.

If the world is to be rebuilt, then let's rebuild it—the whole planet—en masse. We shall not pause to ponder until we have liberated the world proletariat from the capitalistic clutches. Our country is a country of great surprises. The generosity of a Soviet individual knows no limits. We are



not afraid of experimenting. Bolsheviks learn by mistakes. Life cannot be released at a gallop; we check it tightly with reins. We constantly strive forward. Conquerors are not judged. Every moment, even respiration, is planned, foreseen and regulated. Bolsheviks are not afraid of obstacles. We have inscribed our banners accordingly: "There are no fortresses which the Bolsheviks cannot capture!" So far, no one has spoken up in so revolutionary a manner. And this is what encourages us, the Soviet youth.

As the time draws near for Leonid to hold his lecture, he slowly loses his equilibrium, and he becomes numb, as though he were about to undergo an operation. But this is quite a pleasant sensation. The mere magnificence of the Institute buildings themselves, the excited movement of the students and professors, the eternal din, and, in the backgrounds the noise of the city—all this excludes any imagined feeling of misery. And Leonid thinks to himself—I have been chosen by fate to walk the path of wonderful catastrophes, and I know it. I shall go into the next examination and share with others, as it were, my thoughts, which ripened during sleepless nights, with unutterable pain and treacherous doubts.

When Leonid commences reading his paper, his voice, at first, sounds to him strange and harsh. He is aware of many unknown faces in the audience, of people whispering and shrugging their shoulders.

It is with a certain satisfaction that he concludes reading the last page of his paper, for he has endured the most dramatic moment, the reading itself. The head of the meeting now says: "Has anyone questions to put to the lecturer?"

For a while, silence reigns. No one is in a hurry to ask any questions as yet. But this is nothing unusual. It simply means that the audience has not yet responded or warmed to the subject.

After a brief silence, the first muscular hand shoots up above the heads of the audience: "May I be permitted!"

The chairman nods consent.

"For what reason did the lecturer in his interesting paper confine himself to research on the pre-October literature? Why didn't the lecturer compare his types with types portrayed in Soviet literature?"

The chairman points a finger at Leonid, and the latter replies:

"It was easier for me to see the assembled characters and explain them from the perspective of several centuries, rather than against the background of twenty-five years, which from the historical point of view is but a brief second. The more time a certain phase embraces, the more respect and trust the knowledge shows towards it."

"In other words, you have tried to connect the old bourgeois psychology with the new Soviet person, our stakhanovites, multiparous mothers, academicians? Is that right?"

"My lecture has no administrative value. Human psychology has its own unchangeable foundation; and only the social and ethical structure of life, which dominates over a certain historical period, can give it a specific colour."

"In other words, you are of the opinion that it was unnecessary to start the proletarian revolution, since one could have continued to live under the yoke of capitalism?"

This question has promptly made everyone in the audience become alert, and, as though moved by a magnet, heads have immediately bobbed to attention. In the silence that follows, Leonid feels as though his very movements are being controlled by hundreds of eyes, which are focussed on him like a projector or like an X-ray apparatus. He feels himself blushing. He stares at the piece of paper in his hand on which he has been scribbling. And he finally breaks the sepulchral silence by saying: "I will just make a note of this question", and proceeds to do so.

The chairman continues: "Now you may take the floor."  
Yes, proceed, please!"

"From the theme of the lecture, it appears that the human being gradually approaches a certain limit of imagination, after which he commences to be in complete harmony in his relationship with the surrounding world and all-embracing personality, that is to say, summarized personality. From this it follows, as a confirmation of these views, that an entirely logical conclusion would be the construction by the working masses, with the aid of their own strength, on one-sixth of the earth's orb, of the fatherland of world proletariats. Was this the idea which the lecturer had in mind?"

The chairman points his pencil at Leonid.

"Yes. But I did not say so for the simple reason that I did not want to give my work too much popular colour. And your accurate conjecture entirely confirms my argument."

The chairman continues: "Now you may take the floor."

"Is this complex matter intended as raw material for discussion by local students and educational circles, or is your pill already an infallible truth which Soviet science must consume?"

"In the first place, it is not 'matter', but a lecture or paper; and not 'local' but residential. As regards the word 'complex', I do not know what definition my opponent has put on it; and, in the second place, it is difficult for me to answer the question he has put."

"Why? Are you embarrassed?"

"Many different answers could be given. And for this reason, I prefer to reply to persons only who are, in a certain manner, my partners."

"I will just make a note of this answer", the same entirely unknown man calls out maliciously and not very originally.

The chairman casts a glance over the hall:

"So as not to take up too much time, I propose to stop question-time now and to proceed at once to the discussion. Who is the first to take the floor?"

Once again, a person whom Leonid does not know stands up in order to speak. He is a powerfully built man, and as Leonid sees him standing there, he can hardly refrain from laughing, for this man appears to him to be a man who has hit upon this lecture-room quite accidentally, possibly to get out of the rain.

But the man now starts to speak:





say a few words. There is only one thing which I should like to stress, and that is, that, as far as all the workers of the Soviet Union are concerned, and this category includes educated persons, too, the Communist Party is like a real mother. Its maternal anxiety and care can be felt in all fields concerned with social structure efforts. I am not present here for the purpose of giving individual Comrades—if I rightly understand the offended lecturer—permission to increase their authority through their activity, namely by taking advantage of the presence of leaders of the regional Party apparatus. I attended your meeting in order to witness personally the product of the untiring efforts of the Soviet people. Our native Communist Party realizes only too well that without intellectual elements the ultimate achievement and consolidation of Communism in our happy country is unthinkable, and for this reason I, personally, have great pleasure in greeting your meeting and wishing you every success in the future."

Smilingly, the Chairman thanked her, and, after muttering almost inaudibly "who else wants to speak", immediately added, "No doubt, Professor Berest has something to say to us."

With the usual professional gesture of a demagogue, Professor Berest now began to speak and he approached each situation with appropriate caution, as it were, with rubber gloves, as though about to conduct a dangerous experiment. The Chairman, meanwhile, had tiptoed to the seats occupied by the heads of the faculty and was conversing with them in whispers and, no doubt, asking their advice as to how the discussion was to be conducted.

Leonid's embarrassment increased, for he noticed a look of dissatisfaction and, in fact, fright on the Chairman's face. Indeed, by this time Leonid was quite prepared for an unpleasant encounter to follow once the meeting was over.

The Chairman now came back to the table again and, in a whisper, warned Leonid that he would have to take upon himself the task of settling the dispute.

After a vote of thanks to the speakers, the Chairman now brought the meeting to a close by summing up as follows:

"There can be no doubt whatsoever about the fact that Professor Berest is perfectly right in the views that he has just expressed, and, indeed, the other speakers have also drawn attention to the main point, namely that this lecture should be considered as the first part of a large thesis and that we shall, in the very near future, have an opportunity of hearing the second part of it, in which the lecturer can then more accurately approach details of research into the new human qualities born of our unprecedented epoch of Communism, and can deal with the literature published recently, which presents these problems in a very efficient and successful manner. I should like to ask our worthy guest, Comrade Shyshmanova, as well as all the members of the audience, to have the kindness to overlook the unpleasant incident which occurred during the meeting this evening, which, I think, we should ascribe to the youth and temperament of the lecturer. Thank you all for being present and for your kind attention. I consider that this meeting

has been conducted in accordance with ideological and political standards. I herewith declare the meeting closed."

The Chairman thereupon immediately went up to the powerfully built man who had attacked Leonid, said something to him, tried to convince him of something, looked at him sheepishly, and then squeezed his hand and smiled somewhat guiltily.

Leonid remained behind in the lecture-room alone and disconsolately tried to gather his thoughts and adjust himself once more to the situation. He felt the first bitterness of achievement and he was frightened. He had a feeling that a person was always guilty in some way or other, always persecuted and trodden under foot. The unsteady ground rolled from under one's feet like a wheel, and the individual was swallowed up by the massive community of the U.S.S.R. And, unmercifully, Leonid, too, had been robbed of his own personal ego.

### 10.

As arranged, Leonid is waiting for Sophia in the library of the Institute. Whilst waiting, he has been reading a set of newspapers. If a neutral observer were to draw a conclusion regarding the attitude of the Administration of the Institute to the private and intimate affairs of its students, he would unhesitatingly decide that they were apparently too negative. Only the day before yesterday, the Secretary of the Professional Committee, during a regular meeting censured a pair of disobedient lovers for more than an hour: "At a time when cramming for exams is the order of the day, they stand till midnight and even till morning, in dark corners on the corridors, squeezing each other's hands." When the Party and the government demand the highest efficiency in education, even love is regarded as doing the State a wrong. "Of Love" is the title of a lengthy article, in which a former student of the Institute of Rural Administration recounts the great tragedy of his life; he was very much in love with a girl, but the "Comrades" urged him to "abandon" her. He did not take their advice, however, but married her. Later on, everything went according to the formula that "from love to hatred is but one step". In the course of time, like the out-moded bourgeois his wife began to paint her fingernails, then she started using perfume, and the next stage was that lieutenants began to call on her. One day, the husband returned home from work and found her out. She eventually returned in the early hours of the morning. "What am I to do now?" is the frank question which is raised in the said article.

When Leonid was in the third form at school, one girl was expelled because her mother tied a bow of ribbon on her hair. A bow is also a bourgeois heritage and therefore entirely unsuitable for a proletarian. But the State, drunk with success, has committed some errors in this respect, as it now seems. We shall create our own Soviet culture to replace the old one, and Helen Kononenko, an expert in the training of a new type of gentleman, has now appeared in Moscow. In future, when we send a delegation to Turkey to strengthen our friendship with that country, we shall no longer be embarrassed by the fact that our delegates do not know how to dance, as was formerly the case.

Leonid's thoughts turn to Sophia again; it is eleven o'clock. Sophia should have put in an appearance long ago. She has never been late before. Leonid cannot wait for her any longer, since every minute counts. He must definitely leave today for Western Ukraine, because apart from the direct danger of remaining after the dispute at his lecture, tomorrow is a Monday and an unlucky day to leave.

Accordingly, Leonid now proceeds in the direction of the exit, so as to avoid encountering the sympathetic janitor who nearly always overwhelms him with his boring question. But when he reaches the doorway he finds a crowd of people there, blocking the exit to the street. Something unusual must have happened.

At last Sophia catches sight of Leonid and draws him aside:

"War! The Germans have attacked us!"

This kind of news does not immediately penetrate one's consciousness. And Sophia's queer and incomprehensible mood continues. Poets often say pathetically of such emotions,—this was a dream.

This means war, Comrades! Some time ago, Marshal Voroshilov said "war is the most overpowering task!" We are a logically-minded people and are not yet accustomed to having to accept surprises; this news of war is like an earthquake which slightly shifts the material surface of the Soviet Union—trees, buildings, streets and even the human intellect seem to undergo a change. Our country has many war songs and songs of the Red Army. From "Budionny's cavalry scattered over the steppes" we have now proceeded to "If there is a war tomorrow..."

It is Sunday, June 22nd, the first day of the war—a terrifying thought! Sophia maintains that Pushkin was being cynical when he wrote: "Since youth I do admire the martial fame... I like the war, its bloody sports..."

Fear grows with every moment. The sun blinds Sophia and she, childishly, turns away from it. War is the most overpowering task. The loudspeakers are blaring forth. And as usual, marches by Soviet composers are being played,—“We meet the enemy face to face; we fought, are fighting and will fight”. The cinemas are showing such films as “The Epic of Cossack Holota”. Life is compressed; it seems dominated by such things as Cossack Holota, the Uralian Pavel Petrovich Postyshev, Stalin's falcons, fascists.

War causes different people to react in different ways. Comrade Fridman, the examiner in Western literature, who so far has only awarded “Pass” marks to candidates, after having heard the announcement over the radio by Molotov regarding the vandal attack of the Germans, has now begun to give “Excellent” marks. Leonid's friend is now most perturbed because he will have to take an examination in anti-gas defense and will not be able to crib from someone else by peeping over their shoulder.

Attention! First sensational radio report! Before going into battle, the soldiers of some subdivision of the Red Army made a solemn announcement regarding their joining the Communist Party, so that if they were to die whilst fighting against the enemy, they would die as Communists. And, indeed, it is better so. Military and State secrets have become known to the enemy. For more than a month German planes have been flying over our



Western territory, unchecked, and have been taking photographs of the terrain.—The entire population is thronging to the food shops in order to obtain food supplies. Confusion reigns. Everybody is talking at once. "What are they selling?"... "How much?"... "We can only sell one kilogram of bread to each person". Whole families surge into the stores. Those who have no families try to get more than their share. And the older people affirm, with the air of experts who have experienced all this once before, that the greatest evil in wartime is the shortage of salt, and that every war causes a salt crisis.

Molotov said that the enemy would be destroyed and that victory would be ours. Now is the time to be vigilant. To the frightened people the slightest trifling incidents is a great tragedy.

Another sensational report: the first spy has been caught. He was walking about in the streets, taking photographs of various objects with a small button-like camera. When caught, the only document he had in his possession was a small prayer-book, and his only comment was, that his captors would be the losers.

Morning is as bitter as a wild apple. And the people, like hungry mice, are running round the closed doors of the food stores. Every few minutes, the loudspeakers announce that Comrade Stalin will be speaking to the people over the radio. The loudspeakers blare forth relentlessly and drown most of the words. "Brothers and Sisters..." After these words, there is a pause, and the sound of water being poured into a glass can be heard. This means that Stalin is nervous, but one man affirms, "Stalin knows what he is doing".

## 11.

A landscape does not merely consist of trees, shrubs, hills and valleys. There is also such a thing as an ethnographical landscape and a landscape created by people. There is, for instance, no difference between the statement, "the moon shines on the calm pond", and the statement, "the moon shines on the Spartacus Hotel".

For the past hour, Leonid has been leisurely sitting on the green bench in front of the Institute. The announcement that war has broken out has obliterated all his plans for leaving the city. How much nervous energy, concentration and fear has he spent in vain on such a trivial thing as a journey by train! But now he feels a certain relief; let the hurricane of war mitigate the odious regulation of life by the Party. Again and again, the phrase crops up in his mind, "Now a new life will begin".

A feeling of collectivism predominates in times of war. One is prompted by a friendly feeling towards those whom one passes in the street. A group of young factory workers are walking along Radnarkomivska Street. They are seeing one of their comrades off to the army and are shouting, "Peter, fight the fascists!"

Leonid's journey to Western Ukraine has not materialized after all. But perhaps it is for the best. Somewhere, far away, is Maria, and she already

People are walking by continuously. Red Army soldiers, heads held high, gaze at the monument of Shevchenko and murmur, "Not bad work!"

Sirovy, like a faithful dog, has attacked Dniprov, but the matter has been deferred because of the emergency of war.

There is no need now for men such as Anatol, or Dniprov, and even Sirovy is useless.

War begins to cloud the water. It is best to stand aside during the process of cloudiness. Meanwhile, relax on a bench and await dusk, which will cover up all the troubles of the day with its shadows. War does not immediately break the backbone of established peacetime customs, and people on the whole presume that war is no concern of theirs.

Our tactics are prudent; in the meantime, we shall entice the enemy into our rear.

Sophia asks, "Why are our armies retreating?"

The first night of the war, a decree was issued to the effect that the student corps of the "Giant" were to be released from their studies at once for military purposes.

All the windows in the city have been painted over with blue paint, to prevent the enemy from orienting himself. And the numbers on the tram-cars have also been erased for the same reason.


It is evening once more. Evening, wafted by the warm breeze, has entirely changed the character of the darkened city, where all the lights have been blacked-out.

Leonid and Sophia pause opposite the front entrance to the Institute, near to a powerful loudspeaker, which will, in a moment or two, begin to relay the last news programme from Moscow. The new orders issued by the Soviet Commanding Staff sound merciless and tragic. Almost the entire European territory of the U.S.S.R. has been declared a military theatre of war. New decoration and the names of heroes and generals are announced. Curfew hour is eleven o'clock and no one is allowed to be out on the streets after this hour.

Anti-Fascist films, which during the period of Russo-German friendship were forgotten, are now being shown in all the cinemas in the city,—films such as "Professor Mamlok", "The Oppenheim Family", "Soldiers of Clay". Life has suddenly taken on the rapid whirling speed of a roundabout, and it sometimes seems as if hours have become minutes. Throughout the city the watchword, "Comrades, unite in work!", urges the people on like a whip.

## 12.

On the ninth day of the war, Leonid and Sophia left the city. Sophia went back to her native town of Berdiansk, and Leonid went to Donbas.



## ***Statistics of the Communist Party in Ukraine***

At the first Congress of the Communist Party in Ukraine, in August 1918, there were 72 delegates with decisive votes, and 147 with advisory votes. They "represented" 4,364 Communists. Two months later, in October 1918, the number of the Moscow party agency in Ukraine had increased to 9,000. The majority of these Communists had come to Ukraine from the Russian Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.)

At the third Congress of the Communist Party in Ukraine, in March 1919, it was officially stated that the Communist Party in Ukraine numbered 23,000 Party members and candidates.

By 1920, the Communist Party in Ukraine already numbered 75,113 members and candidates. Most of them were Communists who had come to Ukraine with the Soviet Russian Red Army and remained there as the military occupation of the country continued.

In 1924, after Lenin's death, the "Lenin Appeal", urging mass-membership of the Communist Party, was proclaimed. Thereupon, 30,000 new Party members and candidates were recruited in Ukraine.

At the time of the so-called "Trotskyist and Zinoviev's opposition", 40,000 Communist voted against the so-called "Leninist line" of Stalin in Ukraine and 160,000 in favour of it. Hence, the number of members of the Communist Party in Ukraine in 1926 was said to be 200,000.

When the so-called "25,000 men" were sent into the rural areas by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (of the Bolsheviks) for the purpose of collectivizing agriculture (1932-1933), 8,421 Communists were mobilized in Ukraine to this end; of these, 505 were sent to Kazakhstan (Central Asia), 1,300 to North Caucasia, and 6,435 to the state farms, collective farms (kolkhozes) and machine and tractor stations in Ukraine, as Communist overseers, together with 12,000 Russian Communist overseers from the R.S.F.S.R.

On the eve of World War II, the Moscow Party agency in Ukraine numbered 559,235 members. There is no data available which indicates how many Communists were involved in the previous wave of terrorism from 1937-1939 (the so-called Yezhov period) and were either shot or sent to Siberian concentration camps; it can, however, be assumed that their number in Ukraine was very high, namely up to 40 per cent of the total number of Party members.

For the purpose of carrying on the "Red partisan war", that is to say the espionage and diversion activities directed against the Germans and Ukrainians during the German occupation from 1941-1944, 14,875 Communists and about 26,000 young Communists (Komsomoltsi) were left behind in Soviet Ukraine.

Nowadays, the Communist Party in Ukraine numbers 1,095,250 members; and there are 52,983 primary Party organizations (Party cells). There are



7,358 Party cells in industry, 3,141 in the transport sector, 14,723 in collective farming (kolkhozes), 868 in the Soviet farms (sovkhozes), 2,100 in the state trade sector, 5,694 in the schools, 254 in academic institutes, 696 in the news service sector, and 1,959 in hospitals and other institutions.

The total cadre of the Communist Party in Ukraine at present numbers only 225,000 workers and 155,000 collective farmers; the remaining 715,000 Communists are thus either persons of the military profession, or Soviet or Party employees. Only 134,000 Communists have had a higher education, and, what is even more surprising, only 162,000 have had a secondary school education. This fact is no doubt due to the Party privileges which actually exist in the educational sector, and in accordance with which a Party man who has attended a high school, or, possibly, only a secondary school, can easily obtain a high school certificate or diploma; all one needs for this is four to six years time; few demands are made in the case of a "loyal" Party man as regards actual knowledge.

After Stalin's death, 250,000 Communists were transferred from the administrative and Party apparatus to the production and processing industries, namely as follows:—

34,662 Party members to the coal industry, 38,589 to the metallurgical industry, 68,149 to the engineering industry, 5,666 to the chemical industry, 34,380 to the building industry, and 154,000 to farming.

Party members in Ukraine are differentiated according to age as follows:

under 25 years of age	35,761
from 26 to 30 years of age	151,041
from 31 to 40 years of age	395,093
from 41 to 50 years of age	302,032
over 50 years of age	186,543.

It is interesting to note that the age groups of the years 1918-1927 include twice as many Communists as all the younger age groups.

The Communist Party in Ukraine numbers only 187,518 women (that is less than 20 per cent); responsible Party posts (secretaries of Party cells, municipal and district Party executive committees, departmental heads, instructors, etc.) are held by 9,500 female Party members.

The national composition or proportion of the Communist Party in Ukraine is as follows: Ukrainians—645,075 (i.e. 60.3 per cent), Russians—302,669 (28.2 per cent), other nationalities—122,726 (11.5 per cent). In this connection the fact must be borne in mind that, according to the Soviet law, a person belongs to the nationality which he or she has chosen, and that in the 1920's a very considerable number of Communists of Russian or Jewish origin chose Ukrainian nationality, either of their own accord or, as was mostly the case, under Party pressure, since the Party at that time did its utmost to make Communism appear a "permanent and natural" institution in Soviet Ukraine.

Since the above-mentioned statistics are taken from the official press organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Partiynaya Zhizn" ("Party Life"), 1958, No. 12, it can, of course, be assumed that some of these figures have been falsified, though, possibly, only to a small extent.

## **UKRAINIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN 1918**

During the relatively brief existence of the Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian Hetman Paul Skoropadsky was proclaimed sovereign of Ukraine on April 29, 1918. This act was not merely a change of government, but also of regime, for Skoropadsky's government was monarchist rather than republican.

The Ukrainian government of Skoropadsky succeeded in concluding several peace treaties with the neighbours of Ukraine. Red Russia, incidentally, tried to protract the Ukrainian-Russian peace negotiations. The Ukrainian peace delegation was headed by the Ukrainian scientist and well-known lawyer (later Professor at the Ukrainian University in Prague), Senator S. Shelukhin.

Lenin designated the Ukrainian policy of Skoropadsky as imperialist since Ukraine allegedly wanted to expand her ethnographical territory as far as the Caspian Sea and North Caucasia, bordering on the Black Sea. Lenin did not approve of the foreign policy of the Ukrainian state, since this policy strengthened the international position of Ukraine. Moscow was waiting for a favourable opportunity to invade Ukraine and incorporate it in Russia in the form of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The retardation of the Ukrainian-Russian peace negotiations was thus due to Russia's and not Ukraine's imperialistic policy.

During Skoropadsky's rule (1918), embassies and consulates of the following countries were established in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv:

U.S.A., Great Britain, Belgium, Bulgaria, Holland, Greece, Don Republic, Norway, Iran, Spain, Italy, China, Germany, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Rumania, Turkey, Austro-Hungary, Finland, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Japan.

From May 6, 1918, onwards, active diplomatic contacts between Ukraine and the European states were furthered by the Ukrainian government of Hetman Skoropadsky. Ukraine was, above all, anxious to conclude political and economic treaties with the countries of Central Europe, that is with her immediate neighbours, and preferred to postpone the conclusion of further agreements with the Western states until the end of World War I.

The impelling forces of Ukraine's foreign policy at that time were the two well-known Ukrainian diplomats, Professor Dmytro Doroshenko and Vyatcheslav Lypynsky, who organised the Ukrainian diplomatic body to be sent abroad.

Whilst negotiating with Ukraine, the Red Russians started a very active subversive campaign there for the purpose of undermining the authority of the Ukrainian government, causing chaos and confusion in the towns and provinces of Ukraine and accelerating the downfall of the Ukrainian Hetman government.

The same Red Russian foreign policy is still practised all over the world to this day. It was, therefore, not surprising that Ukrainian-Russian negotiations failed. The end of World War I and the subsequent political events in Europe brought with them the collapse of the Ukrainian Hetman regime and, moreover, served as a good excuse for the further infiltration of Ukraine by Red Russian agents and, later on, for the invasion of Ukraine by the Red Russian army and the forcible formation of the so-called Soviet Union.

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### **JAROSLAW STETZKO, PRESIDENT OF A.B.N., DELIVERS SIGNIFICANT REPORT IN WASHINGTON**

At the end of July this year, the President of the A.B.N., Mr. Y. Stetzko, delivered a very significant report before the Congress Commission for the external relations of the U.S.A. He gave testimony as an eyewitness. He commented on the Red Russian aggression in the Near East and on the liberation policy of the West as applied to the peoples that are enslaved by Moscow. Mr. Stetzko submitted a carefully elaborated report, 39 pages in length dealing not only with actual problems of world policy but also with those of the liberation policy of the Western powers. The summary was read before 11 members of the above-mentioned Commission. At the request of one of the Congressmen, the oral and written testimonies given by Y. Stetzko were recorded by the Congress Commission.

The testimonies were given in an official session of the Commission, the so-called Executive session. The President of the A.B.N. was accompanied by Prof. L. Dobriansky, the President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee. Y. Stetzko criticized the broadcasting station "The Voice of America" in Munich, and the activity of the so-called American private circles among the emigrants of the enslaved nations (especially in Germany), the policy of "co-existence" and the support of one indivisible Russia (that is, that all subjugated peoples should be included in one Russian state); the policy of the Western powers aimed at combatting an abstract Communism but not at combatting the pillar and support of this Communism, Red Russia etc., since these activities on the part of American official and private circles do not conform to the interests of all the non-Russian peoples that are enslaved by Red Moscow.

The statements made by the President of the A.B.N. before the Congress Commission for foreign relations of U.S.A. have greatly impressed the members of the Congress Commission.

After giving testimony before the Congress Commission for foreign relations, Mr. Stetzko had a long talk with the expert adviser of the State Department for matters pertaining to Eastern Europe.



## ***President Jaroslaw Stetzko's Visit to America***

After attending the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), has during the past months been visiting Ukrainian emigrant centres in the U.S.A., as well as the centres of other enslaved nations there. The eminent Ukrainian statesman and politician is eager to establish personal contact with the representatives of the various Ukrainian communities there and with the representatives of all the other peoples subjugated by Red Moscow, as well as with the U.S. official authorities, too.

On May 10th, the President of the A.B.N. arrived in Chicago, where he was given an enthusiastic welcome at the airport by representatives of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, the League of the Americans of Ukrainian descent, and numerous other persons. Mr. Stetzko was interviewed by representatives of the American television, and subsequently had an opportunity to talk to representatives of the American, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Slovak and Slovenian press. At this press conference a number of problems were discussed, above all, the world-wide problem of the so-called "summit" conference, the question of the cultural exchange between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., coexistence and its consequences in the near future, etc.

A big reception held in the evening of the same day, in honour of Mr. Stetzko, was attended by over 250 guests, including the Consul of Mexico, the Vice-Consul of Free China, representatives of various Ukrainian political and non-political organizations, and representatives of the Ukrainian clergy.

On this occasion, the President of the A.B.N. delivered a lecture on the general political situation in the world, and stressed the grim fight for freedom of the peoples that are enslaved by Moscow. He also drew attention to the significance of the recent anti-Communist Conference in Mexico and its tasks in the near future.

Next day, a big rally of the Ukrainians living in Chicago was held in the House of Ukrainian Youth there. Mr. Stetzko gave a very interesting lecture on the "Present political situation in the world and the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples", in which he emphasized the great importance of the fight for freedom of the emigrant groups for the purpose of liberating their native countries from the Red Russian yoke. The President of the A.B.N. stressed the fact that this liberation struggle is going on in every sphere of life, both outside and behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Stetzko added that the main principles of the liberation struggle are the following:

To rely solely on our own forces.

To convince the free world that the problem of the liberation struggle of the peoples that are enslaved by Moscow is of tremendous importance for the peace of the whole world.

To stress the necessity of disintegrating the Red Russian empire by means of national revolutions within the Soviet Union, if we wish to avoid an atomic war.

National and religious ideas, so he pointed out, should be emphasized as the basis for the struggle against Soviet Russian imperialism.

In order to combat Communism—so Mr. Stetzko added—a union of all the anti-Communist forces is essential and imperative. For this reason the A.B.N. has concluded several agreements with such anti-Communist international organisations as the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League", Republic of China, and the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent". The conclusion of these agreements led to the participation of the A.B.N. delegates in the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico. The programme of the A.B.N., according to which the struggle against Communism is essentially a struggle against Red Russian imperialism, was adopted at this Conference. The President of the A.B.N. also emphasized the necessity of disintegrating the Red Russian empire and establishing national states on its ruins. It is high time the free world realised that the subjugated peoples within the Soviet Union and their determined and unceasing attempts to throw off the Red Russian yoke are the vulnerable spots of the Soviet Union. In view of the fact that a bloody clash between the free world and the Red Russians is inevitable, the free peoples of the West should realise that it is in their own interests to support the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples.

On May 12th, President Stetzko visited the Ukrainian Orthodox Archbishop Ghenadiy and the Lithuanian Bishop Brisghis. He also called on the former Lithuanian Consul Drausvardis, the President of the Lithuanian Congress Committee, Mr. Shimutis, and the President of the League of the Americans of Ukrainian descent, Mr. Duzhansky.

The President spent May 17th and 18th visiting the Ukrainians living in Philadelphia; they gave him a very cordial welcome and discussed various current political problems with him. A press conference was also organised, which was attended by Ukrainian journalists residing in the U.S.A. and in Canada. Two hundred and thirty persons attended a reception held in honour of the guest from Europe at the "John Bertram Hotel"; on this occasion, many eminent persons had an opportunity to establish personal contact with the President of the A.B.N. Among the prominent non-Ukrainian guests present were the Mexican Vice-Consul, Mr. Martin Brito Hernandez, well known as an anti-Communist leader in the U.S.A., and his wife, several representatives of the Republican Party of Philadelphia, as well as representatives of the enslaved peoples of East and Central Europe, members of the Central Committee of the "American Friends of A.B.N.", and many other prominent personalities of political and cultural life in the U.S.A.

During the reception, Mr. Stetzko gave a talk on the tasks, difficulties and achievements of the A.B.N. He stressed the fact that the activity of the A.B.N. has recently increased very considerably and that the representatives of the A.B.N. were being invited to take part in all international anti-

Communist conferences in Europe, Asia and America, an opportunity which enabled them to denounce to the world the imperialistic policy of the Red Russians that is camouflaged under the name of so-called international Communism, which serves Moscow's interests all over the world.

On May 18, Mr. Stetzko attended a Ukrainian rally at the Civic Club in Philadelphia. The enthusiastic welcome which he was given was proof of the great popularity of the ideas propagated by the A.B.N. In his speech on this occasion, he stressed the fact that there is a special A.B.N. Mission in Formosa (Free China) and that one of the tasks of this Mission is to broadcast news programmes which are intended for the internees in the many concentration camps in Siberia. In addition, he emphasized the great importance of the anti-Communist World Congress to be convened in Europe, in autumn this year, and said that an Anti-Communist World League would be founded on this occasion.

Special mention must be made of the big rally held in New York prior to Mr. Stetzko's visits to Chicago and Philadelphia. On April 18, he attended a meeting held at the headquarters of the Organisation of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, at which various prominent representatives of the A.B.N. were present. On this occasion, Dr. Rybchuk gave a talk on the work of the organisation of the "American Friends of A.B.N.", and a lecture on the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico was held by M. H. Bilynski. In a long speech, Mr. Stetzko commented on the various phases of the Conference and stressed in particular the dangerous activity of the "White" Russian emigrants (especially those who run the N.T.S. organisation in Frankfurt-on-Main, Germany); these persons, he said, were doing their utmost to combat the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples.

The second meeting which the President of the A.B.N. attended in New York was held by the "American Friends of A.B.N." at their headquarters, and here Mr. Stetzko had an opportunity to talk to a large number of representatives of various national groups. He stressed the fact that the fundamental principle of the A.B.N., which is to reorganise East Europe and Asia in accordance with the national ideas and to disintegrate the Red Russian empire, has gradually found sympathy and understanding even in those political circles of the West that have so far not been interested in the just settlement of political affairs in the vast areas that are at present under Red Russian occupation. The prominent guest from Europe expressed his conviction that the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico, which was attended by 52 delegates, representing 65 nations of Europe, America and Asia, meant a very considerable strengthening of the anti-Communist world front. A Preparatory Commission for the convention of the Anti-Communist World Congress was elected at this Conference. This Commission also includes two members of the A.B.N.,—Mr. J. Stetzko and General Farkas de Kisbarnak. At the Mexico Conference—Mr. Stetzko said—the A.B.N. represented 17 enslaved peoples. He emphasized all the guiding principles that must be realised in order to ensure the full success of the Anti-Communist World Congress, which is to take place in one of the capitals of Europe in the autumn of 1958.



On June 1st, the President of the A.B.N. gave a lecture on the "Liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples and the free Western world" in the hall of the Manhattan Center in New York. The huge hall was packed with an audience eager to hear the President's comments on the present urgent problems of the emigrants from East and Central Europe.

In his lecture, Mr. Stetzko also mentioned the present aims of the multinational A.B.N. organization and its impartiality in pursuing the plans that must be realized in near future. In conclusion, he said that the political emigrants not only of Ukraine, but also of other subjugated countries must realize the necessity of making great sacrifices, if they are to succeed in defeating the grim and mighty powers of evil.

On June 8th, the 25th anniversary of the famine artificially created by Stalin in Ukraine, a big rally was held in New York, at which Mr. Stetzko was also present. The Ukrainians of New York commemorated the 6 million victims who died by order of Moscow, since the latter sought to suppress the Ukrainian national resistance in this way. At the same time, the Ukrainian rally was also a protest against the Red Russian occupation of Ukraine.

In general, the New York emigrant groups of all the peoples enslaved by Red Moscow manifested their indignation at the inhuman methods of the Russian Communist occupation of their respective countries, at the physical annihilation of all the peoples within the so-called Soviet Union and at the unceasing deportation of non-Russians to the remote regions of North Russia, the Arctic Ocean and North-east Siberia, whence a return home is impossible and where the internees of all Russian concentration camps are doomed to die.

In the course of his visit to the various emigrant centres in the U.S.A., President Stetzko was twice invited to Washington by the Congress Commission for the Investigation of anti-American Activities. Here he had an opportunity to give a detailed report on the present political situation, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, and to expound his conception of a world-wide peace and his ideas on the ways and means to combat the Red Russian danger. On May 14, he gave testimony before the Commission as an eyewitness. He referred to the danger of Red Russian imperialism and aggression and commented on the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Red Moscow. At the request of the members of the Congress Commission, he submitted a long report on the possible danger of a "summit" conference, in which the statesmen of the West and East would take part; he also commented on the liberation policy of the Western powers (in particular, of the U.S.A.), on atomic war and national liberation revolutions on the part of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. In addition, he also mentioned the ways and means by which the free world could help the subjugated nations in their fight for freedom and thus prevent an atomic war.

In the course of the discussions which the President of the A.B.N. had with the leading men of the Commission, he emphasized the fact that the Russian Communist danger threatens the entire free world. That is why Western support for the enslaved peoples is imperative as a means of defeating Communist Russia successfully. Finally, Mr. Stetzko stressed that

the underground liberation movements of the peoples in the Soviet Union and, above all, the underground armed activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) are very powerful, a fact which the Western powers fail to appreciate and use to advantage for the purpose of overcoming the Red Russian world danger.

From June 28 to 30th, Mr. Stetzko visited Detroit, an important centre of the Ukrainian and other East and Central European emigrants. Those present at a banquet held in his honour in this city included representatives of the Baltic peoples, Armenians, Byelorussians and Slovaks, as well as the Consuls of France and Finland. Previously, Mr. Stetzko was presented with the keys of the city by the Acting Mayor V. Beck at a banquet given in his honour at the Veterans Memorial Building. On this occasion, Mr. Sigurts Rudzitis, president of a nationalities committee that welcomed Mr. Stetzko to Detroit, praised him as a great opponent of both the Nazis and the Reds. Various other speakers also had an opportunity to welcome the prominent A.B.N. representative; Mr. Arpo Yemenijan welcomed him on behalf of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia; Joseph Farkovich, representing the Slovak Liberation Committee, and Basil Plesgacz, representing the local Byelorussian Association, held welcoming addresses, and Arturs Desknis spoke on behalf of the Latvian Association of Detroit.

On the following day, Mr. Stetzko gave a lecture on the "Liberation Struggle of the Enslaved Peoples and the Free World", in which he stressed, above all, that it is high time the free world supported the liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union and proclaimed the idea of a full liberty of nations and individuals as its ultimate goal. Only the idea of national freedom and the disintegration of the Red Russian empire, he said, will put an end to the Red Russian danger. Bolshevism is merely one of the phases of Red Russian imperialism; and for this reason we should combat not so much international Communism, but rather the power which makes use of this obsolete phrase, namely Red Russia.

Mr. Stetzko's visit to Buffalo in June was commented on at length by the local press. Below, we give an extract of some of these press comments.

In its edition of June 16, 1918, the "Buffalo Evening News" published an article entitled "Support of Liberation Drives Called Alternative to A-War", from which we quote the following passages:

"The ideals of independence are more powerful than atomic and hydrogen bombs. So, the West's only alternative to thermonuclear war is to support national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. This theory was expressed in Buffalo on Sunday by an outspoken foe of Communism who is a leader of resistance movements.

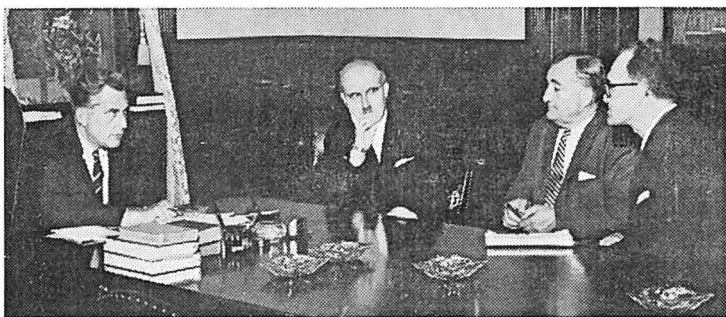
Yaroslav S. Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), told more than 400 persons at the Ukrainian Home ("Dnipro"):

"The free world is afraid, and justly so, of an atomic and nuclear war, and will not start a thermonuclear Armageddon against Russia. It must elect the only alternative it has—the support of the national independence movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia. There is no third war'.



*President of the A.B.N., Jaroslaw Stetzko,  
welcomed by Ukrainians in New York.*





*President Stetzko paying a visit to governor of New Jersey, Robert Meyer, who was the first American State Governor to proclaim the celebration of the Ukrainian Independence Day.  
From left to right: Governor Meyner, Jaroslaw Stetzko, Councilor Marcel Wagner and interpreter.*



*President Stetzko with Miss Mary Beck, Deputy Mayor of Detroit.*

Peaceful coexistence would lead to the acceptance of the political status quo, which would sanction all the conquests of Moscow and would, in turn, enhance the prospects of further Russian aggressions in Europe and in Asia.'

'The hope that a political evolution within the Soviet Russian empire would lead to a gradual disintegration and collapse of Russian power is sheer wishful thinking, leading to disaster.'

Contending that the people of the enslaved states are disappointed in the West's inaction and indifference to their plight, Stetzko suggested that Russia would score a gigantic victory if President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan agree to sit at the same table with Khrushchov and Mikoyan."

The newspaper "Buffalo Courier-Express" of June 17, 1958, also commented on the ideas expressed by the President of the A.B.N., in an article entitled "Former Ukraine Official Opposes Summit Parley", from which we quote as follows:

"The struggle of enslaved nations for independence and democracy is today's most pressing problem. . .

Stetzko, who also is President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, contended Russia will score a gigantic victory if President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan agree to sit at the same table with Khrushchov and Mikoyan. . .

Stetzko said Russia would have evacuated Hungary if the U.S. and Great Britain had provided a provisional government during last year's uprisings there. . ."

Mention must also be made of the fact that the organisation of the "American Friends of A.B.N." in New York organised a press conference on June 30th, which was attended by representatives of the following leading American newspapers and agencies,—"The New York Times", "The Associated Press", "The American Press", "The National Economic Council" and many others, as well as by representatives of various European countries.

On July 11th, the President of the A.B.N. was the guest of the Governor of the State of New Jersey, Mr. Robert B. Meyner. Governor Meyner is greatly interested in the activity of the A.B.N. and in the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples, and for this reason approves of the fight for freedom in Central and Eastern Europe.

During the past weeks Mr. Stetzko has continued to visit the organisations and prominent representatives of the Ukrainian and other Central and East European emigrants in the U.S.A.

The increased external activity of the A.B.N. organisation in Europe, America and Asia is greatly welcomed by all peace-loving and freedom-loving communities and political circles of the U.S.A. and, in particular, by the emigrants from the countries behind the Iron Curtain. The importance of Mr. Stetzko's visit to the U.S.A. is constantly stressed by the official press organs of the U.S.A. as well as by those of the enslaved peoples abroad.

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*Yar Slavutych*

## **THE SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT IN USA** (On the Centenary of Taras Shevchenko's Liberation From Exile)

Taras Shevchenko has always been regarded by the Ukrainians not only as a great poet and artist who wrote for his people, but still more so as the man who put into practice the idea of national independence for modern Ukraine. And, indeed, there is every reason to compare Shevchenko, as the personification of his country, to Homer of Ancient Greece, Virgil of the Roman Empire, Goethe of Germany, Shakespeare of England, and Mickiewicz of Poland.

And this was precisely what the Ukrainians in the U.S.A. had in mind when they erected the Shevchenko memorial. The author of this article was present at the ceremony of unveiling this monument, and the following brief account of this ceremony is intended to emphasize its significance for the Ukrainians living in the U.S.A.

The unveiling of the Shevchenko monument took place on June 16, 1957, in the Catskills, about a hundred miles from New York City,—at Soyuzivka, the beautiful estate of the Ukrainian National Association, which, incidentally, is the biggest of five similar organisations of over one million Americans of Ukrainian descent. Some ten thousand persons from almost all the states attended the ceremony. Over a thousand cars and about sixty buses took up all the parking lots in the vicinity, and the town of Kerhonkson nearby, as well as all the neighbouring hotels and motels were so crowded that many people spent the night in tents under the trees.

The Shevchenko monument, which consists of a bust of the poet on an obelisk, was created by Alexander Archipenko, a famous American sculptor of Ukrainian origin. The cost of erecting the monument amounted to 7,000 dollars and this sum was donated by the Ukrainian National Association. In his article published on this occasion in a special souvenir booklet, the sculptor writes as follows about his latest work:

"... why did I create the bust of Taras Shevchenko? ... I believe that likenesses of great national figures of genius are capable of evoking ideas and feelings which will help keep national conscience alive ... speaking of culture as a national force, it is essential to recognise that our national men and women of genius, such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, Mykola Lysenko and others, were responsible for consolidating our Ukrainian culture by means of their works which represent the true spirit and soul of the Ukrainian people."

Among the speakers at the unveiling ceremony were, in addition to various members of the Association, also Archipenko himself and Professor Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University, one of the best translators and com-



mentators of Shevchenko's works. An extensive programme of music and recitations was devoted exclusively to Shevchenko's poetry. The Ukrainian choir "Dumka" of New York City gave a very fine performance, and its exquisitely rendered songs re-echoed far over the forest hills of Soyuzivka.

One may wonder why the unveiling of this monument was conducted with so much pomp. The answer is that Shevchenko in the eyes of the Ukrainians is more than the artist who, in his time, was called a second Rembrandt, or the poet who depicted Ukrainian genius in unforgettable language and figures of speech. As a true national poet, he set forth the hopes and aspirations of the Ukrainian people and showed them their illustrations past and the future that lay before them. For this revelation he was severely punished by Nicholas I, Tsar of the Russian Empire, into which Ukraine had been forcibly incorporated and exposed to Russification.

Born in 1814 as a serf, Shevchenko bought his freedom in 1838 with 2,500 roubles, raised through the efforts of several artists and poets who were kindly disposed towards him. Within a short time, he had graduated with a gold medal from the Imperial Academy of Arts. But he only enjoyed freedom until 1847, when he was arrested and tried before a court and subsequently deported to Central Asia. There he was forbidden either to write or to paint, and as he was only an ordinary private without rank, he was treated most brutally by illiterate and uneducated corporals of the Russian army. After the amnesty in 1857, he was allowed to return from exile, but not to his native Ukraine. He died in Petersburg in 1861. His body was taken to Ukraine by loyal friends and buried on a hill overlooking the River Dnieper. Thus, during the forty-seven years of his life, he enjoyed freedom only for thirteen years. The other thirty-four years he spent either in the darkness of servitude or in Russian prisons and exile. Yet in the few free years that he enjoyed, Shevchenko created such masterpieces that even today he is still considered the greatest poet of Ukraine, in spite of the fact that modern Ukrainian literature has developed and progressed to a very considerable extent during the first half of our century.

To those Ukrainians who have been denied national freedom within the Russian empire and, in fact, within the Soviet Union, Shevchenko continues to be the father of modern Ukraine. His ideas of freedom and national independence are strikingly similar to American democratic ideas. And it is no coincidence that the poet once asked:

*"When will our Washington appear,  
With just and human laws?"*

And, full of faith, he answered with conviction:

*"And yet he must appear!"*

Considered in the light of these words, the Shevchenko monument erected on the free land of Washington is of great significance. Not only does it commemorate the great Ukrainian poet; it also attests to the fact that the Ukrainians in the U.S.A. enjoy far more national freedom than their fellow-countrymen at home under the Soviet Russian regime.

## ***World Tour of the Ukrainian Bandurists' Chorus***

The International Concert Bureau in Brussels has begun to send out leaflets, programmes and, above all, photographs to about 110 theatre agencies in various countries of Europe that will sell tickets for the concerts to be held during the first stage of world tour of the Ukrainian Bandurists' Choir. About 8,000-10,000 photographs will be distributed during the European tour of the Ukrainian Bandurists' Choir. The information on the Choir is printed in seven languages: Ukrainian, English, Spanish, Italian, German, French and Swedish.

Press conferences will be organised in various capitals of Europe in connection with the above-mentioned tour of the Ukrainian artistes. These conferences will for instance be held in Paris, Brussels, at the Hague and in other large European towns and will be attended by hundreds of foreign journalists. According to reports in the Ukrainian press receptions with original programmes in the Ukrainian style are also to be held.

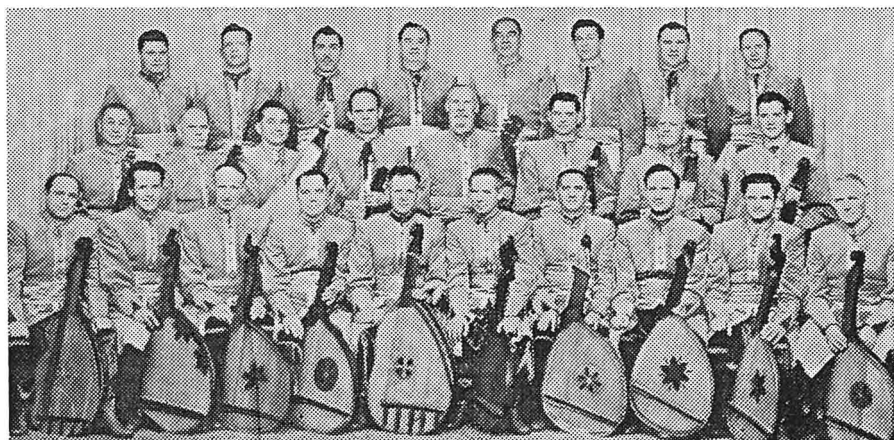
The management of the Choir will no doubt get in touch with broadcasting stations, television and grammophone record companies in Europe.

The society of the friends of the Ukrainian Bandurists' Choir decided at the beginning of August to organize a special press section for the purpose of informing the foreign world of the tour of the Ukrainian Bandurists' Choir and to establish constant contact with the Ukrainian press abroad (in U.S.A., Canada, Europe and Australia).

The Ukrainian Bandurists will wear the historical colourful costumes of the Ukrainian Cossacks of the 17th and 18th centuries. In addition, they will bring to Europe five printed informative publications on Ukrainian folk music, the history of the Bandura instrument, the Bandurists and their performances and, finally, on the Ukrainian Bandurists' Choir in Ukraine and abroad.

Before going to Europe, the Ukrainian Bandurists' Choir will give concerts only in the following towns in the U.S.A. and Canada: Cleveland (Oct. 3rd), Buffalo (Oct. 4), Pittsburg (Oct. 5), Scranton (Oct. 6), Hartford (Oct. 9), New York (Oct. 7 and 10), Philadelphia (Oct. 8), Newark (Oct. 11), Boston (Oct. 12), Montreal (Oct. 14), Ottawa (Oct. 15), Toronto (Oct. 16) Detroit (Oct. 18) and Chicago (Oct. 19).

It is very likely that the Ukrainian film star Jack Palance, will join the Choir of the Ukrainian Bandurists during its world tour. It is also very probable that the well-known Ukrainian ballet "Orlyk" from Manchester will accompany the Ukrainian Choir during its European tour. The "Orlyk" ballet gave a performance in Munich, on August 27 this year, in connection with the 800th anniversary of this city before considering its common European tour together with the chorus of the Ukrainian Bandurists. The "Orlyk" ensemble (like the Ukrainian Bandurists) wears national costumes.



*Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus in the U.S.A. with their leaders,  
H. Kytasty and V. Bozhyk.*





*John F. Stewart (centre) with the members of the Ukrainian Folk Dancing Group "Orlyk" of Manchester after their participation in the Edinburgh Festival.*

After its tour in Europe, the Ukrainian Bandurists will proceed to other continents, above all, to North Africa, the Near and Far East, Australia etc. Many Ukrainians are in favour of organizing a permanent choir of the Ukrainian Bandurists that would tour the whole world.

It is interesting to note that the Ukrainian musical instrument "Bandura" played a very important role in the Ukrainian history of the past centuries. Ukrainian Bandurists reminded all Ukrainians of the glorious past of the Ukraine by singing Ukrainian historical songs dealing with Ukrainian resistance against Turkish, Polish and Russian oppression and glorifying the Ukrainian liberation wars against the historical adversaries of Ukrainian freedom. That is why the Ukrainian Bandurists were always persecuted by the Russian occupation authorities. Even during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine many Ukrainian Bandurists were interned in German concentration camps because their songs were regarded as a danger to the Nazi occupation authorities.

The Bandura instrument contributes very much to the salvation of the Ukrainian people from its spiritual and national death. That is why the Ukrainian Bandurists living in Soviet Ukraine at present are restricted in the repertoire of their songs, especially of those glorifying the Ukrainian liberation struggle against the Russians in the past because it also seems to be a danger to the present Red Russian regime of Ukraine.

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### THE UNVEILING OF A MONUMENT FOR A UKRAINIAN GENERAL

The Ukrainians living in Austria have unveiled a monument to the memory of the well-known Ukrainian General Victor Kurmanovych, in the cemetery of Baden near Vienna, on August 17th this year. Ukrainian delegates (former Ukrainian officers) came to Austria from Germany and France for the purpose of honouring the memory of their former commander during the Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Russian wars in 1918-1920. The unveiling ceremony was also attended by the former Ukrainian commander-in-chief, General Hrekiw, who succeeded in returning to Vienna from Red Russian captivity a few years ago. Like General Hrekiw, General Kurmanovych was deported from the Russian occupied Zone of Austria to the Soviet Union where he died of starvation as was reported by eyewitnesses. At the unveiling ceremony the Ukrainian choir of Vienna sang the well-known Ukrainian military song "Vydsh Brate Miy" ("Oh, look my Brother, the cranes are passing to the south"). Wreaths of flowers were placed on the monument by former Ukrainian officers and soldiers, and also by members of various Ukrainian societies. General Kurmanovych was a specialist in planning military campaigns and an excellent strategist.

During his exile General Kurmanovych was very active and paid three visits to Canada and U.S.A. for the purpose of establishing contacts with the Ukrainian communities and former Ukrainian soldiers there. He died on October 18, 1945. The monument was erected thanks to the many donations given by the former Ukrainian officers and soldiers at present living in Canada and the U.S.A.

## WORLD CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

In connection with the 22nd annual conference of the National Union of Ukrainian Students, "CESUS", that is to take place in the autumn of this year in Europe, the Ukrainian press stresses the necessity of the organization of a world congress of Ukrainian students studying outside the Ukrainian ethnographic territories that are at present occupied by Red Russia. The further activity of "CESUS" and the forms of its development should be clearly outlined at such a global meeting of the Ukrainian students. A world congress of Ukrainian students, to be attended by representatives of the Ukrainian student associations from all continents, above all, from the U.S.A., Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Great Britain, Australia and Europe (Paris, Munich, London, Madrid and Louvain) should be organized in Canada or the U.S.A., that is to say in those countries that would be willing to finance such a congress.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the National Union of Ukrainian Student Associations "CESUS" was founded in Prague in 1921. "CESUS" comprised the Ukrainian student associations of Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, Bukovina, Bessarabia and Carpatho-Ukraine) and of the Ukrainian student associations abroad (in Europe, U.S.A., Canada and the Far East). "CESUS" was admitted in 1921 to the International Confederation of Students (CIE) as a free member and as such took part in all congresses and conferences of this world organization of students between the two world wars. Whereas the International Confederation of Students did not survive World War II, "CESUS" still continues to exist. But the change in political conditions after World War II and the ensuing occupation of the Ukrainian Western territories by the Red Russians have forced the responsible factors of Ukrainian students to try to reorganize Ukrainian student life. That is why the 22nd conference of "CESUS" will also deal with the question of summoning of a world congress of Ukrainian students, at which closer contacts of the Ukrainian student associations all over the world and new forms of the Ukrainian student life would be discussed.

Incidentally the Ukrainian students will celebrate the 50th anniversary of their organized existence in 1959.

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## THE UKRAINIAN FOOTBALL TEAM "UKRAINA" FROM TORONTO WILL TOUR SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA

At the request of the International Sports Central Office in Austria, the management of the Ukrainian football team "Ukraina" of Toronto has agreed to organize a two months' tour to the countries of south-eastern Asia for the purpose of arranging 20 matches with the footballers of the following countries: Formosa—2, Hong-Kong—3, Singapore—2, Saigon—2, Djakarta—2, Bangkok—2, Rangoon—2, Calcutta—2 and Karachi—2.

The football team "Ukraina" will consist of 20 persons: 17 football players and 3 employees.



## WORLD CONGRESS OF THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION (S.U.M.)

Education of the young generation of Ukrainians settled in the various countries of the Free World has always presented a major problem for the Ukrainian exile community. How to educate Ukrainian children so that they may become useful citizens of their adopted countries while at the same time preserving the consciousness of and love for the distinctive national heritage of Ukraine—was a question which needed an answer. The Ukrainian Youth Association ("Spilka Ukrayins'koyi Molodi" in Ukrainian, or S.U.M. in short) is an organization that has attempted to find a solution. S.U.M. was organised anew in 1946 taking its name and basic ideas from a similar organization of patriotic Ukrainian youth which together with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine existed illegally in Soviet Ukraine in 1920's and was liquidated by the Bolsheviks in 1929-30. In the years 1947-49 S.U.M. grew rapidly into thousands and it became necessary to establish its country-wide organizations in Germany, Belgium, Britain, France, Canada, the United States, Australia, Venezuela and other countries. Their work has been manifold and included cultural and recreational activities, annual festivals and rallies, manifestations of Ukrainian national aspirations and protests against the Communist Russian enslavement of Ukraine, publishing activity, etc.

The 12-year long experience of the Ukrainian Youth Association's work in exile has been summed up and reviewed during its world Congress held in Toronto, Canada, between June 26-29, 1958, and attended by delegates from America and Europe. At the Congress were present also numerous guests and representatives of various Ukrainian organizations in Canada, as well as public figures well-known in Canadian political life, such as Hon. Arthur Maloney, Deputy Minister of Labour, John Yaremko, Minister of Ontario, Senator W. Wall, Dr. I. Kucherepa, Member of Federal Parliament, and others. Greetings from Rt. Hon. John F. Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada and Rt. Hon. L. Pearson, Leader of the Opposition, were read and were warmly received. The Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Canada, Archbishop Maksym Hermaniuk, addressed and greeted the Congress. Greetings were received also from the Metropolitan Nikanor, the Head of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Europe, and from numerous other leading personalities and institutions.

The Congress elected a new Central Committee whose seat has been transferred from Munich, Germany, to Brussels, Belgium. The composition of the new Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association is as follows: Omelan Kowal—Chairman, Iwan Krushelnyckyj—1st Deputy Chairman and Internal Affairs Officer, Wolodymyr Mykula—2nd Deputy Chairman and External Relations Officer, Bohdan Stebelskyj—3rd Deputy Chairman and Youth Section Officer, Zenon Sahan—Education Officer, and Jaroslaw Deremenda—Member of the Central Committee.

**OBITUARY****JOHN FINLEY STEWART****(1. 7. 1870—5. 8. 1958)**

The death of John F. Stewart, the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, has taken away from our midst a man whose devoted work for the cause of liberty of the nations enslaved by Communist Russia has been greatly appreciated both by many of his countrymen and by Eastern European exiles. Justifiably the latter saw in John F. Stewart one of their greatest friends in the West, for it was he who was one of the first to raise the voice of protest against the abandonment by the leading nations of the West their responsibility for the fate of Eastern European peoples after the 2nd World War, when Russian expansionist ambitions were satisfied to even greater degree than after the 1st World War. The Ukrainian community in Britain, as well as many Ukrainians overseas, feel a personal loss in the death of John F. Stewart, for he was known as a sincere friend of the cause of Ukrainian national independence, and his numerous pamphlets, articles and letters bear witness of it. His close co-operation with the Ukrainian liberation movement and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations has resulted in significant achievements in strengthening the Western stand against Russian penetration and aggression.

John F. Stewart, descendant of an old Scottish family, has lived a long and productive life and died at the advanced age of 88. In his youth he travelled in various parts of the world, lived a hard life in South Africa where he proved his courage and determination. In the inter-war years he visited Russia and the Baltic countries and became well acquainted with the problems of the Eastern European peoples and the expansionist Russian designs. At the end of the last World War he founded the Scottish League for European Freedom, an organization which contributed greatly towards a better understanding of Russian Communist imperialism and the internal forces of resistance fighting under the banner of national independence of all the nations enslaved by Moscow. As Chairman of that organization, John F. Stewart applied all his energy, his penetrating thought and his ability to make friends in order to make the British as well as the American political opinion aware of the great potential force of the struggle of the enslaved nations for complete national independence from Russia in the clash between the Communist bloc and the Free World. His efforts have not been entirely in vain, for we are witnessing a growing realization in the West of the potential explosive force of the national idea behind the Iron Curtain.

May the memory of John F. Stewart, a great friend of Ukraine and other Communist-enslaved countries, of the noble and sincere man he was, be a constant example to us and remind us of the tasks which have still to be fulfilled.

BOOK REVIEWS

*Alexander Dallin: GERMAN RULE IN RUSSIA 1941-1945. A Study of Occupation Policies.* London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1957. XX+695 pp.

Basing his arguments on a huge amount of documentary material and on practically all the publications on the above subject, Alexander Dallin presents a comprehensive (and gloomy) picture of the German occupation policy in the East European territories which were conquered in the years 1941 to 1942 and the ideological and economic motives behind this policy, a picture which will rightly claim the attention of persons interested in history and politics.

Dallin's comprehensive book is divided into four sections. The first section ("The Framework", pp. 3-103) acquaints the reader with the political constellation within the Nazi elite, with the views held regarding the European East by the chief makers of politics and with the latter's plans for a "solution" of the East European question. There follows an account of Germany's East policy during the first six months of the year and of the administrative system introduced in the occupied East territories. The second section ("Peoples and Policies", pp. 107-302) deals with the German policy towards the various peoples of the occupied East territories; the third section ("Problems and Practice", pp. 305-493) deals with the German economic policy in the occupied East territories, with the treatment of the prisoners-of-war and the so-called "East civilian workers", and with the German cultural and religious policy. In the fourth section of the book ("Political Warfare", pp. 497-678), an account is given of the attempts made by various German authorities to engage the peoples of the Soviet Union for Germany for military purposes, and the reasons for the failure of these attempts and also for the failure of the entire German East policy are explained. At the end of the book there is a list of the abbreviations used and also an index.

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At the beginning of the book the author advances the theory that Germany and Russia in their mutual relations have always had to choose between friendship and enmity,—*"tertium non datur"* (p. 4). Quite apart from the fact that it is unusual for a book which aims indirectly to expose the errors of the National Socialist ideology to support a political National Socialist theory (the "friend-foe" theory of Karl Schmidt), this theory in our opinion is logically unfounded. For hundreds of years relations between Germany and Russia—with certain exceptions—were neither definitely friendly nor hostile. It was not until they jointly undertook to partition Poland (1772-1795) that Russia and Prussia, in addition to their common frontier, began to have common interests, namely the suppression of the Poles, and that their mutual



friendship, burdened with this heavy mortgage, became a categorical imperative. Germany of Bismarck's era took over this mortgage. The fact that this mortgage was later disregarded led to the first partition of Germany (the Polish Corridor) and, subsequently, when an attempt was made to recover what had been lost, to the second partition of Germany.

Dallin examines the policy of the Third Reich from the aspect of the friend-foe-relation to historic Russia.

In the first place, we have the actual ruling clique round Hitler, to which most of the big Nazi men, with Hitler at their head, belonged, fanatical nationalists, who regarded the European East solely as the future "Lebensraum" or living space of Germany. Now—that is to say, during the war—was the time to exploit and utilize this space to the utmost. In any case, it was inhabited by inferior beings, who should have been happy that they were still alive and were allowed the privilege of working for their "liberators". There is hardly anything more one can add to the characterization which Dallin gives of this clique and which he bases on various authentic sources. The only point on which one might have certain doubts is whether Hitler actually adhered so consistently to the principle that the "soil" which he intended to secure for Germans could only be gained in Ukraine and elsewhere, too.)\*

In addition to this clique, which played a decisive part in determining Germany's policy and which clearly showed itself to be a fierce enemy of all the East European peoples, there were, according to Dallin, two "schools" in Germany which represented two different conceptions of Germany's policy towards the East,—a "pro-Russian" and an "anti-Russian" school (p. 6, p. 502, and other data, of which, however, only a selection is given). "The advocates of a free and supposedly federated Russia" belonged to the first group, "the self-appointed protectors of the non-Russian nationalities" to the second one. Whereas the representatives of the first conception intended using "the entire Soviet population in the fight against Soviet rule", the representatives of the second conception solely wanted to mobilize the national minorities of the Soviet Union against the Russians (p. 502).

This presentation of the case not only gives a positive answer a priori to the question of whether it would be at all possible to mobilize the Russian people against its government, but also expresses the view that the mobilization of "the entire Soviet population", which is by no means homogeneous and is, therefore, bound to have different interests (as for instance, who should rule and who should be ruled), against this state would be possible. Moreover, it is affirmed a priori that the intention of the German experts, who aimed to play off the "Russian colonial peoples" (as Walter Kolarz designates the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union in his well-known book) against the "Russian state people" and who thus looked for allies in the abstract, uniform conception of the "Soviet people", was obviously wrong from the political point of view: for it is better to win over all instead of only a part.

\*) Roman Ilnytsky's report "Germany and Ukraine 1934-1945", East European Institute, Munich, 1955-56, attempts to show in a plausible way that Hitler's views in this respect were subject to changes.

The "pro-Russian" political course, according to Dallin, was represented by "genuine experts and friends of Russia" (p. 133), headed by the Ambassador von Schulenburg, who was "respected by everyone", and "brilliant and energetic" (as Dallin describes Henning von Tresckow,—p. 516) a man of unimpeachable character, who knew something of world politics and East Europe.

The situation was somewhat different in the case of the representatives of the second conception. The fact that they were also supported by Alfred Rosenberg, the head ideologist of the Third Reich, who advocated the disintegration of the Soviet Union into a number of national states, may have discredited this conception in Dallin's eyes. He repeatedly calls Rosenberg's plans in this respect "romantic" (p. 112) and "fantastic" (p. 26). And, in addition, he stresses again and again that Rosenberg was well aware of the weakness "of the national separatism" in the Soviet Union (p. 110 and p. 667) and that his plans were prompted not by humane motives, but by the egoistic, political interests and motives of Germany (p. 133). Dallin goes on to affirm that he cannot understand how Rosenberg's fears that the extensive pillaging of Ukraine and Byelorussia might convince the peoples of these countries that the German occupation was an even greater evil than Bolshevism, could be compatible with Rosenberg's extreme anti-Moscow attitude (p. 56). The reviewer cannot see why these two different things should be incompatible. One could also hold the view that Rosenberg, who only knew pre-revolutionary Russia from an autopsy, as it were, was inclined to underrate the strength of the new, revolutionary national consciousness of the East European peoples.

But, as already pointed out, not only Rosenberg, but also the entire "second school", which wanted to orientate the German East policy to the non-Russian peoples, is regarded in an unfavourable light by Dallin. Dr. Georg Leibbrandt was "not a brilliant man" (p. 88); Dr. Otto Bräutigam was, it is true, "comparatively enlightened" (p. 88), but showed the "inconsistency" which was typical of this group (that is, "school") (p. 150); Arno Schickedanz, like Dr. Eberhard Taubert, was only an "average sort of person" (p. 88 and p. 43); whilst Richard Riedl was "verbose and confused" (p. 515). Nor is Dallin's opinion more favourable as regards the "Defence Professors", as he designates the well-known men of learning who represented this course. Whereas Gerhard von Mende, the "Lord Protector of the separatists", is described as an "unrealistic" but "skilful manipulator" (pp. 558-559), Hans Koch is characterised as "clumsy" and "inexperienced", but also as "astute" (p. 514), though a little slow of comprehension (p. 120).

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Whatever attitude one may take to Dallin's presentation of the national problems of the territories of the Soviet Union which were occupied by Germany, one is bound to deplore the fact that he does not clarify in advance the conceptions and terms which he uses.

For instance, he constantly uses the terms "nationalist", "extremist", "separatist" and "collaborator". A nationalist, in scientific terms, is a person

who regards his own nation as the highest value in his philosophy of life. But in designating all Ukrainian parties (apart from the Communists), from the monarchists (Hetman Skoropadsky) to the socialists (UNR, Andriy Livytsky, whom, incidentally, he confuses with Dmytro Levytsky, who was already dead at that time), as nationalist, Dallin deprives this word of its true meaning and degrades it to the level of an abusive term, in the same way as the Soviets give this word and similar ones the same wide meaning. The same also applies to the word "extremist". Its true meaning is only conveyed if it is defined precisely beforehand. In doing so, however, one not only defines one's own position, but also may possibly set up a standard by which to measure everything. Dallin refuses to do so; he claims that his standard is one of unquestionable objectivity, out of which all standards of value inevitably develop. And yet there is no reason whatever why the aims and aspirations of one people—or of only certain of its classes—to gain political independence should be interpreted as "extremism" (the political subordination of one people to another is just as much an "extreme"), whilst the efforts of another people to crush these aims and aspirations are designated not as "extremist" or "nationalist", but as "patriotic" (p. 607).

No definite objection can be raised against the conception "separatists", since it expresses the essence of the matter. But by using this word, the author tends to capitalize the feeling of affinity which exists in various countries, in particular in the U.S.A., and which must be valued as positive from the emotional point of view, and the aversion to any form of separation (probably a reminder of the civil war of 1861-1865), for a certain policy towards East Europe, and in this way gives every independence movement a negative value in advance in the eyes of the Western "freedom-loving" world. The same can be said of the author's use of the word "collaborator". Since collaboration with the enemy against one's own state is regarded as treason and is generally condemned, it is unintelligible why Dallin uses this term indiscriminately for the representatives of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who naturally were even prepared to make a pact with the Devil in order to free themselves from the Russian clutch. As Dallin himself admits, they only wanted to "achieve their own aims" (p. 119), that is to say national independence, with the help of the Germans.

Similar comments could be made with regard to Dallin's national and state terminology. In concession to the confusion of terms fostered, no doubt intentionally, by the Soviets in this field, Dallin alternatively talks about the "Soviet people" (p. 57) and about "Soviet peoples" (p. 82), about the "Russian population" (p. 57 and p. 664) and the "population of the occupied territories" (p. 500), about the "inhabitants of the Western peripheries" (p. 64), etc., and means the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, whose countries were almost the only ones which were occupied by Germany. The title of the book likewise reveals this error on the part of the author, for it was not "Russia", but, in the main, Ukraine and Byelorussia and only small strips of Russia proper that were occupied by the German forces.

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Before discussing the account which Dallin gives of the German-Ukrainian relations, two errors must be rectified. As history has shown, the Ukrainians as early as 1917 refused to content themselves with an autonomy within the framework of the Russian state (p. 47), but wanted to see Russia transformed into a federation of states. The formation of the Ukrainian government was not effected in 1918 "under the protection of the German cannon" (p. 107), but already in 1917 and was actually already recognised (as a *de facto* government) at the beginning of 1918, for instance by France.

There can be no denying the fact that Ukrainian nationalism, as represented by the OUN and in keeping with the trends of the times, assumed authoritarian traits during the period between the two world wars. The OUN would hardly have been able to assert itself in any way other than as an underground organisation which sought to fight the alien state system with all the means at its disposal. To designate it as "Fascist" for this reason, as Dallin does (p. 117), however, is undoubtedly misleading. Nor is the irony with which he laconically refers to the "domestic quarrels" between the OUN and the Germans, appropriate in this case (p. 119). These "quarrels" arose out of the fact that the Gestapo shot hundreds, indeed thousands, of Ukrainian nationalists or else interned them in concentration camps, but Dallin forgets to mention this. It is also significant that Dallin makes no mention whatever of the partisan struggle conducted by the OUN against the German occupation, but, on the contrary, affirms that this struggle was directed against the "Communists, Poles, Russians, Jews(?) and Rumanians" and that the UPA fought "together with the German forces" (p. 621). Thousands of Germans who were soldiers at that time will, to their regret, be able to refute this statement. The partisans, on the other hand, affirm that there were quite a number of Jews in their ranks. The author's statement that the Ukrainian nationalists wanted to extend the Ukrainian state as far as the Volga (p. 111), is likewise incorrect. Furthermore, there seems no foundation whatever for Dallin's opinion that the OUN "felt something of the Nazi hostility to the Church as such" (p. 483). Dallin should have obtained information on this point from the ecclesiastical circles in question. Had the Greek Catholic Ukrainian Metropolitan, Count Sheptytsky, actually been pro-German (p. 485), the Soviets would hardly have given him a state funeral. Nor is there, in our opinion, any plausible reason for designating the journal "Volyn", which was published by the subsequent Orthodox Bishop, S. Skrypnyk, as "chauvinist" (p. 483). The assertion that the Ukrainian "collaborators" were informed months in advance by the German forces about the German offensive against the Soviet Union (p. 118), is grotesque, to say the least. It was the German troop concentrations along the Eastern frontier of Poland in the spring of 1941 that indicated the turn events were likely to take in the future.

Whilst Dallin obviously does his utmost to show the alleged Ukrainian anti-Semitism in the full light, he makes out that Russian anti-Semitism, whenever this was clearly in evidence, was merely a camouflage and necessitated by conditions and circumstances at the time in question (p. 531). He describes General Vlasov as a "patriot", who wanted to preserve the integrity

of his "native country" (p. 607) and who, on the strength of his Soviet experiences, regarded national self-determination as a self-understood thing (p. 608). All the non-Russians who have experienced this type of "self-determination" personally, are hardly likely to have such a high opinion of it.

Dallin manifests the same negative attitude as regards the emancipation efforts of other peoples of the Soviet Union. If Rosenberg, according to Dallin's opinion, wanted to stress the differences between the Russians and the Byelorussians (p. 200), then one might equally well affirm that Dallin seeks to obliterate them. Since Dallin expounds the reasons for the change in the attitude of the Byelorussians towards the Germans, which to begin with was definitely positive (p. 215), the question is cleared up as to why the Byelorussian nationalists gained no support among the people. Since they had, as it were, joined forces with the Germans and were partly supported by the latter, they were subsequently obliged to assume the responsibility for the latter's mistakes. But this does not prove, as Dallin would have us believe, that the Byelorussians were not in any way susceptible to nationalism. Nor can the origin of the name "Byelorussian" be traced back to "foreign travellers", as Dallin maintains (p. 199). The Cossacks, so he affirms, occupied a "special position" not only in the eyes of the Germans (p. 298), but also and above all in their own eyes. They have shown their inclination for self-determination on numerous occasions in the course of their history.

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The examples quoted above (which only represent a selection) should suffice. They show clearly that Dallin's book was written from a certain aspect, a fact which is clearly in evidence in the manner in which the author presents his subject and which results in a misplacement of emphasis and even, occasionally, in a distortion of events. A really reliable and objective and historically impartial treatment of this subject, purely for the purpose of information, still remains the desired aim of our day and of the science of history. Is it impossible to achieve this aim?

L. Bilas

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*Stanislaw Vincenz: "ON THE HIGH UPLANDS". Sagas, Songs and Legends of the Carpathians. Translated by H. C. Stevens. Illustrated by Z. Czermanski. Roy Publishers, New York. Printed in Great Britain. 344 pp.—Printed simultaneously in London and New York. Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 55-9310.*

With this book the Roy Publishers have given us a very valuable and interesting work on the Hutsuls who constitute a branch of the Ukrainian people living in the East Carpathians. As the publishers stress on the cover of the book, "this tremendous prose-poem shows the Hutsuls at work and

play, and not only tells of their joys and sorrows, but 'fixes' for ever the best of their unwritten songs and tales, history and legend. Their folk-lore is unlike that of any other people, and yet full of reminders that all peoples belong to the same human race". Here we may find the charming stories of Foka Shumey, who traced his ancestry back to the giants of the forest, and the idolization of the legendary Hutsul hero and philanthropist, Dovbush (in the book, Dobosz), a Ukrainian Robin Hood, who robbed the rich and helped the poor.

William John Rose stresses in the foreword that the author has given us a work which reveals to the reader a pattern of living that is doomed to extinction as the ruthless mechanised world of our day engulfs the Slav world. Hence, it is all the more imperative that the charm of this pattern should be recorded and made available to the English-speaking world. In this book we may hear the music of the waters that pur down the Cheremosh and the Pruth on their course to the Black Sea; the now gentle, now violent winds that stir the forests on their banks; and even the tinkle of the sheep-bells and the voices of those who keep their flocks.

The sub-title of the first story in the book is "The Voice of the Trumpet". This is the trumpet known in Ukrainian poetry and prose as the "trembita", which according to an old magic formula, is made as follows:

"Take a piece of dry spruce stripped and uprooted by lightning. Hollow it out into a tube, and bind it closely and firmly with the bast of a birch taken from below a waterfall."

The trembita-trumpet fashioned in this way is very long, nearly ten feet; but the tube is constricted within a very small circumference. The mouthpiece is no wider than a finger, and the bell is barely three fingers in width. The birch-bark binding makes it so smooth that it shines. It is dry and very light, yet nevertheless firm. It is charming, yet as haughty as a girl of the mountains. The uninitiated could not play it, for it would not yield a note to him, not even a sound; it is compliant only to the chief shepherd, who is in charge of all the other shepherds. . . It is composed of all things, of all elements; and, like fire, it radiates them all back again. It binds together all living things, it binds life with death. It is the oracular expression of the land and people of the Carpathian Highlands.

The trembita-trumpet sounds for all the feast-day celebrations. At Christmas, on Christmas Eve during the midnight service, its voice resounds over the mountains, from cottage to cottage and through the inaccessible snow-bound forests; or it follows the carol singers as they climb the steep and narrow mountain tracks. At Easter it sounds a joyous Hallelujah. During the rest of the winter, during Lent, and after Easter, it is silent. It remains silent until St. George spreads green over the upland meadows, which during the winter have known only the step of the sluggish, hungry bear, staggering through the deep snows; until the avalanches sound like gunfire in the gloomy, wild beauty of the cliffs below Shpytsi, roaring out in honour of the spring. Then the trembita-trumpet sounds again. The song says that then St. George blows into an aurochs' horn, and when the echoes go flying through the forest all the little birds are quickened to song.



Soon the flocks of sheep and the goats and the cattle come out from the villages below. Some of the cows are tranquil and phlegmatic, others a little capricious, even freakish; for many of them have been reared from infancy behind a cottage stove. The massive bulls gaze from under their brows, morose, frequently dangerous. There are horses of all kinds, whole droves of them,—the Hutsul horses, mouse-grey, black, dun, striped, with eyes flashing fire, thin legs, powerful chests, broad necks, lean heads, and thick exuberant manes. They all climb up from the villages to the upland pastures at springtime... (pp. 13-14).

All through the summer, day after day, the trembitas sound, summoning the shepherds from the distant mountain plateaux, from below the peaks, from the little meadows and scraps of pasture that lie hidden amid the cliffs and abysses; summoning them to food, to water, and to their night quarters. There is only one other voice that carries nearly as far: the voice of the upland enemy, the savage, terrible roar of the bear when he is being driven from his victim or when he is wounded.

The voice of the trembita-trumpet is strong and carries far, and yet it is as pleasant and sweet and reassuring as if a flute had sounded from behind the clouds above the peaks. Animals lost in the dense mists welcome that voice joyfully and hasten towards it,—all animals, from the smallest lamb which can hardly stagger on its legs, to the bull dangerous to strangers and enemies. All the uplands rejoice when they hear the trumpet, for it is their own voice; and they grow sorrowful when, in the autumn, on the Festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the farmers come up for their flocks and herds, and the trumpet sounds for the dispersal...

We have here reproduced a picture of the magic atmosphere and landscape of the Ukrainian Carpathians with their "polonynas"—uplands. The Red Russian occupants of this Ukrainian mountainous region have inundated it with vodka and have deported the Hutsuls to northern Russia and to eastern Siberia. Russians and Mongols from Asia now are sent to the regions of the Carpathian Mountains. The magic forests of the Carpathians no longer exist, for they have been felled by the Red Russian intruders, and the wood has been exported to Russia even though Russia possesses enough forests of her own.

The separate sections of the book include the following titles: "The Cottage", "Foka's Ancestry", "Mountain Time", "Magicians and Sorcerers", "The Thunder-soothsayer", "Foka's Testimony", "The Raid on Zlota Bania", "Dobosz in the Castle", "Fraternizing with the Emperor", "The End of Andriko the Storyteller", "The Death of the Forest", "St. George", "The Omens", "Late in the Evening", "The Wind Blows Over Pokuty", "The Pipe", "Of the Rachmans", and many others.

All these sections are as exquisite and as interesting as the first one, "The Voice of the Trembita", which we quoted above. In our opinion, this book needs no special recommendation, for its intrinsic value and merit lies in the incomparable charm of the scenes illustrating the life of this Ukrainian mountainous people.

V. Luzhansky

*DIE NATIONALITÄTENPOLITIK MOSKAUS*, Nr. 1 (3), Ukrainische Unabhängige Assoziation der Forscher der sowjetischen Theorie und Praxis bezüglich der nationalen Probleme, München 1958, 70 S.

(*THE NATIONAL POLICY OF MOSCOW*, No. 1 (3), Independent Ukrainian Association for Research of National Problems in Soviet Theory and Practice, Munich 1958, 70 pp.)

The publication of this latest volume of the German non-periodical press organ of the Independent Ukrainian Association for Research of National Problems in Soviet Theory and Practice is to be welcomed all the more as it no longer resembles a pamphlet, but has every feature of a sound scientific compilation, even though it is still modest in size. It is well known that the above-mentioned Association has set itself the task of carrying out an independent research, free of external (and above all Russophil) influences, of the concrete and true nature of the Soviet mentality, doctrine and policy, that is to say, in conjunction, too, with the inseparable and constant process of the more or less forcible Russification of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow both in the U.S.S.R. and also in the so-called satellite states (in the case of the satellites there are, of course, certain individual deviations based on tactical reasons); and this task, to which the Munich "Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U.S.S.R.", an institution which is actually controlled and run by Russian imperialists and by Russophiles of other national origin, has not shown itself equal, has been achieved by the said Association since its foundation in 1954 most zealously and with considerable success, for in spite of its very limited material possibilities it has expanded its academic and publishing activity from year to year.

This new volume contains the following three scientific essays, which also have a current political value (all three in German):

1) *J. Boyko*: "The Crisis in the Theory of the National Problems in the U.S.S.R.";

2) *Bohdan Botsiurkiv*: "The Soviet Russian Religious Policy and the Ukrainian Catholic Church";

3) *R. Yendyk*: "Chernyshevsky as Precursor of Lenin".

Professor *J. Boyko*, who in his essay enumerates and thoroughly analyses the deviations—incidentally, so far comparatively few,—from Stalin's "general line" (every Soviet culture is "socialist in contents, national in form") very rightly stresses the fact that the tendency which has appeared simultaneously with the so-called "thaw" of recent years in the U.S.S.R., namely to contest that the national specific of culture *only* consists in its national form and, accordingly, to look for national traits in the contents ("the national form is most closely connected with the contents and is determined by the contents"), is mainly represented by *Russian*—in the national meaning of the word (Muscovite)—research scholars of art and culture (as for instance, *A. Bocharov*, *A. Yegorov*), and not by the research scholars of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. that are subjugated by Moscow (as one

might actually expect if the Soviet alleged "thaw" in the field of the national problems of the U.S.S.R. had been more than merely a routine Bolshevik trick). The author gives the following explanation for this:

"Assimilation was the big Russian programme. Bocharov sees quite clearly that the realisation of this programme has completely failed. If that is so, then the question that naturally obtrudes itself is: what will happen to the Russian nation?"

"If the imperial experiment does not succeed, then the Russians will have to think of themselves. Bocharov definitely and clearly puts the question as to the necessity of stressing the national cultural peculiarities of the Russians as compared to the other peoples of the U.S.S.R."

This explanation seems to us far too forced. What is more likely is that the true (Muscovite) Russians—in keeping with the steady increase of Russian chauvinism during the past three decades—are tired of hearing the national Russian element in the so-called "Soviet" culture referred to merely as *form*; and they point out quite logically that, in accordance with the Marxist doctrine, the relation between contents and form should be a dialectical one: if there is such a thing as a national "form", therefore, the "contents" of the culture in question must also contain a "national specific", and a specific need by no means be thoroughly "socialist". In this way the "socialist" components of Russian culture are entirely rehabilitated; and at the same time, a great service is rendered Russian chauvinist arrogance and presumption, since the "national specific" in its culture is declared to be decisive not only with regard to form, but also as far as contents are concerned.

This deviation from "orthodox" Leninism is naturally only tolerated in silence by the Kremlin in so far as it is applied exclusively to the culture of the Russian "superior nation" and flatters its vanity.

B. Botsiurkiv's essay "has as its aim to analyse Soviet Russian policy regarding the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the strength of the general development and trends of Soviet religious policy, and to draw attention to the motives and methods of the liquidation of this ancient and most important institution in the West Ukrainian territories." The author has admirably accomplished the task he has set himself, and his treatment of this subject is undoubtedly more thorough than any other work which has been published so far on the same subject; a comparison, for instance, with the second part of the English essay by Dr. Lev V. Mydlovsky dealing with the same theme, "Bolshevik Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine 1917-1957" ("The Ukrainian Review", Vol. II, No. 4, London, 1957), reveals that this essay contains more individual data, but that B. Botsiurkiv's essay, on the other hand, reveals a far preciser documentation which is based for the most part on official Soviet sources. This method is applied by the author with some success, in particular, as regards the previous history and actual history of the so-called "reunion" of the Greek Catholic Church in West Ukraine with the Russian Orthodox Church (in 1946), and he writes about the entirely compulsory character of this "reunion" as follows:



"On May 28, 1945, the "Initiative Group for the Reunion" addressed two memorandums to the Council of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and to the Galician clergy. Both these messages reveal not only the extent of state intervention in the internal affairs of the Church, an intervention which is by no means stipulated in the Soviet Constitution (s. Article 124), but also the agent activity of the "Initiative Group" itself, which was obviously formed under the pressure of Soviet Russian organs. In the first memorandum the "Initiative Group" requests the government of the U.S.S.R. "to corroborate officially" its composition and its aims. But without waiting for a formal corroboration to this effect, the second memorandum, addressed to the Greek Catholic clergy, declares as follows:

"Reverend Fathers, we hereby inform you that, *with the sanction of the State authorities*, an initiative group has been formed, with Lviv as its seat, for the union of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church. *The authorities will recognise the measures introduced only by our group and no other administrative authority in the Greek Catholic Church*".—And, what is more, with the above message the "Initiative Group", contrary to the decrees of the Church, declares itself to be the *only* competent administration of the Greek Catholic Church, inasmuch as it bases this declaration not on the sanction and will of the Church, but on the will of the Communist State factors. The farce of the "voluntary" and "canonical" nature of the "union" is also underlined by the answer of the government of the U.S.S.R., of June 18, 1945, according to which the "authorised agent of the Council for Affairs of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church in the Council of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", P. Khodchenko, confirmed the "Initiative Group" as the *only* provisional ecclesiastical "administrative organ" of the Greek Catholic Church and, at the same time, demanded that lists of the priests who refused to recognise the Initiative Group should be submitted to him."

Up to this official answer to their memorandum, incidentally, the "Initiative Group" was able to round up only 42 priests on its side, whereas on the other hand, however, about 300 priests already assembled on June 1, 1945, in St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, for the purpose of protesting to Molotov, the Foreign Commissar of the U.S.S.R. at that time, against the arbitrary action of the "Initiative Group". As was to be expected, the Soviet rulers replied to this appeal with the usual repressive measures—arrests and deportations—against the opponents of the "union".

In his essay Professor R. Yendyk on the whole presents an accurate picture of the ideology of Nikolay Chernyshevsky (1828-1889), the most outstanding pre-Marxist ideologist of the Russian revolutionaries of the 19th century, and, in a fairly convincing manner, stresses all the points which Lenin (and the entire Bolshevik doctrine and tactics) had in common with these revolutionaries,—the so-called "Narodniki" and "Narodovoltsy". But, unfortunately, the author has not contented himself with this and has gone too far, for instance, in attempting to detach Lenin from Marxism, to make him a direct disciple of Chernyshevsky and to pronounce Lenin's dialectical materialism

a "myth". In doing so, he bases his arguments in the first place on Lenin's own remarks (about Chernyshevsky) without realising how greatly interested Lenin was, from the propagandist point of view, in letting the spiritual "revolutionary legacy" of the "Narodniki" and "Narodovoltsy" fall to the share of Bolshevism. Professor Yendyk also bases his arguments on the opinion expressed by the well-known ideologist of Russian "nationalism", Nikolay Berdiayev, namely, in his work "Russkaya Ideya" ("The Russian Idea"), a book published in the year 1946, that is during the brief period in which Berdiayev was or claimed to be a "Sovietophil"! Berdiayev was a brilliant writer and an extremely interesting religious thinker, but it would be quite wrong to use his works as a scientific source.

In this respect the essay is thus a typical example of an experiment with inadequate means. It is true that Bolshevism and the doctrine and tactics of the Russian pre-Marxist revolutionaries of the 19th century have certain traits in common, but in Lenin's case it was not only the influence of Chernyshevsky which played a decisive part, but to a greater extent a kind of family tradition; for Lenin's elder brother, Alexander Ulyanov, was executed for participation in a plot organised by the "Narodovoltsy" to murder Tsar Alexander III.

And as regards the very controversial problem of the relationship of Leninism (Bolshevism) to "orthodox" Marxism, this can, of course, not be solved in such a simple way, namely by tracing Lenin's doctrine back to Chernyshevsky (or to Louis Blanc, Blanqui or Tkachov, for instance), as the author does.

At the end of the volume in question there are a number of excellent reviews on new German publication dealing with subjects pertaining to the Soviet Union and to recent Ukrainian history (as for instance "The Central Powers and Ukraine" by Hans Bayer, Munich 1957), as well as a comprehensive and informative article, "The Nations and the Kremlin", with the subtitle "Comments on Soviet Russian Press Reports". This article contains much interesting material of the kind which is frequently overlooked in the daily press, but also various exaggerations of a purely publicistic character. As regards Soviet Ukraine in particular, for instance, the fact that the high school entrance examination in Russian (for secondary school pupils who have been taught in Ukrainian) has been replaced solely by an oral test does not justify the conclusion drawn by the author, namely that "the government, under pressure of public opinion(!), is forced to curb the Russification process to a certain degree(!)". This is an example of optimism at any price and is hardly appropriate to a scientific compilation, especially not as the said examination facilitation is probably nothing but a purely technical measure. And, in any case, it is doubtful whether the publication of an informatory report with a publicistic comment can be regarded as belonging to the direct tasks of a press organ of the Independent Ukrainian Association for Research. And, incidentally, all the news items published in this report refer to the second half of 1957 and are thus, as far as information is concerned, quite out-of-date.

It is very regrettable that a number of errors have been overlooked in editing this volume; the Latin transcription of the East Slav proper names is not uniform in many cases (especially as regards V and W and also Y and J), whilst the capital of Galicia is sometimes called Lviv and sometimes Lemberg; the German text contains grammatical errors (on page 23 there are actually two such errors), whilst on page 30 the title of a work by Marx is, strange to say, given in the Latin transcription of the Ukrainian language (but with the inclusion of the purely Russian word "chteniya"). Such errors could easily be avoided, and, indeed, every effort should be made to avoid them.

What is most regrettable, however, is that no short (or even long) summaries in English are appended to the three essays in German.

V. D.

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MOSCOW AND THE UKRAINE 1918-1953. By Basil Dmytryshyn.

A Study of Russian Bolshevik Nationality Policy. Bookman Associates, New York, 1956 pp.

The thoughtful study of Soviet Russian theory and action in regard to Ukraine is a very valuable publication and was published for the purpose of better understanding the Soviet Russian nationality policy. The book should be welcomed by all those who would like to study the changes in the relations between Communist Russia and her neighbours enslaved by herself.

It is not true that Russia is an economic, political and cultural unity: it is rather a polyglot state consisting of 16 federated republics, many autonomous regions and political units. Ukraine constitutes the second largest republic of the Soviet Union; the Ukrainian territory is of prime strategic and economic importance for the Soviet Union. The publication contains a detailed and scholarly analysis of the Soviet Russian nationality policy as applied in their doctrine of self-determination to the national movements of various peoples inside the Soviet Union.

The author examines in Chapter I. the assertions that "the Communists alone defend the right of national self-determination and support the development of each minority; and that they, and they alone, have found the solution for national minorities within the framework of their own state often referred to as "a multinational state", "a voluntary federation of nationalities", "a voluntary unification of equal Soviet Socialist Republics", etc. A careful examination of the development of Communist views on the nationality problem not only annuls many of these self-satisfying assertions, but also points out that in Communist theoretical writings the national problem has gone and continues to go along the most zig-zagging path. Furthermore, a critical evaluation of numerous pronouncements the Communist leaders have made on the nationality problem indicates that these pronouncements, pregnant with high-sounding ideals, were nothing else but meaningless double talk, concealed in carefully chosen phraseology and intended to confuse, not to clarify, and to arrest, but never to solve the national problem.

In other chapters we find the description of the Soviet Russian reign of terror in Ukraine during which the Ukrainian cultural and political in-



dependence was destroyed by the Red Russian and the Ukrainian intellectuals were exiled to northern Russia or to Siberia where they perished in masses owing to hard conditions of life in the Soviet Russian concentration camps. Concessions to the Ukrainians were made only temporarily for the purpose of lulling into security the broad masses of the Ukrainian population. After such concessions there followed very hard repressive measures, e. g. the man-made hunger catastrophe in Ukraine in the thirties when millions of Ukrainians had to die by order from Moscow which intended to break the Ukrainian resistance in such a horrible way. In spite of these repressive measures the Ukrainians continue their liberation struggle against Moscow's enslavement of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) played a specially significant and important role in this bloody and deadly struggle between Ukraine and Russia.

In Chapter V the author stresses that "one of the most outstanding characteristics of the Russian Bolshevik nationality policy in Ukraine during the 1920's was the inability of the ruling Party to bring about a reconciliation between the centrifugal and the centripetal forces, and to satisfy the needs and demands of Ukrainian and Great Russian nationalism" (p. 122). "The existence of wide-spread tensions between Ukrainian and Russian nationalisms—between the city and village—was formally and officially acknowledged in a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on December 23, 1929, regarding the continuation of Ukrainisation" (p. 125).

On page 132 it reads as follows:

"In a discussion inaugurated by Stalin's treatment of the national problem, Skrypnyk, in lengthy speech, while pledging himself to persecute without mercy all elements with national feelings, blamed the Russians for the rebirth of Ukrainian nationalism. He complained that the declaration of the right of nations was for many Russians only a tactical manoeuvre, while for non-Russians it was the most important of documents."

Dmytryshyn underlines that "Ukraine has undergone great changes in all its phases of life. However, in spite of the many public assurances by high Party spokesmen of monolithic unity within the U.S.S.R., and of their asserted solution of the national problem, that problem still remains, and is one of the weakest pillars upon which the entire Soviet structure rests. In the present total ideological struggle between the Communist and the non-Communist worlds, the failure to win over the Ukrainians should not only be understood, but also fully exploited" (p. 252).

The author is right when he asserts that if national freedom is good for Indonesia, India, Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, and other former Western colonies—Soviet spokesmen have been quite vociferous on the issue—why is it not also good for Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Ukraine, Latvia, and for all peoples within the Communist orbit? Western cognizance or willingness to take careful note of the real national movements within the Communist orbit, which are constantly being denounced for the Western orientation, may yet prove to be a decisive factor in the Cold War.

The book is one of the best monographs written on Ukraine recently and is worth reading.

V. O.

**HORIZONS.** Ukrainian Students' Review. Published each semester by the Federation of the Ukrainian Student Organisations of America (SUSTA), Inc., Vol. II, Fall-Spring, 1956-1957, No. 1-2 (2-3), 124 pp.

As a rule, the second edition of a newly founded periodical usually proves to be more typical and characteristic of the periodical than the first edition which, in many cases, is mainly a show piece for publicity purposes. And this also seems to apply to this new New York students' organ\*), the aims and tasks of which are defined as follows in a "Statement of the Publisher" (i.e. of the Executive Board of the SUSTA), dated May 10, 1957:

"Proud of our Ukrainian heritage and at the same time eager to be truly useful and loyal citizens of the United States, we set ourselves the tasks which are both manifold and important. We can contribute to the better understanding of the menace of Bolshevism and thus render a service to both American security and the struggle of the Moscow-enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain. We are in the best position to promote the appreciation of the Ukrainian question in the American academic world, and in cooperation with other American students of East European descent we can do much to help our colleagues in this country as well as in other parts of the Free World to gain a better insight into the general East European problem."

In any case, the contents of this volume show that the co-workers of the periodical take their tasks very seriously and, for the most part, fulfil them successfully. It certainly was a good idea to begin this volume with a short and concise article by Oleh S. *Fedyshyn* ("Nationalism Reexamined"), which puts the conception of "nationalism"—so unpopular in the U.S.A., but absolutely essential for a correct comprehension of East European questions—in the right light, and does so with the help of such outstanding Anglo-Saxon sociologists as John A. Hobson and Carlton J. H. Hayes. It contrasts genuine and organic nationalism with imperialism, a "perverted nationalism", and in this way refutes the widespread opinion that nationalism in the first place combats internationalism: "Nationalism, i.e. the aspiration of peoples for national self-determination, should be viewed as an immediate, and internationalism as the ultimate objective. By "ultimate objective", I do not mean some vague ideal to be realised in the indefinite future. Believing in and working for peoples' self-determination wherever it is desired, we must simultaneously think of the next step—the establishment of an international order, but it must again be repeated that no genuine, just and lasting internationalism can be created without prior fulfilment of legitimate national aspirations of all those who crave for it. In this there can be no short cuts, and only these regional arrangements or even broader international projects which grew up organically on a voluntary basis can be regarded as a step in the right direction."

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\*) Editorial and Business Address: Horizons, P. O. Box 353—Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.

This conception, which, incidentally, tallies with the main theories of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), is very aptly defined and expounded in terms of actual history in the next article by Volodymyr Stoyko, entitled "The Principles of Self-Determination in Eastern Europe and Our Foreign Policy", in which the following conclusion is reached, namely, on the one hand, that "as for Eastern Europe, the times of big brotherism (or as the Russians call themselves—the elder brother) are gone, and the problem of national independence holds the key to many other problems of this area", and, on the other hand, that "a regional alliance of Eastern Europe, including Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries, would create a balancing force in the "heart-land", thus relieving the tension in Europe created by the Russian Empire and Germany"—and we should like to add, also by the chauvinistic megalomania of "Greater Poland".

Of the other articles contained in this volume, the following deal with the Soviet Union and its national policy as a whole: Jay B. Sorenson—"Behind Khrushchov's Smokescreen"; Vsevolod Holub—"The Language of Instruction: an Aspect of the Problem of Nationalities in the Soviet Union" (shows in a very convincing way that "as in many other fields, in this field too, the theory and practice are two different things in the Soviet Union"); Michael Pochtar—"IUS\*): a Tool of Moscow"; a separate national problem is dealt with very thoroughly and competently in the article by Frank R. Silbajoris—"Lithuanian Literature under the Soviets".

In all the above-mentioned articles, with the exception of the last two, Ukrainian questions are, of course, also discussed. Naturally, about half the total number of articles contained in this volume are devoted in particular to Ukrainian subjects. These are: "Some Information on the Higher Education in Ukraine Today" (by an anonymous author; a compilation of interesting statistics on the basis of the material of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., New York); Michael Luther—"Ukrainian National Activities in the Crimea in World War II" (of considerable historical value and partly based on manuscript material); Yaroslava Surmach—"Sketches of Kyiv" (the authoress, a Cooper Union graduate and now art editor, spent some time in the capital of Ukraine in August, 1956, and during her stay there noted some very interesting points); Arcadia Olensky-Petryshyn—"The Ukrainian Baroque" (this article is not particularly good, owing to the fact that it contains no illustrations, which would enable the reader to have a concrete picture of the subject matter); Iryna Fedyshyn—"Celebration of the Centenary of the Birth of Ivan Franko in Soviet Ukraine" (with a partly rhymed, but otherwise fairly exact translation of the "Prologue" to I. Franko's great epic "Moses"); "Association of Young Ukrainian Artists" (Notes on the Third Annual Exhibition, March 1957, at the Ukrainian Literary and Arts Club in New York City—with a number of interesting and excellent illustrations).

The subject of the educational system in the U.S.A. is dealt with in an article by Frank Wilhoit, entitled "American Land-Colleges and the Foreign Aid Program".

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\*) International Union of Students (founded in Prague in 1946).



The weakest part of the journal is the part devoted to Ukrainian literature. Belletristic prose, incidentally, is not dealt with at all. In his lengthy article—"Literature of Marginal Situations", Jurij A. Lavrinenko takes as the starting-point for his account of Ukrainian literature and the Bolshevik terrorist regime of the 1930's the paradoxical remark of O. Spengler that "in special circumstances the futility of sacrifice permits the individual to suspend his duty", and tries to justify the infamous grovelling to Stalin's knout from this questionable point of view. And the poems by P. Tychyna, T. Osmachka and E. Malaniuk which are quoted in this article are either inadequately translated (as in the case of the last-named poet—without rhyme, in spite of the fact that rhyme is in inseparable feature of Malaniuk's poetry), or else unfortunately selected and not characteristic enough of the poets in question. The literary section is, however, the only weak part of the whole publication.

V. D.

### RESOLUTION...

*(Continued from inside front cover.)*

Russian Bolsheviks being unable to break down the resistance of Ukraine, and especially of the Ukrainian peasants, organised collectivization, forced the entire peasantry into the collective farms, and besieged the whole Ukraine by a planned famine in the years 1932-33, as a result of which more than 6,000,000 of our brothers were let to starve to death. First, all bread and grain was taken away from the peasants, and then, watch-towers were built all-over Ukraine from which everyone was shot by the Communist guards if he dared to cut the ears of grain from his own, but collectivized land.

We appeal to the Free World to recall the victims of the Russian violence in Ukraine, the 6,000,000 men and women who were murdered by means of that planned and elaborate famine. And in the name of justice,

We protest against the "status quo" of a tacit acceptance of the Russian-Bolshevik terror in Ukraine by the governments of the so-called Free World;

We protest against any negation of the Ukrainian rights to sovereignty by anybody, any where, and at any time, and

We demand the condemnation of the Russian-Bolshevik genocide performed against the Ukrainian people in the years 1932-33, and the genocide which also to-day is going on;

We demand the recognition of the rights of our brothers to live in the state of their own, and have a government of their own choice, and

We demand that the United Nations defend the rights of all nations, and not only of those selected and privileged, being afraid of the international racketeers from the Kremlin, and

We demand also an assistance to be given to the Ukrainian independence movement by all nations of the world, because only through the political sovereignty of all, Communism can ever be defeated.

GOD SAVE UKRAINE!

New York-Newark, June 8, 1958.

## BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

### THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF MOSCOW'S FIFTH COLUMN IN UKRAINE

The Soviet press recently reported on a "worthy" celebration of the great "anniversary" of the important event in the life of the Ukrainian people,—the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In connection with these celebrations, the Department for Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Institute for Historical Research of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published a joint declaration, which made it clear that the Communist Party of Ukraine was established by Moscow as its Fifth Column in Ukraine and as an instrument of Red Russian occupation of Ukraine. The First Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, so it was pointed out in the said declaration, took place in Moscow from July 5 to 12th, 1918, and was headed by genuine Russians, together with some Ukrainian traitors, who served as a camouflage for future Red Russian plans in Ukraine. The Communist Party of Ukraine was not even independent in its organized form, but merely a branch of the "unique Russian Communist Party" that had to approve the resolutions adopted at all congresses of the Russian Communist Party and submit to all directives (generally political) of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. As far as Moscow was

concerned, the formation of the Communist Party of Ukraine was necessary in order to camouflage the Red aggression directed against the Ukrainian state. The resolutions of the Russian Communist Congress stress that the Communist Party of Ukraine will pursue the "further strengthening" of the friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples and the union of Ukraine with Russia on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Just as 40 years ago, the enemy of the Communist Party of Ukraine was not Moscow that waged an aggressive war against the Ukrainian state, but the bourgeois nationalist Ukrainian Central Council (Tsentralna Rada), as was stated in the above-mentioned declaration, so, too, at present, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are allegedly the most obstinate enemies of the Ukrainian people and, in fact, of all peoples of the Soviet Union. The most important task of the Communist Party of Ukraine is to combat all manifestations of the "reactionary bourgeois ideology", and, above all, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism; in addition, the Communist Party of Ukraine must do its share towards bringing about a "thorough strengthening of the brotherly union of Soviet Ukraine with Soviet Russia".

In our opinion no comment is needed as regards the nature and role of the Communist Party of Ukraine: it is a hostile foreign body that was intentionally implanted in the Ukrainian organism by Moscow.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE  
ANNIVERSARY "THESES"

The Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, recently issued a point statement which was published in the "Radyanska Ukrayina", of June 4, 1958, pp. 2-3, under the title "Fortieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Communist Party of Ukraine." This statement, which appeared as part of the campaign to mark and celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, speaks of an alleged unity of Ukrainian and Russian Communism, and suggests that the Ukrainian people have always striven for unity with Russia. The Ukrainian struggle for independence is either ignored or decried as "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism".

Even official Soviet sources, however, admit that during the pre-revolutionary period there were deep cleavages between the Russian and non-Russian social-democrats (Communists) in the Russian empire. The former, under the leadership of Lenin, aimed at unification of all the non-Russians in a single centralized Russian Communist party, the latter at establishment of separate parties of non-Russian nations ("VKP (b) v rezolutsiyakh i risheniyakh z'yizdiv, konferentsiy i plenumiv TsK", No. 1, 1898-1925, published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, 1941, p. 191).

Western students point to differences between Russian and non-Russian Communists for the same reasons during the revolution. For example, Ukrainian Communists demanded the founding of a Ukrainian Communist Party independent of the Russian Communist Party and recognition of complete Ukrainian independence (Richard Pipes: "The Formation of the Soviet Union", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, pp. 131-132).

Only as a temporary measure did the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party agree in May 1918 to recognize the independence of the Ukrainian Communist Party, but this promise was subsequently broken (N. O. Skrypnyk, "Rech na XI s'ezde RKP (b), stenographicheskyy otchet po byulleteniyam s'ezda", Kyiv, 1922, pp. 45-46).

Opposing trends also appeared at the time of the preparations of the establishment of the U.S.S.R. in 1922, when the Ukrainian and Georgian Communists demanded the formation of a union of equal Communist states and the Russians a single centralized union state (Walter Kolarz: "Russia and her Colonies", London, 1952, p. 128).

These antagonisms have not disappeared, but, on the contrary, have grown even more acute during the past thirty years, in which Moscow has conducted purges in the non-Russian republics of the U.S.S.R. under the motto of a fight against local separatist trends in the local Communist parties. The Ukrainians in particular have constantly been accused of a desire to sever Ukraine from Russia. And accusations of this kind are also made against leading



Ukrainian Communists named in the above-mentioned statement, such as O. Shumsky, M. Skrypnyk, and others.

This same statement alleges that the Ukrainian state came into being thanks to the help of Communist Moscow. But it was the Council of the People's Commissars under Lenin that began an aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1917. In the elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly of November 1917, the Ukrainian parties united in the Central Rada at that time received over 5 million votes, whereas the Communists only received 859,000 votes in Ukraine (Oliver Henry Radkey: "The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 79).

The statement makes no mention whatever of the fact that compulsory collectivization claimed over 5 million Ukrainian peasants as its victims and that during the 1930's thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals were liquidated on charges of "Ukrainian nationalism", among them thousands of Ukrainian Communists, too.\*)

\*) These arguments are taken from the Information Bulletin "Prologue". Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press, Vol. II. No. 9, July 1958.

#### THE KRASNOZNAMYANSKY CANAL

Construction of the Krasnoznamyansky Canal was recently completed. The water from the Kakhivka Basin will in future flow through this canal, thus irrigating the dry tracts of the Ukrainian southern Tauric region (north of Crimea on the coast of the Black Sea).

#### UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM FEARED

At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine which was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the existence of this party in Ukraine, the main lecture was delivered by the First Secretary of the Party, M. V. Podgorny. After drawing attention to the various economic and cultural achievements of Ukraine during these forty years, Podgorny stressed the necessity of intensifying the fight against Ukrainian nationalism. Emphasizing the "friendship" between the Russians and Ukrainians, he said that the Ukrainian nationalists continued to be most violent enemies of the Soviet Union and of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Party and the Communist Youth, he added, must combat Ukrainian nationalism in every field—political, cultural and economic.

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In July this year, current issues of the following Ukrainian periodicals were published: "Vitchyzna" ("The Fatherland"), "Zhovten" ("October"), "Prapor" ("The Flag"), "Dnipro", "Sovetskaya Ukrayina" ("Soviet Ukraine"), and "Vsesvit" ("The Universe"). The leading articles in all these issues deal with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the existence of the Communist Party of Ukraine. An intensified fight against the Ukrainian nationalists is urged, since the latter are allegedly the most dangerous instigators of a war on the part of the West against the U.S.S.R.

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A Party meeting of the writers of Kyiv was held there recently for the purpose of discussing preparations for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Communist Party in Ukraine. The Party speakers demanded that the Ukrainian writers should produce literary works reflecting the struggle of the Communist Party in Ukraine against the Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalists and depicting scenes in the Red Russian Communist struggle for the occupation of Ukraine.

#### OPERA FOUND NOT HARMFUL

In accordance with a decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. on February 10, 1948, the opera "Bohdan Khmelnytsky" was declared to have been written under Ukrainian nationalist influence; it was further stressed that for this reason the opera was to be regarded as bourgeois-nationalist in trend. It is interesting to note that this opera was censored personally by Stalin and that the writer Korniytchuk was compelled to re-write the libretto. On the strength of a decree of the same Central Committee on May 28, 1958, A. Korniytchuk has now been rehabilitated as regards his opera. It was stated in this decree that the former condemnation of the opera was due to bad influences of Stalin, Molotov and Beria. The decree also recommended the newspaper "Pravda" to publish a special editorial article for the purpose of publicly rehabilitating Korniytchuk, since—it was pointed out—the Union of Writers must furnish an appropriate explanation of all other writers, composers and artists.

#### NO REHABILITATION

An article which appeared some time ago in the magazine "Vitchyzna", under the title "About A Certain 'Blank Space' In The History Of Our Theatre", made a feeble attempt to rehabilitate the most prominent Ukrainian theatre-director of the 1920's, Les Kurbas, who was liquidated in the 1930's as a "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist". On April 10, 1958, a meeting of the Presidium of the Association of Writers of Ukraine sharply criticized the said article in "Vitchyzna". Speeches for the prosecution were delivered by the writers V. Buryak and M. Bazhan. The same meeting also issued a report on the new editorial staff of "Vitchyzna", omitting the names of the chief editor, O. Poltoratsky, and A. Malyshko, who was subjected to criticism last year. Both have been appointed to the editorial board of the new magazine "Vsesvit" ("The Universe"), which is to be devoted entirely to a study of the external cultural relations of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

#### COMMUNIST ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED WITH MUSIC

To mark the 40th anniversary of the first congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which was forced on Ukraine by Red Moscow and is, therefore, nothing but a branch of the Red Russian Communist Party, a "Decade of Music Festival" was recently held in Kyiv. This Festival, the subject of which was so-called Ukrainian Soviet music, was organized by the Union of Soviet Ukrainian composers, the Central Park of Culture and Recovery and the Ukrainian Republican Philharmonic ensemble. The Festival ended on June 17th.

## THE FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM

*E. Simonian*, a student of Philosophical Science and the author of the article "The Reactionary Essence of Revisionism" ("Radyanska Ukraïna", of April 17, 1958, pp. 3-4), affirms that revisionism is the greatest threat to the Communist movement in countries of the "Socialist Bloc". He places an equation sign between "revisionism", "bourgeois nationalism" and "national Communism". This manner of grouping these three trends is significant when published in the Soviet Ukrainian press. Moscow has persistently labelled all forms of the Ukrainian liberation movement and aspirations to freedom as "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". As regards "national Communism", its roots in Ukraine reach back as far as 1918. Even then, Ukrainian Communists protested against Moscow's interference in the domestic affairs of Ukraine and demanded what is now known as "a separate national road to socialism".

## BILL AGAINST "PARASITES"

Following the example of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), a decree was issued in the Ukrainian S.S.R. on May 28, 1958, in accordance with which the measures to combat anti-social and parasitic elements are to be intensified. According to the said decree, all persons who pretend to work, but are actually not obliged to work because they derive their income from some suspicious source or other, are to be regarded as anti-social and parasitic elements, since they are not useful to socialist society. The decree stipulates that these elements should be sentenced by

"general tribunals" of the population to exile in concentration camps for a period of two to five years.

On the strength of this bill, which was proposed by a Commission of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R., the civic meetings in the Ukrainian towns and villages will be able to pass judgment on anti-social and parasitic elements and deport them for a period of two to five years. The category of anti-social and parasitic elements includes persons who shirk work and are a burden on the social life of Ukraine, since they live "on the account of the toiling masses", as well as persons who are fit to work, but are no use either to the family or the community. The sentences passed on such persons become valid when they have been approved by a district executive committee or by the municipality.

This bill will merely serve as a pretext to deport political opponents. A new wave of terrorism will be started in Ukraine under the guise of a struggle against "anti-social and parasitic elements". And the victims of these new persecutions will undoubtedly be the patriotic Ukrainians who have returned from distant concentration camps and are neither employed nor permitted to remain in Ukrainian territory.

ALARMING STATE OF AFFAIRS IN  
NATURE PROTECTION

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R. have issued a joint decree regarding the "Improvement of the Protection of Nature in the Ukrainian S.S.R.". It is stressed in this decree that the utilisation of



the natural resources of Ukraine and their protection are extremely unsatisfactory and inadequate. Numerous enterprises, Soviet and collective farms neglect and waste the natural resources of Ukraine, a fact which has led to their decrease and decay. (This decrease and decay was caused by the ruthless exploitation of Ukraine on the part of Moscow, —translator's note.) The decree states that counter-measures must be adopted accordingly, in order to put a stop to this state of affairs.

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#### RECORDS OF A UKRAINIAN SINGER NOT AVAILABLE

The miners of the town of Stalino recently sent a petition to the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian S.S.R. asking why records of the famous Ukrainian singer, Solomeya Krushelnytska, are never broadcast. It was pointed out in this petition that it should not be difficult to procure records of this singer, since she appeared in operas in Rome, Paris, Milan, Berlin and Warsaw. The miners stressed that many theatres of the world were proud of Madame Krushelnytska, and added that records of Chaliapin (Russian singer,—translator's note) were constantly being broadcast by Red Russian stations, but "our Ukrainian nightingale has been forgotten—for what reasons we do not know". They further demand that a book should be written on Salomeya Krushelnytska and that it should be published on the occasion of the 85th anniversary of her birthday, on September 23, 1958.

#### SPECIAL PERIODICAL TO COMBAT UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

According to reports in the Ukrainian Communist press, a new periodical called "Vsesvit" ("The Universe") has now begun to appear in Kyiv since July. The aim and purpose of this journal is to give an account of the external cultural relations of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and to "explain all the processes that take place among the Ukrainian emigrant groups abroad and to expose the traitorous, venal activity of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists".

The influence of "bourgeois nationalism" in Ukraine is apparently so dangerous that the Soviet Russian propaganda disseminated hitherto in the form of pamphlets, novels, etc., is now proving inadequate and ineffective and the Russian Communists have decided to conduct a systematic fight against the Ukrainian nationalists.

#### PUBLIC CATERING IN UKRAINE ENTIRELY INADEQUATE

In its edition of June 3rd this year, the newspaper "Radyanska Ukrayina" ("Soviet Ukraine") reports that there are at present about 23,000 restaurants, refreshment rooms, tea-rooms and cafés in Ukraine; but they can serve only 640,000 persons and are, therefore, unable to meet the needs of the Ukrainian population. Even in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, public catering is inadequate, and in the Crimea (in the health resorts) the situation is even worse.

In some of the larger towns of Ukraine, such as Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Lviv and Mykolayiv, for instance, huge restaurants have been opened which more or less resemble factory canteens.

## MOSCOW THEATRE VISITS KYIV

For the purpose of promoting the exchange of cultural ideas with the Russian "elder brother", a company of Russian actors from the Miaskowski Theatre in Moscow have recently been giving a number of performances, including "Hamlet" and the "Far Road", in Kyiv. The performances take place in the Franko Theatre there.

## INVASION ROUTE RE-TRACED

A military-historical expedition from Lviv has started tracing the route of the first cavalry army in 1920. The expedition consists of officers of the reserves, former officers of the cavalry army, members of the Military-Scientific Society of the Carpathian military district, assistants of the Central Museum of the Soviet Russian army and of the Historical Museum of Lviv. The expedition started its research in the Central Ukrainian town of Uman and completed it in Lviv.

At a meeting of the secretaries of the Communist youth organisation in the Western districts of Ukraine, which was held a short time ago, the questions discussed included the urgent necessity of improving the ideological and political education of Ukrainian youth and the employment of Communist youth in the collective farms. It was decided to raise the ideological and political level of the education of Communist youth and to try to eliminate the "destructive" bourgeois ideology that infiltrated into the Western districts of Ukraine from the "capitalist" West.

## LITERATURE AND IDEOLOGY

In the scientific session dealing with the development of the humanities in Ukraine, which was held in May this year, the academician O. I. Biletsky stressed in his report that Soviet literary science owes its successful development solely to dialectical and historical materialism, which is ruthlessly combatting Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalism, since the latter's recidivism is especially marked in the humanities. According to Biletsky, the problem of literary theory in Ukraine has so far not been gone into thoroughly; to elaborate this problem would, in his opinion, help to combat successfully revisionism, vulgar sociology, formalism and bourgeois nationalist influences in the literature of Ukraine, which is under Soviet control.

## SCIENTISTS CONVENE

A special training course for lecturers of astronomy, physics and mathematics was held recently in the town of Mykolayiv. Scientists from the following Ukrainian districts took part in this course: Mykolayiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Stalino, Crimea, Odessa, Kherson, Zaporizha, Kirovohrad and Luhansk. Lectures on the following subjects were held during the training course: "The role of mathematics in the life of man today", "Scientific research through the medium of artificial earth satellites", "Materialism and empiric criticism". After the lectures, reports were read on the work of various astronomy, mathematics and physics sections of the Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Science among the population.

### CONFERENCE OF UKRAINIAN SLAVISTS

The first Conference of Ukrainian Slavists closed in Kyiv on June 5th. It was dedicated to Ukrainian relations with other Slavic nations. According to the "Radyanska Ukrayina" of June 6, 1958 (p. 4), the Conference dealt in sections with the contacts of Ukrainian literature with the literature of Bulgaria, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Serbo-Croatia. A resolution was adopted on the furtherance of the development of Slavistics in the Republic.

### PHILADELPHIA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA VISIT

The "Ukrainian Friends of Music" in Kyiv recently had an opportunity to meet American artists—the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, with its conductor, Leopold Stokowski. Stokowski, as is generally known, is a friend of Russia and a determined propagandist of the Russian classical period in music and also of contemporary Soviet Russian composers. Only Russian works were performed by the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra during its visit in Kyiv.

### NORTH KOREANS IN KYIV

Artists from North Korea recently arrived in South Crimea for the purpose of "strengthening friendly relations" with the Ukrainian population. The artists from the Far East were welcomed at Gurzuf by representatives of the Communist Party and of the Russian trade unions. They will remain in the Crimea for 6 weeks and will paint landscapes of the Black Sea and the Crimean coast.

### PARAMILITARY TRAINING

A competition for the radio friends of the so-called Voluntary Society for the Propagation of the Army, Air Force and Navy (a para-military organisation of the U.S.S.R.) was recently held in Simferopol (Crimea). The competitors were set the task of tracking down secret broadcasting stations known as "foxes". Thirty members of the regional radio clubs of the above society, comprising 11 districts of Ukraine, took part in the competition. "Hunting the foxes" was carried out by means of portable wireless sets constructed by the competitors themselves for this purpose. The secret transmitters operated on wave-lengths of 2 metres, 7.5 metres and 80 metres. The purpose of this type of competition is to train participators for military operations in the event of war.

### RELIGION AND NATIONALISM ATTACKED

The newspaper "Radyanska Kultura" ("Soviet Culture"), No. 45, of June, 1958, reports that the Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge in Ukraine has published a special set of books for the purpose of *propagating atheism*. All clubs and collective farms in Soviet Ukraine are to receive copies of this set of books in the course of this year, for the purpose of reading them aloud among the broad masses of the Ukrainian population.

A meeting of the secretaries of the provincial district committees of the Ukrainian Communist youth organization was recently held in



the West Ukrainian provinces. The main lecture was given by the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist youth organization, Mozgovoy. He stressed the necessity of intensifying the ideological education of Ukrainian youth in the Communist spirit and urged the delegates to combat Ukrainian nationalism in the West Ukrainian territories and, in fact, all over Ukraine with greater perseverance than was hitherto the case. In particular, he drew attention to the fact that Ukrainian youth is susceptible to the influence of Western culture, which is supported both directly and indirectly by Ukrainian nationalism.

At the beginning of June this year, the play "A Guest From The Other World" was performed at the Ukrainian Franko Theatre in Kyiv. This play was written by the scientist and Party member, Harkusha. Incidentally, Harkusha was awarded an academic degree for his works, the aim and purpose of which is to combat Ukrainian nationalism and also the Americans. The above-mentioned play tries to explain the relationship between so-called American imperialism and Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalism. The Soviet Russian press has advised the theatres in Ukraine to perform this play, since it is a work which explains the cooperation of the Ukrainian nationalists with the American Intelligence Service and reveals the plans of the U.S.A. to occupy and colonize Ukraine.

\* \* \*

## UKRAINE AT THE BRUSSELS WORLD FAIR

Ukraine does not appear as a separate exhibitor at the Brussels World Fair, as her exhibits are displayed in the pavilion of the U.S.S.R. But Ukraine's contribution to the exhibition is, nevertheless, very significant.

The following are excerpts from an article by P. Y. Rozenko, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Board of the Ministerial Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R.: "To the World Fair" ("Nauka i Zhyttya", No. 4, April 1958, pp. 11-13):

"Ukrainian mechanical engineering is also represented by models of powerful excavators, models of locomotives, motor cranes, motor scrapers, electric hoists, transformers, compressors, the latest types of precision machines, bicycles, motor cycles, motion picture and photographic cameras and other products of general use."

"Visitors to the Fair will see a model of the long-range locomotive TE-7 made by the Malyshev Transportation Machinery Works in Kharkiv, as well as a model of a six-axle all-metal open freight car with a loading capacity of 93 tons, made by the Kryukiv Car Works in Poltava province."

"Among the models of other important industries, we should also like to mention the model of the turbine-propelled passenger aircraft "Ukrayina", constructed by O. K. Antonov."

"Various scientific research institutes and construction bureaus of our Republic exhibit numerous tools and instruments made by special plants for manufacturing instruments,—as for instance, precision

thermometers for various temperatures, calorimeters, potentiometers, optical pyrometers, etc."

"The production of the motion picture industry is represented by models from Kyiv and Odessa. The "Kinodetal" Works in Kyiv exhibits projectors for panoramic films, a panoramic film phonograph and other samples of its products. The Odessa "Kinap" Works has produced a perforated screen of special material for the motion picture theatre of the Soviet Pavilion at the Fair and a travelling theatre "Ukrayina"..."

"Ukrainian textile manufacturers have sent many samples of their products to Brussels. Beautiful fabrics are on display, for instance, from the Kyiv and Darnytsya silk works."

"The Kyiv Spinning and Weaving Mill exhibits 10 samples of cotton fabrics in a check design. This plant, incidentally, is the only one in the Soviet Union which makes Ukrainian national fabrics..."

"In preparing exhibits for the Brussels Fair particular attention was paid to the arrangement of costume exhibits. This problem was first worked out by Lviv and Kyiv modelling houses with the help of artists from a number of enterprises. The Lviv modelling house engaged national artists for this task, who took part in the work of embroidering and weaving national fabrics. We should like to point out that these products, in the opinion of the official commission for the selection of exhibits, occupy a leading place among the exhibits of the Soviet republics."

"Over 40 enterprises of the light industry in the Republic took part in the preparation of exhibits for

the Brussels Fair, the total number of exhibits sent being 650."

"Products of the food industry are on display in a large and lavish assortment: Ukrainian fish and fruit preserves, various well-known brands of wines, including the world-famous "Massandra" wines of the Crimea, liqueurs and cordials, tobaccos and cigarettes."

"Beautiful tableware, vases and other faience products are shown at the Fair by the Kyiv Experimental Artistic Ceramic Works, as well as by the Baranivsky and Vasylykivsky Ceramic Works. Samples of exquisite glassware are shown by the Kyiv Thermo-Glass Works."

"Ukraine has long been famous for its national art and handicrafts. In the provinces of Poltava, Trans-Carpathia, Polissya, Dnipro and Bukovyna, thousands of national artists produce embroideries, wood-carvings, etc. Their original products are also shown at the Brussels Fair, where visitors will see articles made of horn and bone, samples of ceramics, wood-carvings and various kinds of artistic embroidery. The industrial cooperatives of the "Ukrkhudozhpromsoyuz", whose exhibits were awarded a gold medal at the Paris World Exhibition in 1937 and also received prizes at the World Youth Festival in Warsaw, likewise exhibit their well-known products at the Brussels Fair."

"The Soviet Union will also give proof of its achievements in stage art at the Fair. Among other artistic teams, the Ukrainian State National Choir is also going to Brussels and will acquaint visitors to the Fair with the vivid and original art of the Ukrainian people..."

## NEW OIL WELLS IN UKRAINE

P. Nadyozhyn, director of the Bureau of Geology and Conservation of Minerals, of the Ministerial Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R., recently published an article entitled "New Sources" in the "Robitnycha Hazeta", of May 18, 1958, p. 2. The following are excerpts from this article:

"During the post-war period Ukrainian geologists have discovered new lodes of manganese, iron ore, hard coal, mercury and sulphur, as well as sources of oil, gas and other valuable deposits. In this way, the raw material resources of the republic have increased very considerably, and new branches of industry have come into existence for gas, titanium, natural sulphur, nickel and bauxite. The mining of coal in new districts, as for instance in Lviv-Volyn and the Western Donbas, and the raising of petroleum in the areas of Stanislav and Poltava, have also been made possible..."

"The Bureau of Geology and Conservation of Minerals attached to the Ministerial Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R. has been put in charge of all geological research trusts and expeditions of the various Ministries and Bureaus. This reorganization of the geological service makes it possible to concentrate more means and more personnel on research work concerned with the most important minerals..."

"During the past two years, oil experts engaged in research work have ascertained that the Dolyna and Bytkiv oil fields are the largest in Sub-Carpathia and in all Ukraine and can, in fact, be regarded as a "second Baku". Furthermore, the largest source of natural gas has been discovered in Rudky (Droho-

bych province in Sub-Carpathia) and has been put to industrial use. New gas sources have also been discovered in Kokhanivka in Lviv province and in Zaluske near Mukachiv in Trans-Carpathia. Oil was struck in Kokhanivka in April, 1958."

"In the eastern provinces of Ukraine the existence of fairly large reserves of natural gas has been confirmed in the largest field of the Ukrainian S.S.R.—Shebelynka. The "Ukrskhidnaftrozvidka" trust discovered new oil and gas wells in Zachepylivka and Chornukhy in Poltava province and in Kochanivske in Sumy province, in 1957. In January and February this year, this trust struck oil in Kybysynsk, and gas in Bilske in Poltava province. The "Ukrnafthasrozvidka" trust struck oil in March, during a trial drilling, in the Bryhadirovsk field, Kharkiv province. During structural drilling in search of hard coal, liquid oil was found in a belt stretching for 450 kilometres, from Pavlohrad near Dnipropetrovsk to Boryspol, 30 kilometres from Kyiv. Geophysical research indicates fields near Nizhyn and Pryluki in Chernihiv province, where deep drilling should be carried out experimentally as soon as possible. It has thus been ascertained that the vast area of the Dniipro-Donets Basin and of the eastern section of the Donbas, from Luhansk to Chernihiv, is a new gas and oil province."

"In addition, a series of geological data indicate that the Black Sea coastal basin area from Izmail in the west to Osypenko in the east might also contain large sources of oil and gas."

"Prospecting for oil and gas is to continue in the areas of Stanislav, Lviv, Kharkiv, Kyiv, Luhansk, Stalino, Kherson and Odessa."



## DEPORTATIONS CONTINUE

The newspaper "Selskoye Khozyaystvo" ("Agriculture"), No. 135, 1958, reports that the deportation of the Ukrainian population to the virgin lands of Kazakhstan continues unabated. During the month of May this year, a large number of Ukrainians were deported from the Ternopil region to the area of Aktyubinsk. At the beginning of June, 1958, Ukrainian families were sent to Kustanay. In July, 1958, 1,042 Ukrainian families from the Kyiv and Stanislaviv areas were to be deported to Kazakhstan.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Ministerial Council of the Soviet Union have approved a new decree on the "further extension and acceleration of the efforts aimed at control of the Hungry Desert in the Uzbek, Kazakh and Tadzhik Republics".

Further contingents of young persons from Caucasia, Byelorussia and Ukraine will thus be sent to these regions throughout 1958, since a railway-line from Djetisay-Arnasay is to be constructed there by 1962, as well as numerous channels for the purpose of irrigating the desert. In addition, a few collective cotton farms are being set up. All the young persons sent to work in the Hungry Desert will be obliged to remain there permanently.

## PLAN TO INCREASE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN UKRAINE FAILS

On May 27th this year, a conference dealing with the plan to increase agricultural products in Ukraine took place in Kyiv. It was attended by representatives of the administrative, economic and Party apparatus: the secretaries of the regional Party committees and leading functionaries of the regional agricultural and producer organs, representatives of the milk and meat industry, of the Derzhplan (State Planning Commission), of the ministries of agriculture and grain production, and of other organization of the Republic. In a lecture on the above-mentioned question, the first deputy of the Prime Minister of Ukraine, M. M. Guryeyev, stressed that the quotas which had been fixed in the plan to increase agricultural and also milk production had by no means been fulfilled satisfactorily (only 55 per cent were fulfilled). A number of districts, he added, had delivered less milk during the first four months of this year than during the same period last year.

More milk, he said, could be obtained from the Crimea and more meat from the areas of Kyiv and Ternopil. But the people of Ukraine are unwilling to supply milk and meat in such quantities as formerly to cover the needs of the Russian population, since Ukraine is compelled to starve owing to the fact that the Red Russian occupants deprive the country of its milk and meat production.

## UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

### THE APPOINTMENT OF THE REV. IVAN PRASHKO TO THE APOSTOLIC EXARCHATE IN AUSTRALIA

The Pope has appointed the Rev. Ivan Prashko, who was hitherto a minister of the archbishopric of Melbourne, to the office of Apostolic Exarch, and, at the same time, has ordained him a bishop. Bishop Prashko was born in Zbarazh in Eastern Galicia and studied theology in Lviv (Lemberg) and in Rome. After World War II he looked after the spiritual welfare of the Ukrainian refugees in Italy. In March 1950, he went to Australia, where he held office as a priest of the Ukrainian Catholics.

### PROF. Y. RUDNYTSKY—PRESIDENT OF THE CANADIAN LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

Professor Yaroslav Rudnytsky of the University of Manitoba was elected President of the Canadian Linguistic Association at the annual convention of the Association, which was held in Edmonton from June 12 to June 14th this year. This Association numbers over 300 linguists from various Canadian universities and scientific societies outside Canada.

The Association was founded in Winnipeg in 1954. Since then, three annual conferences have been held, —at Toronto, Ottawa and Edmonton. The first President of the Association was Professor A. Alexander of Queen's University, Kingston; Professor Gaston Dulong of Laval University, Quebec, was the second President.

During this year's convention a number of lectures were held on various subjects. The lecturers included three Ukrainians: Dr. O. Starchuk from Edmonton, Prof. Y. Rudnytsky from Winnipeg, and Mr. P. Zvarych from Vegreville, Alberta.

### UKRAINIANS TAKE PART IN CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

British Columbia is this year celebrating its 100th anniversary, and all the ethnical groups there, including the Ukrainians, are taking part in the celebrations.

A special committee has been entrusted with the task of organizing the centenary celebrations in Vancouver.

In keeping with the arrangement of the centenary celebrations, the Ukrainians have commemorated their greatest national poet and writer, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861).

In addition, the following Ukrainian celebrations have also been arranged, to take place during the year:

"Ukrainian National Week" from June 29th to July 6th, which included speeches and lectures, etc., on the radio and television, a general exhibition of Ukrainian art, theatrical performances, and, finally, a concert of Ukrainian songs, music and dances.

On Sunday, September 7th, the committee plans to arrange a Ukrainian Day with a programme which will be an expression of Ukrainian national life in general in British Columbia and will commemorate the arrival of the first Ukrainian pioneers in Canada.

The celebrations held so far by the Ukrainian ethnical group were attended by important guests from Ottawa and Victoria, the municipality of the town of Vancouver, from the University of British Columbia, and also by Ukrainian scientific, cultural, artistic and political representatives.

#### DEMONSTRATION OF THE "AMERICAN FRIENDS OF A.B.N." AGAINST MENSHIKOV IN PHILADELPHIA

During the noon hours of June 11th, Americans of Central and East European descent held big demonstrations in Philadelphia against the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., Michael Menshikov, who was visiting the town and was invited to a luncheon at the Sheraton Hotel by Mayor R. Delwort. The demonstrators carried banners inscribed with watchwords against Russian imperialism and for the liberation

of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Newspaper and television reporters interviewed the demonstrators, and reports and pictures of the demonstrations appeared in the papers the same evening. Other pictures taken of the demonstrations by television reporters were televised.

A similar demonstration took place the same evening in front of Convention Hall, where the Moyseyev Soviet Ballet gave a performance which Menshikov also attended. The demonstrators welcomed the Bolshevik envoy with placards and choruses shouted in unison. In addition, over 7,000 leaflets were distributed amongst those who were going to attend the performance of the ballet. A large number of anti-Communist papers and publications on the fight of the subjugated peoples were also distributed. Menshikov had to be protected by a whole cordon of police cars.

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### EMENDATION

In the report on the Conference of the World's Anti-Communist Organizations in Mexico City (see "U.R.", Vol. V, No. 2, p. 75-77) an unfortunate omission occurred which we wish to correct. It should be added, namely, that among the Organizations participating in the Conference was the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the co-ordinating centre of numerous Ukrainian American associations. The U.C.C.A. was represented by its delegate Mr. Walter Dushnyck who is also Chief Editor of the "Ukrainian Quarterly", the well-known English language journal dealing with Ukrainian affairs, published in the U.S.A.





*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



**IV**

**LONDON  
1958**

# UKRAINE



Ukrainian ethnographic territory

Boundaries of Soviet republics and territories

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by

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Yuriy Klen

From

**"THE ACCURSED YEARS"**

Let us now pray for those war flung in prison,  
Who sail across a sea of stormy pain,  
For those who suffer tyranny's oppression,  
Who search for paths of sunlight, search in vain,  
For those entombed in snowdrifts, though still living,  
Never to find a homeward path again.  
Over them, Lord, enthroned in heavenly splendour,  
Spread wide your hands, all-merciful and tender.

Let us now pray for those who were not granted  
The privilege to look upon the light,  
All those who in my thoughts cannot be counted;  
For all whose hearths have been destroyed by spite,  
Who, without pity, have been flung in prison,  
That gladness should not bloom for their delight.  
Lord, with your gentle fingers' cool caress,  
Relieve them from their torment and distress.

Let us now pray for those who die in exile,  
Torn violently from their native homes,  
And pray for those who, in the night, despairing,  
Bite iron prison-bars to still their moans,  
Who, in unspeakable torment, hide their sorrow,  
Those whom the hang-man leads away to doom.  
Over them, Lord, enthroned in heavenly splendour,  
Spread wide your hands, all-merciful and tender.



Let us now pray for those who have not strength  
Within themselves to venture into strife,  
For all, whom evil fortune, sharp as death,  
Has bowed under a heavy yoke of grief,  
Who from pain's brimming chalice take their draught,  
Thus glorifying their unhappy life;  
For bards, who, for their bread and tea, will sell  
Pæans, where they write "Paradise" for "Hell."

For their unhappy fate, perhaps, is worst:  
The grip of strangers' hands they glorify,  
But when alone, their breasts breathe more at ease:  
When fragrant breezes waft their brows at night,  
In secret they give rhyme to drunken verse,  
Where sunshine weeps... then toss it in the fire.  
The world will never hear them: in these verses,  
The spring-time whimpers, and the spirit freezes.

So let us now pray earnestly for all,  
Whom stern fate will not comfort in their grief,  
Doomed to know neither ecstasy nor joy,  
For all whom mill-stones crush with heedless spite,  
Whose laughter died, throat-stifled by a cry,  
Whose clouded days seem only blackest nights.  
Lord, leave them not in darkness, o make haste,  
And bless their path across the desert waste.

Translated from Ukrainian by Vera Rich.

*Slava Stetzko*

## **The Way Out of the Atomic War Dilemma**

Before we tackle the main point of the present article we have to admit that one of the most important questions of our historical era is neglected by the majority of Western statesmen, namely, the national state principle, for the validity and recognition of which a huge number of peoples are fighting. This attitude which can be described as indifference is manifested at a time when national liberation movements all over the world are tearing asunder, with invincible strength, the golden or iron fetters imposed on them.

In the U.S.S.R. this process is about to destroy the peoples' prison from within. It is a process which is reflected in the literature, art, science and economy as well as in the cultural and everyday life of these peoples. Complaints are voiced in the Soviet press daily about the alleged "bourgeois nationalist" opposition. The insurgent forces such as the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) or the "Basmachi" in Turkestan came to be known all over the world as national liberation organizations. It is clear that independent, sovereign, integral states are the aim of the present fight.

And yet, certain circles in the West refuse to acknowledge this fact and obstinately continue to pursue the phantom of the preservation of the Russian imperium in the age of the inevitable decay of old empires, and actually go so far as to virtually support the contradictory thesis that the Russian imperium, the most barbaric imperium with the worst form of tyranny that has ever existed, should be an exception to the rule.

It is a fact that the national liberation idea is gaining more and more ground. Even the Bolsheviks cunningly support the national idea outside their own sphere of domination, though in reality, of course, they are its greatest enemies and liquidate the champions of this idea in a most ruthless manner. At the same time, the official circles in the West keep silent about the national problems in the Bolshevik Russian sphere.

Nevertheless, there are several positive starting-points. Even according to the point of view of the most indifferent Westerner, all the Baltic States and all the satellite countries should become independent once again, since *the second World War was conducted against Germany for them, too*. Ukraine and Byelorussia have been formally admitted to the UN. It may thus obviously be assumed that their right to independence has been recognized. After a victory over Bolshevism has been achieved, they will not easily be excluded from the UN, seeing that their right to be members of this organization has been recognized even during the time of the Bolshevik occupation. Nowhere else in the world apart from the U.S.S.R. does the curious fact exist that a member of the UN is not *de jure* and *de facto* independent. The Western world ought to draw the practical conclusion from the present facts, namely that Ukraine and Byelorussia should be represented in the future UN by independent and not by colonial governments.

The Bolsheviks play a cunning game with "independence," and "foreign ministers" of the "union republics," while the West is reluctant to raise the issue of their *de facto* independence. The Bolsheviks maintain that there is no such thing as an indivisible Russia, but only a federation of republics, whose members are at liberty to sever their connections with the same; and the "Voice of America" is not even sure whether there is for instance a Ukrainian people as an individual nation. And it is a well-known fact that certain Western states behave as though they were on the retreat in the psychological war. They make no mention whatever of the national states, whereas the Bolsheviks in their propaganda strive always to appear to be the champions of national freedom. The Western world is even afraid to acknowledge the principles which it formerly professed, as for instance the independence of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. The Caucasian states are a bloc whose right to independence was always regarded as a matter of course by the West. And the same holds good as far as the Muslims of



Turkestan are concerned. The Cossacks attained their independence in 1918, and so, too, did the Turco-Tatars of the Idel-Ural. The independence of Siberia was supported by certain American circles in the year 1918, but was not realized because of Japanese opposition. All this has already happened once before. We do not need to mention Ukraine and Byelorussia in this connection, for surely no serious-minded politician in the West would consciously refuse them this right if he recognizes it in the case of Guinea or Tunisia, especially not if they were to have the same rights in the UN as the other states.

It surely seems like a piece of irony that the USA should defend Morocco's or Tunisia's striving for independence, but should refuse to support the independence aims of some of the oldest civilized peoples of Europe,—of the Ukrainian or Georgian people. It is absurd for certain American circles to affirm that they do not wish to make the Russian people their enemy by attacking their imperialism. As long as Russia is imperialistic, she will be hostile and dangerous to USA.

The Hungarian fight for freedom two years ago taught us a valuable lesson. The example of Hungary proved that an attitude of "waiting and seeing" led to the genocide of the Hungarian people. The most important achievement of this fight for freedom, however, is the fact that the Hungarian people have overcome their fear of the totalitarian Russian and Communist system. This change of attitude on the part of the masses—a fact which was also in evidence in the riots of the prisoners in Vorkuta, Kinghiri and Norylsk which were organized by Ukrainian fighters for freedom, and in the workers' revolts in Berlin and Poznan—is a symptom of far-reaching significance, which will prove decisive for the fate of the Soviet regime. The fact that the youth and the workers have become the vanguard of the revolution, has proved the complete bankruptcy of materialistic training and of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of class conflict, as well as of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Events in Hungary showed that a national revolution is possible and can even be carried out under the conditions of Russian Bolshevik terrorism. The weapon of Marx and Lenin in the fight against capitalism, a general strike, in the hands of the workers became the most dangerous weapon against Marxism and Leninism as a form of modern Russian imperialism. And though the West, because of its reserved policy of hesitancy, hardly thought it possible, the younger generation,

the hope of Communism, became the champion of the national anti-Communist and anti-Russian fight for freedom. The mask of Communism as the camouflaged form of the Russian lust of conquest was torn aside and Moscow's true countenance was again revealed. The treacherous cunning of "peaceful coexistence" was exposed as a tactical manoeuvre of those in power in the Kremlin, who are out-and-out imperialists and mass murderers just as their teachers and masters, Lenin and Stalin, were. The soul of Moscow was revealed in all its tyrannical barbarity.

The watchword of the heroic Hungarian revolutionaries—"Away with the Russians!"—has shown the world that the point in question is something extremely concrete: namely, Moscow's imperialism, Moscow's urge to conquer and subjugate the entire world, and the Russian people as *the* representative and supporter of this imperialism.

The other watchword of the Hungarian fight for freedom—"Away with every form of Communism!"—has enlightened the world as to the treacherous game of National Communism, which in reality is an ally of Moscow and in the end will always decide in favour of Moscow, since it cannot maintain either its state political or its social political position without Moscow. In addition, the fact was also revealed that the working masses are by no means in favour of the Communist social programme, whether it be Stalinist or Titoist in form. The revelation of this truth to the whole world represents the most serious blow to Moscow, the alleged "Mecca of the proletariat."

From the military and political point of view, it did not come as a surprise to those who know what conditions are like in the Soviet Army, that the non-Russian units of this army are extremely unwilling to fight against the liberation movements of other nations. The fact that there were countless "deserters"—above all, of Ukrainian nationality—who directed the fire of the Soviet tanks not against the insurgents, but against the latter's enemies, clearly proves that the idea of a war waged against national revolutions is extremely unpopular in the Soviet Army, too. Furthermore, the fact that thousands of the Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet Army went over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters proves that the U.S.S.R. is not to be regarded as a monolithic unit. And in this connection we should like to stress that 53 per cent of the soldiers of the Soviet Army are non-Russians, who will join forces with

the national liberation revolutions against the Russian oppressors. And this is where the Western statesmen could intervene by proclaiming the *Great Charter of the State Independence of the Nations* and, above all, the disintegration of the Russian imperium into national states, in order to speed up the said process. This Charter would have to stress the following points: entirely independent and sovereign national states for all peoples; non-interference in the internal affairs of the nations; a just social and democratic order; the liquidation of the remnants of the feudal colonial system; a ruthless fight against Communism and, at the same time, the effective realization of far-reaching social reforms (in the first place in agricultural policy), etc.

The Great Charter of Freedom should be addressed in particular to the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism, and the disintegration of the Russian imperium into sovereign national states according to the ethnographical principle, de-collectivization and de-proletarianization, the general preservation and protection of the principle of private property, and the return of all deported persons and peoples to their native country have to be explicitly proclaimed as watchwords of the free Western world.

The policy of the Russian Bolsheviks is obviously based on the hope that the peaceable West, because of its dread of an atomic war, will allow the present conquest of Soviet Russia to become a permanency and will let Bolshevik subversive activity on this side of the Iron Curtain continue uncurbed. And, what is more,—Moscow even aims to force the West to tolerate new Soviet aggressions, by means of which it seeks to expand its own sphere of influence and throw discredit on the Western powers in the eyes of the peoples who are seeking protection. The world is thus led to believe that it is faced by the alternative of atomic war or coexistence, i.e. capitulation before the Bolshevik claim to power, at Moscow's will.

The possibility of saving the world from the inevitable devastation caused by an atomic war or from being destroyed under Bolshevik world domination lies—as we have already briefly indicated—in the national revolutions and fight for liberation by the subjugated peoples within the Bolshevik imperium itself. The deeply rooted ferments of a revolutionary process of this kind, however, require an impetus, but such an impetus can only be supplied by the West's decision to help the inexhaustible urge to freedom of the peoples



subjugated by Moscow—in the Soviet Union itself, as in the satellite states, too,—to break through, by wholeheartedly supporting the national liberation movements. And in this connection the fundamental precondition is that the Western major powers should explicitly and unreservedly acknowledge the inalienable right of these peoples to their own national states and independence. There can be no better way for the West to safeguard its own freedom and security but to make accessible the inexhaustible potential of the scores of nations with their 200 million inhabitants who are longing for freedom and who must be mobilized in the present world struggle against Bolshevism. For the idea of freedom carries more weight than all nuclear weapons.

Whilst so-called coexistence implies nothing more than acceptance and tacit approval of the present enslavement of millions of persons, whom a policy of compromise on the part of the West has on a previous occasion placed under the yoke of Moscow, the liberation of the enslaved peoples is in principle identical with the salvation of our culture and civilization, the existence or non-existence of which is, after all, the question which is at present at issue. And, accordingly, it is therefore not only the political but also the moral duty of the Western major powers to support the national fight for freedom of all these subjugated nations, actively and wholeheartedly.

In our age of ideological disputes and wars, ethical principles are more than ever of decisive importance. The ideological conflict has today reached a stage in which it is no longer easy to bargain unpunished with the right of existence and the claim to freedom of the enslaved peoples, deprived of their rights, in the Soviet sphere of influence.

And in this respect it should be an absolute matter of course for the Western world to take the side of the subjugated peoples and to win them over as allies for the final and inevitable clash with Bolshevism, if it bears in mind the true character of Bolshevism clearly enough. Bolshevism has become a gospel of evil, a heresy professed by fanatics. For this reason it would be erroneous to assume that atomic bombs and military superiority alone should suffice to conquer Bolshevism. Those who feel the call to fight against Bolshevism must also be firm of faith and unswerving in principle, and it is Christianity which can furnish us with this spiritual weapon.

Bolshevist lies and deceptions must be opposed by simple truths: only clearly defined principles and strength of conviction, only ideological and political activity can guarantee a victory.

Bolshevism destroys all divine values that are sacred to mankind, it denies God, it kills religion and the Church, and destroys all moral principles based on religion. For this reason the anti-Bolshevist liberation revolution must regard God as the beginning of all things; it must protect religion and must base all human action on a heroic morale which is strengthened by religion.

Bolshevism sows envy, hatred, distrust and class conflict, and serves Russian imperialism. For this reason the anti-Bolshevist liberation revolution must preach sincere trust amongst the members of the same nation, international concord and solidarity, as well as the principle of mutual help and support amongst men and peoples, by fighting Russian imperialism.

Bolshevism has trampled freedom underfoot. For this reason the anti-Bolshevist revolution, in joint effort with the free world, must bring about the triumph of freedom and the liberation of the peoples enslaved by Bolshevism.

Bolshevism denies the existence of the nation and the national idea by professing internationalism, which in this case is nothing but a camouflaged form of Russian imperialism. For this reason the national liberation idea and the idea of national states for every nation must be advocated most emphatically.

Bolshevism has as its ultimate aim a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics which is to cover the whole world, that is to say, a despotic world empire under Russian rule. The anti-Bolshevist liberation revolution, on the other hand, demands freedom for nations and individuals, regardless of race and religion and regardless of the size and wealth of their countries.

And herein lies the cardinal point for the policy of the West towards our peoples. In order to take the right course, the West must above all understand the mental attitude and the spiritual nature of the subjugated peoples. The West must penetrate the depths of the psychic experiences of these peoples, in order to be able to evolve its plan of support.

There can thus be no doubt about the fact that the Bolshevist menace can be curbed by an expedient conception of Western policy. And the Kremlin rulers are well aware of this. Hence the

comedy of "peaceful coexistence" and Moscow's disarmament plans, which, as everyone knows, are completely unacceptable as far as the West is concerned. One should, however, have the courage to tell the world the whole truth: there will and can be no peace as long as the Russian Bolshevik peoples' prison and the Communist regime continue to exist and as long as millions of persons are forced to languish under this yoke. These millions do not want a graveyard peace. But Moscow only wants a temporary pseudo-peace, since its aim continues to be the conquest of the world.

The way to attain peace and to prevent a third world war is identical with supporting the national revolutionary liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain and the peoples' revolts, which the Western major powers, by their aid, should help to prepare, should allow to develop and lead to a victorious issue. For a war will be automatically localized, once revolts break out in the enemy's hinterland.

As is the case in every despotic empire, the national problem represents the vulnerable spot of the U.S.S.R., too. German, Belgian and English prisoners who recently returned home from concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan have reported facts which are of far-reaching importance for the entire free world: the power of the Soviet Union is being undermined by the non-Russian peoples not only in the countries which it has occupied, but also in the concentration camps, where about 10 million persons, who are forced to endure the tortures of slave labour, have now at last overcome all feeling of fear and have begun to conduct an active fight against Russian tyranny. The heroic sacrifice of the 500 Ukrainian women-prisoners in the camp at Kinghiri (near Karaganda in Kazakhstan), who threw themselves in the path of the Soviet Russian tanks and let themselves be mown by them, in order to protect their fellow-prisoners, represents the most significant event of the past decades in the U.S.S.R. And all this is proof of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is in a state of political ferment and that the enslaved nations have not even laid down their arms in the concentration camps, but there, too, continue to fight the occupants.

It is a well-known fact that, prior to the 20th Party Congress of the U.S.S.R., a Soviet newspaper published an appeal to the Ukrainian insurgents in Volhynia, in which the latter were exhorted to lay down their arms, with the promise that they would be granted an amnesty if they did so. The demonstrations held in Kyiv, Odessa,



Tiflis and Baku are likewise a well-known fact. They were held—just as in Hungary—not in support of “National Communism,” but were directed against Russian tyranny of every kind and against every form of Communism. And the situation is similar in all the other countries enslaved by Bolshevism.

The key to the solution of the present world crisis thus lies not so much in an armaments race, but solely in the release of those forces which are inspired by the will to freedom—of nations, as of individuals,—or, in other words, in the idea of equal rights and freedom for all.

Nothing could be more erroneous than to try to bring about the downfall of Bolshevik rule and the liberation of the subjugated peoples by means of ideologies and regimes which have developed out of Communism or are similar to it in character.

If, for example, “National Communist” principles were accepted or imperialistic Russian ambitions regarding the “indivisibility” of the “Great Russian” peoples’ prison were supported, this would by no means help the West to gain a victory. The peoples incarcerated in this prison, as is well understandable, are by no means eager to shed their blood for the purpose of exchanging the present yoke for another one, just as they were by no means willing to exchange Stalin’s despotic rule for that of Hitler, or vice versa.

In the present global conflict between good and evil, between right and wrong, between faith and godlessness, a new conception of the future order of the world must be drawn up and borne as a banner,—the conception of a world of inviolable freedom and justice for all peoples and nations on this earth, a world which is worth fighting for and dying for.

Various attempts which have been made by semi-official circles in the West to find a substitute for the true policy of liberation (as for instance by the “American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism), in no way satisfy the longing of the peoples enslaved by Bolshevism. Behind the formula of the so-called “non-predetermination” of their future political fate they quite rightly suspect the automatic restoration or preservation of the “Great Russian empire,” even though the signs may be different. This results in the disintegration of the anti-Bolshevist front and in relaxation of the fight on the global level, instead of a union and cooperation of all forces against the common enemy.

Although the U.S.S.R. is the only one of the major powers which unswervingly strives to achieve a clearly defined and unchangeable aim, namely to deal the major powers of the West a deadly blow once it has effected a huge increase in its war potential, the West, on the other hand, wavers between vague and confused ideas of a "world government" based on a "federalist" system, a passive, inactive Conservatism, which is loth to introduce reforms before it is too late, and the idea of taking up with National Communist ideas and similar doctrines which are closely related to Bolshevism. And all this is overshadowed by the fatal illusion of a "peaceful coexistence."

It is one of the strange signs of our times that atomic energy, which could work wonders in the service of mankind, is in the first place used for destructive purposes. If, however, we adopt a positive course and strive to introduce the principle that atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes in order to promote economic prosperity, we must not overlook the fact that there is a huge realm of the despots in the East which is concentrating all its efforts on war aims. As far as this territory is concerned, atomic energy is merely a means to increasing its war potential for the purpose of finally subjugating this remnant of Europe which is still free, too. All affirmations on the part of the Kremlin tyrants, to the effect that they are likewise anxious to see the peaceful use of atomic energy for the purpose of promoting the prosperity of the population, must be regarded as new lies. Moscow is prepared to satisfy its lust of world conquest even by means of an atomic war, once Russia has achieved superiority over the West in this respect. The question thus arises,—does the atomic age, on whose threshold we now stand, mean the enslavement of scores of nations? This is the gravest problem of world politics, since actually the latter is concerned fundamentally with the subjugated peoples.

The fact that the Kremlin despots are prepared at any moment to use atomic energy for the purpose of destruction, scares mankind and seems to dictate the policy of coexistence at any price.

Fear of an atomic war, however, does not justify capitulation before evil.

We must defend and fight for our freedom and our rights, regardless of whether the world is threatened by an atomic war or not. For if we capitulate before evil, we shall not save ourselves.

Despite all this, however, there is a way to prevent an atomic war, if the West supports the fight for freedom of the nations subjugated by Moscow and by joint efforts and cooperation helps to bring about the disintegration of the Russian Bolshevik imperium from within. If this is the case, then it is extremely doubtful whether Russia would be able to use atomic weapons in those of its territories which it occupies, since it would then be using these weapons against itself. Russia is, after all, only in a position to produce destructive nuclear weapons in such huge quantities because it forcibly unites vast territories with a boundless economic and human potential. Should the Soviet imperium be disintegrated, it will automatically lose the economic reserves which it has forcibly seized and which are needed for the production of atomic weapons.

We stand today at the turning-point of the ages. And future history will judge us according to the way we act and the manner in which we fulfil our duty towards our native country and towards mankind. Let us all therefore—both in the East and in the West—do our utmost to prove our worth in the eyes of future generations! And if this is the case, then everyone, whether statesman or private individual, will be able to say with a clear conscience that he has done his share most conscientiously towards saving the civilized world and human values, by following the supreme principle,—“Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!”

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## **KHRUSHCHEV'S ECONOMIC POLICY**

In order to comprehend and properly to evaluate the heterogeneous moves made, and measures undertaken in the Soviet economics, it is necessary to understand one fundamental thing, namely, the priority aspect of politics which is permeating throughout all sectors and segments of the social, economic, and cultural development of that multinational society.

The supreme political ideal of the Soviet-Russian government has been always two-fold: the overwhelming military and political power of the Russian-Communist Empire which supposedly has a mission to make the entire humanity Communistic, and the establishment of an undisputably predominant position of the Great Russians in the world. The Western experts sometimes fail to understand, especially this second feature of the Soviet-Russian political philosophy. In the course of the last forty years all the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR have been sacrificed for that ideal of a Russian predominance. Communism, a failure as an economic system, is maintained as a very convenient and successful tool of the traditional Russian imperialism, as well. But, on the other hand, the Soviet leaders are still obsessed by the collectivist doctrine, and they want to make it a success by all means, even at the price of enormous and senseless waste.

The years-long experimentations have denied so far to the Soviet Union any success in a form of a well balanced national economy. Collectivism could not provide for stability and progress. As a matter of fact, the general standard of living to-day in the USSR is lower than that, fifty years ago, in the Tsarist Empire. The weaknesses of radical socialism of the Soviet type are the only explanation for the many neck-breaking turns and curves, from one extremity to another, in the economic policies of the Kremlin. In the first days of the Revolution and the Civil War, the Bolsheviks attempted to establish collectivism too hurriedly. The so-called War-Communism resulted in a fatal decline of productivity and famine in many parts of the Soviet Union. This caused a turn to the right. The New Economic Policy meant to some extent a temporary concession to private initiative. It wasn't any retreat; it was rather a transitionary measure to slow down the communization of the society a little, for the too rapid collectivization did not pay. Changing the policy was fully explainable in terms of the Marxian materialist dialectics. Full Communism and world domination remained the supreme goals, only their realization was postponed for a few years. At that time, many Western experts on Russia made their first fundamental mistake in the interpretation of what the Communists were doing. They believed, that the Bolsheviks conceded their defeat. Similar mistakes and too hasty conclusions of the West concerning the USSR were made several times later on. They simply did not want to accept the reality of the Russian obsession to dominate the world by means of Communism. The New Economic Policy was replaced in 1928 by the so-called Five Year Planning, an extreme form of government economic management and centralization. Several such plans were adopted, and several times the priority of the civilian production was announced to appease the Soviet peoples. Of course, the Bolsheviks were never serious, and never seriously tried to strike a balance between the capital goods and consumer goods production. They always emphasised producer and war goods production of their national economy, and neglected the supply of an adequate quantity of civilian consumption products. It has been obvious for many years that the Soviet collectivism has not been able to accomplish either of these tasks: the development of the war potentials and a balanced growth of the civilian economic sector. The conditions did not change to-day, under the rule of Prime Minister Khrushchev. Almost every one economic measure of the

Kremlin's leaders since Stalin's death was unrealistically appraised by the West. Immediately, after the death of the late dictator, the new leaders launched a new policy in 1953. They sincerely admitted the poor conditions in agriculture, mining, transportation, and in other branches of civilian production, and a shortage of the consumer goods, and promised to lay less stress on the production of capital goods, and to concentrate on satisfactory supply of the consumer's market. The present author said rightly in 1954, in his short essay, entitled "Why a Shortage of Consumer Goods in Soviet Union?," pointing out that this was an old trick of the Bolsheviks, this time used to lull the discontent people by promises as long as the new leaders did not establish themselves as the successors of Stalin. The West again saw in those developments the emergence of a new era and a new order in the USSR. In 1955, however, Khrushchev was strong enough already to eliminate Malenkov. In February 1955, the production of the capital and war goods was stressed again. The dawn not of a new era, but of a new dictator, was coming, although the American diplomats in Moscow reported to the President that dictatorship was over in the Soviet Union, and that the so-called "collective leadership" would be the political form of Government in the USSR for the imminent future.

Khrushchev, having again stressed the capital and war goods, had to promise and offer something in exchange to the peoples of the Soviet Union. And he did so. He had some reputation from the past as an agricultural reformer. The idea of the so-called "Agrotowns" raised in 1955, still during the life-time of Marshall Stalin, was partially his plan. By the way of consolidation of the collective farms into the giant "agrotowns," Khrushchev and his comrades desired to develop a farm mass production technique and an agricultural proletariat, identical with the industrial mass production and industrial proletariat. The project, which again resulted in enormous economic waste and large human costs, proved to be a failure. For the failure somebody else was blamed.

Thus, Khrushchev announced an ambitious program of agricultural cultivation of virgin, never touched by plow before, areas of Kazakhstan, and some other distant regions. People were forced to go there, especially from the non-Russian areas of the U.S.S.R., and to work there under most primitive conditions. Thousands of acres of virgin land was tilled and sown, and Khrushchev promised more bread and more food. Although the crops were rather abundant in 1956,



the facilities to process them were fully inadequate, and in consequence of that thousands of bushels of corn simply rotted down. The harvesting in 1957 was largely a failure and a disappointment. Thousands of acres were sown, but only tens of thousands produced any crop. This can be easily detected from the "Appeal" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the collective farm workers of January 21, 1958. The "Appeal" lets us clearly see that something wrong was going on in the Soviet agriculture, and especially in Kazakhstan. The productivity of the virgin soil has shown a rapid decline. It has happened primarily because those areas, after being plowed and tilled, all of a sudden have shown a tendency to turn into a desert. Already in 1956, some leaders in the Kazakhstan cultivation reported an erosion of the fertile surface due to violent winds and other climatic factors, and that those thirty million acres of the virgin land most probably in the course of the next ten years might become a useless desert. Khrushchev admitted the fact tacitly, when he stated in the quoted appeal: "Until now we stressed in our farming the cultivation of the areas of Kazakhstan, Siberia, Ural, and Volga regions. Now, it is time again to stress a maximum utilization of each piece of existing and available soil in the collective farms." The Central Committee has called back home some of the farmers from the virgin lands, because the Kazakhstan project failed.

Several times in the past the Soviet peasants were allowed to develop the small "garden-plots" and to work on them in their spare time, after all work was done in the collective farm. They were also allowed to own a small number of cows, goats, and hens for their consumption needs. And then, several times, that right was taken away from the collective farmer, because the Communist regime is deadly afraid of an economically independent peasant class. The peasants, in particular in the non-Russian regions of the Soviet Union, are individualists. In 1932-33, a planned famine was arranged in Ukraine and Kuban area in order to liquidate peasant individualism and their hostile attitude toward any kind of collectivism. Anyway, Khrushchev let the peasants have again the garden-plots, cows, and chickens. Soon, the peasants had more cows in their tiny farmsteads, than there were cows in the collective farms. For the Communists it was a highly undesirable development. Consequently, in January of this year, Khrushchev suggested to the farmers to sell their cows to the collective farms, and the action to

liquidate the private cattle holding was initiated. It resulted, however, in a stiff opposition of the peasants, and it was far from any success.

Yet another suggestion was made by Khrushchev, which again hopelessly confused the West, still hoping for some changes in the U.S.S.R. Khrushchev announced the reorganization of the MTS, Machine-Tractor Stations, until now state-owned and state-operated centres of the agricultural equipment. According to the new plan, the collective farms were supposed to purchase the farm equipment from the Station, which for many years was simply rented by the farms. The MTS were, no doubt, a good control device for the Soviet planned economy, but they resulted in a poor agricultural productivity. Actually, there were two bosses on the same piece of land; the collective farm and the respective Machine-Tractor Station. Their authorities were conflicting. The farms not always received the equipment when they needed, and the stations could not always supply it when asked for. The Western experts want to see in the recent move a liberalization of the collectivist system. But it is not so. It is a Khrushchev's attempt to turn all collective farms into the state farms, and to realize a higher stage of Socialism in this very way. As a matter of fact, the Stations are not going to be liquidated; they will be preserved as the central repair shops. Therefore, their controlling capacity will still be maintained. And they will continue also in their previous capacity, since not all farms will be financially capable to purchase the equipment, and they will still rent it to do the basic work. Khrushchev wants only to increase the productivity wherever it would only be possible. It is self-evident, that if the new plan would not prove to be an adequate reform, the MTS would immediately resume their traditional role in the collective economy of the U.S.S.R. This would be rather an easy operation since the station would practically exist uninterruptedly.

The reform is in a close connection with the new project of dropping the Five Year Plan in October 1957, and the so-called over-all decentralization of economy on a nation-wide scale. Also the decentralization plan has been designed for raising productivity, and to support the very central goals of the Soviet politics. Along with the nation-wide decentralization, the regional and local authorities are supposed to assume more responsibility for jobs locally

done. They are expected to work harder, and to raise the efficiency. In a simple language it means, that the exploitation of the Union republics and autonomous areas would be so much more intensive. There would be no room and no possibility to shift the responsibility for any failure or inadequacies to any higher authorities, or central agencies. The highly centralized control over the so-called decentralized industries would be retained; and even not weakened. The elaborate Soviet system of a close fusion of party, government, and economic functions in one person, done in geographical and vertical aspect, and consequently carried out from the bottom to the top of the political structure of the U.S.S.R., would adequately assure centralized supervision and control, that in a case of national emergency would be easily stiffened. Besides, the strict Communist Party discipline would do the rest, even at the price of some very harsh measures.

All those changes and neck-breaking turns in the economic policies of the Soviet Union, and its recent dictator, Nikita Khrushchev, do not mean any liberalization or democratization, or any retreat from the goals and dogmas once adopted. They indicate simply, that the entire Soviet economy is in serious trouble, and that the collective measures are highly unsatisfactory. But, the priority of politics prevails to-day, just as it prevailed years ago, only the collectivist experiments are going on, no matter what price has to be paid.

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## CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE SOVIET UNION

1.—According to some reports circulated among the internees of the Soviet Russian concentration camps, there were in 1950 as many as 15 million persons, including men, women and children, interned in the concentration camps in the U.S.S.R. Various persons in the Western world who were interested in the problem of the Soviet Russian concentration camps estimated the number of prisoners at 10 per cent of the total population of the U.S.S.R. After the death of Stalin, when control of the Soviet Union was secured by the so-called "Collective leadership" (which no longer exist) in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a commission was set up, headed by Shvernik. This commission investigated all matters pertaining to the amnesties by which a large number of prisoners who were for the most part common criminals sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and various political prisoners sentenced to 5 years were to be set free. Of the persons sentenced to imprisonment for having taken part in the liberation struggle against Moscow, only those prisoners were set free who had served their sentence completely.

2.—The location of the concentration camps in the U.S.S.R. is kept a secret by Moscow. The camps are camouflaged under such designations as "trusts", "constructions", "special objects", "constructions of special destination", "forbidden zones", etc. For instance, there are on the River Ukhta in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Komi a number of concentration camps where the prisoners are employed in extracting radium from the water. These concentration camps are designated as "objects of special destination". In the same region there are also a number of concen-

tration camps designated as "Asphalt Trusts", where the prisoners have to work in the asphalt industry.

As regards the distribution of labour in the concentration camps, there can be said to be four categories, pertaining to a) production, b) construction, c) agriculture, and d) internal economic administration of the camp system.

3.—After World War II the number of prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps was augmented by:

a) former "Easterners" (citizens of the Soviet Union) who returned to the U.S.S.R. from Germany (they were allegedly "repatriated");

b) former prisoners of the Soviet Russian Army who were liberated from German captivity by the Allies and the Soviet Russian Army;

c) German and Japanese prisoners;

d) persons who returned to the Soviet Union voluntarily, the so-called "Soviet patriots" amongst the Russian emigrants;

e) former soldiers of various foreign divisions of the German army who were captured either by the Allies or the Soviet Russians;

f) a large number of Ukrainian prisoners from all parts of Ukraine who were sentenced for their participation in the Ukrainian underground national anti-Russian liberation fight (as members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA, and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, OUN);

g) those Ukrainians who were imprisoned as a result of the purge carried out amongst the Ukrainian population after the occupation of the Ukrainian territories by Moscow after World War II.\*)

h) In 1955-56 the number of prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps was augmented by members of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by the Soviet Union who refused to go to the so-called virgin lands in Central Asia, to Siberia and other regions of Asia, "voluntarily";

i) members of the Baltic peoples subjugated during World War II.

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\*) In his secret speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., Khrushchev informed his audience that Moscow had planned to deport the entire population of Ukraine after World War II, but, as he added, there was no territory vast enough in the U.S.S.R. for the deportation of 42 million Ukrainians.

4.—According to reports by foreign ex-prisoners who have been released from Soviet Russian concentration camps and allowed to return to their native countries in 1956-57, the Ukrainians constitute 45 to 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners in the concentration camps; the remaining percentage consists of members of various peoples of the Soviet Union, but most of them are non-Russians.

5.—So as to ensure the complete isolation of the prisoners, most of the Soviet Russian concentration camps are located in the most remote areas of the Soviet Union which have no normal communication or transport network and are practically uninhabited. These preconditions, however, cannot be observed in all cases, for if the prisoners are completely isolated, the fundamental aims of the concentration camps, namely to maintain a certain production level and to construct new enterprises, cannot be achieved. In order to overcome this difficulty, most of the camps are, as it were, "linked" to enterprises already in existence or about to be constructed. When erecting new enterprises, opening up new bases for raw materials or constructing a new communication and transport network, Moscow always places most emphasis on strategic and military expediency. This fact compels Moscow to camouflage its military enterprises in the remotest districts of the U.S.S.R., to open up new bases for raw materials in these districts, to erect big power stations and construct communication and transport lines there, and to supply workers for the new enterprises. The Central Geological Department of the Soviet Union, which, incidentally, is controlled by the Soviet Russian Secret Police, sends out numerous geological expeditions in order to discover new sources of raw materials. As a rule, these expeditions include representatives of the Central Department of Geodesy and Cartography, as well as representatives of the Secret Police (the Committee of State Security, formerly under Serov). Suitable locations for the construction of new enterprises and also for the setting up of concentration camps are then selected according to the results of the research carried out by these expeditions.

6.—The prisoners of the concentration camps are classified as follows:

- a) according to the nature of the indictment preferred against revolutionaries, common criminals, especially dangerous criminals;
- b) according to health, and here there are three categories:
  - 1) the physically fit who are forced to do especially heavy work,



- 2) prisoners who are used for normal physical work, and
- 3) prisoners who are used for light work. This last group includes the weak and the sick, invalids and persons not listed as physically fit.

The medical commission of the camp allegedly decides whether a prisoner is physically fit or not. Actually, however, such a commission only exists on paper for the purpose of propagating the idea that the Soviet Russian jail system in the concentration camps is a humane one, and, as a rule, there is no special category of prisoners who are physically fit. The assignment of work depends on the camp administration and on the nature of the sentence of the prisoner concerned. If, for instance, the judge in passing sentence on the prisoner has specified that he is to be employed on heavy work, regardless of his state of health, no arguments on the part of the medical commission will have any effect.

In addition to these classifications according to indictment and health, the prisoners of the concentration camps are also classified according to the expediency of the tasks to which they are allotted.

1st category: prisoners who are employed in the administrative and economic posts in the camp (as it were, the camp aristocracy among the prisoners);

2nd category: the less important camp administration—overseers, brigade leaders, foremen, drivers, locksmiths, electricians, tailors, cooks, etc. These posts are for the most part (90 per cent) assigned to common criminals;

3rd category: all prisoners, who are sentenced to hard labour—the so-called “black bone”—the main class of employment in the concentration camps;

4th category: invalids, the weak, the sick suffering from some chronic disease, and those to whom the camp administration allots privileged tasks;

5th category: all those who have refused to work.

7.—*Location of the concentration camps in the U.S.S.R.:*

*Abakan*—East Siberian region of Krasnoyarsk.

*Abex/Inta*—in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Komi. A group of concentration camps designed as No. 388. The prisoners are employed in the coal mines and in the oil industry. Some of the prisoners are also employed on the construction

of the double railway-line Kotlas—Vorkuta. Seventeen special concentration camps are known to exist in the Abetz/Inta area. At Abetz there are also two concentration camps for women and a special concentration camp for invalids.

*Ayim*—on the River Maye, tributary of the River Aldan, in the Khabarovsk area. The prisoners are employed in the gold mines and on the construction of the railway Yakutsk—Ayan via Ayim.

*Aktiubinsk*. Region in the Kazakh S.S.R., 420 km northeast of the Caspian Sea. There are 70 concentration camps in this area. The prisoners are employed in the coal, nickel, chromium and phosphate mines and also in the oil industry.

*Aldan*—on the Amur-Yakutsk route, 400 km from the “Tindinskaya” railway. The prisoners are employed in the “Aldanzoloto” gold mines and in the other metal mines of this area.

*Alma Ata*, Kazakh S.S.R. The concentration camps in this area have been in existence since the construction of the Turkestan-Siberian railway. They are designated as No. 40. Most of them are located near to the Issik-Kul Lake.

*Alyenirok*—belongs to the so-called “Pechorstroylag” (construction camp on the River Pechora) in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Komi.

*Akmolinsk*. Area of Akmolinsk; the camps are located in the area of the town Akmolinsk and also in other places. The camp administration is in the area centre.

*Allaikh*a in the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. A small town on the upper reaches of the River Indighirka. The camps are kept secret.

*Andijan*. Area of Andijan in Uzbekistan. A group of camps of “special destination” (LON). They are controlled directly by the Ministry of the Interior of the Soviet Union. They were formerly under the direct control of Beria. The prisoners are employed in the uranium mines.

*Angara*. Area of Irkutsk. The camps belong to the Taishet group of camps.

*Asha*. The camps are located in the area of Tcheliabinsk, not far from the railway station “Vavilovo.” Number of the camps—130. The prisoners work in the mines and in the oil industry.

*Astrakhan*—The camps were liquidated in 1956.

*Asbest.* Post-office box No. 5110/26. A new town of the Central Ural built by prisoners, it lies northeast of the town Sverdlovsk—about 60 km away from this town. A railway line has been constructed at Asbest which connects the town with the main railway line Sverdlovsk—Tumen. There are 6 separate concentration camps in the Asbest area. About 2,000 prisoners are employed in the local asbestos factory.

*Archangelsk.* Some of the camps were liquidated in 1955-56. The camps are located all over the whole area of Archangelsk. The prisoners are employed mainly as wood-cutters and in the sawmills. The area of Archangelsk is now being colonized by deported Ukrainians.

*Ayan.* District of Ayan-Maisk—Far Eastern Province on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk. The prisoners are employed in the gold mines and on the construction of the railway line Ayan-Yakutsk. All the camps belong to the "Dalstroy" group ("distant constructions").

*Baku.* The concentration camps here were finally liquidated in 1957.

*White Sea camps.* Designated as No. 212. The administration is located in Belomorsk, the district centre of the Karelian A.S.S.R. There are only a few camps left in this area, and the prisoners are employed on repair and construction work on the White Sea Canal. Most of the concentration camps here have been liquidated or else transferred to Siberia.

*Balitichigan*—on the River Kolyma in the Khabarovsk area. The camps are kept secret.

*Byelushye.* Nentsi (Samoyed) national region of the R.S.F.S.R., (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic). Archangelsk area. The camp administration is located in the village of Byelushye on the River Pyesha, a tributary of the Bay Choshskaya Guba which extends into the Arctic Ocean. The destination of the prisoners is unknown. They are under the direct control of the Ministry of Defence of the U.S.S.R.

*Byeryozovo*—in the Tumen area. The camps are located on the River Northern Sosva, 20 km from its influx into the River Ob. Number of the camps—501. The prisoners are employed on the construction of the railway line Ivdel-Salekhard.



*Birobidjan*—in the area of Khabarovsk, lies on the River Bira, a tributary of the River Amur. The prisoners are employed in the sawmills and iron-ore mines.

*Bashkiria*. The central administration of the camps is located at Ufa. Most of the prisoners of the camps in Bashkiria work in the petroleum industry.

*Bodaibo*—in the area of Irkutsk on the right bank of the River Vitim, at the confluence of the River Bodaibo. It is the centre of the gold mining industry of the Lena district. The prisoners are employed in this industry and also as woodcutters.

*Borovitchi*. Area of Novgorod. The concentration camps located here have been liquidated.

*Bureya*—area of Amur, district of Bureysk. The prisoners are employed in gold prospecting and also in the coal mines.

*Byuhiuke*. The camps are located on the lower reaches of the River Lena in the northern part of Yakutia. The town of Byuhiuke possesses an important military airfield for northern military aviation. The prisoners work in the gold and coal mines.

*Vaigatch*. The island of Vaigatch in the Arctic Ocean. Number of the camps—223. The prisoners are employed in the lead mines, work at the military airfield and the military naval base. The death-rate amongst the prisoners is 56-60 per cent. Prisoners who received death sentences, but were not executed are employed here and are forced to work 14 to 16 hours a day.

*Vansevat*. In Northern Ural on the River Ob. The camps are kept secret.

*Vereshchaghino*—in the area of Krasnoyarsk on the River Yenisei. The prisoners are employed as woodcutters and on the construction of new enterprises.

*Vereshchaghino on Sakhalin*,—on the Bay of Amur. The prisoners work at the military naval base.

*Verkhnyye-Imbitsk*. Nentsi (Samoyed) national region of the R.S.F.S.R. The camps are located on the River Yenisei. They are under the direct control of the Ministry of War of the U.S.S.R. In 1957 a military airfield was being constructed here, but at present no further details are known.

*Volga-Don*. The camps in this region have been liquidated.

*Vikhrovka*—in the Baykal area, 60 km from Zayarsk. The

prisoners are employed on the construction of new enterprises, in the mines and as woodcutters.

*Verkhoyansk*—in the Yakut A.S.S.R. The camps are located beyond the Arctic Circle, 1,100 km from Yakutsk, General camp No.—241/261. The Yeghe-Khaya camp is constructing the second series of a huge combine for prospecting for tin. The first series of enterprises is already operating. Magnesium and chromium have also been found in this area. Prospecting for gold is also carried on.

*Verkhnye-Uralsk*—region of Tcheliabinsk; Verkhnye-Uralsk district is 70 km from the town of Magnitogorsk. Various metal ores are found here.

*Verkhniy Ufaley*. The prisoners are employed in the nickel combine and also in the mines. The camp administration is located in the town of Verkhniy Ufaley. There were formerly 28 separate camps, but 19 of them have meanwhile been liquidated.

*Vilyuisk*—in the Yakut A.S.S.R., on the River Vilyui, a tributary of the Lena, 60 km from the town of Yakutsk; the prisoners are employed in the gold and coal mines and on the collective farms.

*Vitim*—in the Yakut A.S.S.R., on the River Vitim, a tributary of the Lena. Camp No. 215. Belongs to the "Taishet-Bratsklag" camp system. The prisoners are employed on the construction of the railway and in the gold, mica and coal mines.

*Vologda*—in the area of Vologda, camp No. 158. There were formerly 18 concentration camps here; at present there are only 6, the rest having been transferred to Siberia. Vologda is the region to which non-Russians are sent to live in exile.

*Volkhov*. The camps here have been liquidated.

*Vorkuta*—Post-office box 244/1-32. In the Komi A.S.S.R. The prisoners are employed on the reconstruction of the railway line Kotlas-Vorkuta and also on the construction of a new railway line Archangelsk-Vologda. The combine "Vorkutcoal" and also two airfields beyond the Arctic Circle were constructed by prisoners. There are 75 pits in this area. 90 per cent of the prisoners were sentenced for counter-revolutionary activity in accordance with Article 58. The prisoners include 5 000 women. In 1954 there were 120,000 prisoners, in 1956 92,000, and, at present, about 66,000 (?). The prisoners who have been released during the past years have been forced to remain in the area of Vorkuta. 48 per cent of the prisoners

are Ukrainians. In June 1953, a riot broke out amongst the prisoners.

*Veslianka*—in the Komi A.S.S.R. This camp formerly belonged to the Ukhta-Petchora camp system, but now belongs to the "Petchorstroy" (Petchora construction). The prisoners avail themselves of the system of so-called "voluntary (free) engagement." The counter-revolutionaries have been removed to other camps in Central Asia.

*Gorkiy*. This camp has been liquidated.

*Djeskasgan*—Kazakhstan. The camps are located in the region of the town of Djeskasgan, Balkhash, Ekibastuz-Ugol and Akmolinsk. Camp No. 39 (2 camps are in Kingiri). The camps are also designated as "Karalag." A revolt broke out in 1953. Afterwards, most of the camps in this area were liquidated.

*Druzhkovka*. The exact location of this camp is not known. There are said to be 2,000 prisoners in this camp.

*Dnipropetrovsk*. The camps here have been liquidated.

*Donbas* (the Don Basin). The camps have been liquidated.

*Derevyansk*—in the Komi A.S.S.R. The camps have been liquidated.

*Iftil*—Kazakhstan. 60 km away from the station Sam in the desert of Sam. The camps are kept secret. They are under the control of the Ministry of War. In all probability there are uranium mines at Iftil.

*Inostrannyi Lager*—a camp for foreigners, lies beyond the Ural, amidst swamps, at a distance of 250 km from the railway. The function of this camp is unknown.

*Ivdel*—region of Sverdlovsk, on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Irtysh. Camp No. 232. The "stroyka" (construction camp), No. 501 is located in the region of Salekhard. A railway is being constructed along the coast. The prisoners are employed on the construction of this railway, in the iron-ore, coal and bauxite mines, in the marble quarries, and on the construction of airfields, railway stations and underground bunkers.

*Irgiz*—Kazakhstan. The camps are located in the sandy Irgiz region. A small settlement northeast of the railway line Kandagatch-Tashkent. Irrigation system.

*Izhevsk*. The camps here have been liquidated.



"*Izvyestkovyi*" in the region of Obluchensk, province of Khabarovsk. The settlement *Izvyestkovyi* was constructed by prisoners; there are coal mines, lime-pits and quarries. A huge lime combine is already in operation.

*Ivanovo* (formerly *Ivanov-Voznesensk*) R.S.F.S.R. The camps here have been liquidated.

*Irkutsk*. The Irkutsk camps belong to the Taishet camps system. The prisoners are employed on the construction of enterprises of the heavy industries and of military objects, including tanks and planes.\*\*)

*Yerofey-Pavlovych*—area of Amur, in the region of Skovorodyn. The settlement on the River Urkan, the left tributary of the Amur, has the character of a town. The prisoners are employed in the gold mines and on the construction of the railway.

*Zhigansk*—in the Yakut A.S.S.R., on the River Lena. Gold mines.

*Zayarsk*—area of Irkutsk, region of Zayarsk; a settlement constructed in 1935 on the right bank of the River Angara. Camp No. 407, belongs to the "Taishet-Bratsk" camp system. The prisoners are employed on the construction of railways and in the iron-ore mines.

*Franz-Joseph Land*—islands in the Arctic Ocean. The prisoners are employed in the mines and on the construction of military enterprises and airfields. The camps are under the control of the Ministry of War.

*Iman*. River Iman, a tributary of the River Ussuri. The town of Iman lies in a mountainous region. Gold, tin and various other metals are found here. In all probability, ballistic rockets are tested here.

*The Lena-Vitim area*. A huge power plant is being constructed on the River Angara. Its power is to be used for pig-iron enterprises, ferro-alloys, steel and chemical enterprises and construction of machines. A new railway line is also being constructed.

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\*\*) There are many concentration camps in Irkutsk and in the surrounding region. Metallurgical factories for military purposes are at present being constructed there. The coal basin of Irkutsk, "*Vostoksibugol*," contains 81 milliard tons of coal. Uranium is mined at the settlement of Sludianka. The Kuybyshev enterprise includes the construction of machines, metal works, manufacture of cars, construction of workshops and electrical machines. There are also gold mines in this area.

*Ishimbay*—in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. Naphtha industry and saw-mills.

*Kazalinsk*—Kazakhstan, not far from the River Syr Darya. This camp is under the direct control of the Ministry of War.

*Kniazh-Pogost*—in the Komi A.S.S.R. Naphtha industry, and radium is obtained from the water.

*Kozhva*—in the Komi A.S.S.R. This camp belongs to the "Syevzheldorlag" (northern railways) system. The second railway line Kotlas-Vorkuta was completed in 1957.

*Kolpashevo*—region of Tomsk, on the River Ob. No details are known about this camp.

*Kokchetav*—Kazakhstan. Several camps have been liquidated.

*Krasnouralsk*—region of Sverdlovsk. Metallurgical and military industry.

*Kurya*—in the Altai region, on the river of the same name. The camps are kept secret.

*Kustanay*—in the area of the same name. Hydro-electric power plant.

*Kagan*—region of Bukhara, Uzbekistan. The camp is located in the desert. A railway Krasnovodsk-Tashkent and an irrigation system have been constructed.

*Kazan*. The camps here have been liquidated.

*Karaganda*. The town of Karaganda was built by prisoners in 1929. There is a coal basin at Karaganda, an industrial centre in the Kuznetz area, and gold mines south of the settlement Spasskyi Zavod. Camp No. 99/264.

*Kata*—region of Irkutsk. A small settlement on the River Kata, a tributary of the Yenisei. It belongs to the "Angarlag" system. 3,500 Ukrainians are said to be interned here.

*Kirovabad*—in the Tadzhik S.S.R. Some of the camps have been liquidated. The prisoners of the remaining camps are employed in constructing a railway line.

*Kblyma*—in the Yakut A.S.S.R. The camps are part of the "Dalstroy" system. Until 1955 there were 3.5 million prisoners interned here; at present, there are allegedly only 800,000. Most of the prisoners who were released were forced to colonize the region of Yakutsk. 74 per cent of the prisoners are Ukrainians; the majority of the remaining percentage of prisoners are non-Russians. A number of foreign military prisoners are also interned here. Only 7 per cent of the total number of prisoners are Russians. Gold,

tungsten, uranium, tin, metal and coal mines are located here. Railways, roads and airfields are being constructed. A rocket testing base has also been erected here. The following enterprises and places belong to the Kolyma camp system: Berliag, Matrosov (formerly Beria)—factory, tungsten mines; Tikivski, Kesugen, Indighirka, Budyonnyi,—mines; Magadan, Nizhne-Kolymsk, Tsentralna,—uranium and other mines.

*Kamchatka*—peninsula. The camps here are a special group of the "Dalstroy" system and are under the direct control of the Ministry of War of the Soviet Union. The prisoners are employed on the construction of military and strategic objects, in the oil industry and the mines, and on the construction of railways.

*Kandalaksha*—on the Kola Peninsula. Prisoners have built the town of Nickel, in the vicinity of which there are nickel mines and a nickel enterprise. Military and naval bases are being constructed on the peninsula. There are copper and nickel mines in the vicinity of the town of Monchegorsk. In 1956 there were 135,000 prisoners interned here. Their number at present is not known. Some of the prisoners have been released, but have been forced to remain on the peninsula for good.

*Karakas*. The camps are located in the region of Karakas, a populated area on the northwestern shore of Lake Zaisan, Kazakhstan. The prisoners are employed in the gold and metal mines and in prospecting for coal.

*Karaul*. The village of Karaul in the region Ust-Yenisseysk, area of Taimyr. This camp belongs to the "Norilsklag" group. The prisoners are employed in the navigation on the Yenisei.

*Kemerovo*—formerly called Shcheglovsk. Camp No. 82. The prisoners work in the Kuznetsk Basin. There are three camps for women at Kemerovo.

*Komandorsk*—on Behring Island. The central settlement is Nikolsk. The prisoners are employed on the construction of military bases, underground bunkers and underground military workshops.

*Kopeysk*—in the area of Tchelabinsk. Camp No. 506. 9 separate camps. The prisoners are employed in the Tchelabinsk coal mines.

*Kotlas*—collecting centre for all concentration camp prisoners who are to be transferred to Vorkuta.

*Krasnovodsk*. Oil industry, ozokerite mines. Mineral springs containing bromide and iodine in the town of Chelken.



*Krasnoturynsk*—in the area of Sverdlovsk. A centre of the aluminium industry. Manganese and iron-ore mines. An aircraft factory has been erected in the vicinity of the town. Camp No. 286. The camps are located at a distance of 60 km from the town. There are two camps for women. 42 per cent of the women prisoners are Ukrainians.

*Krasnoyarsk*. A large group of camps located all over the entire district of Krasnoyarsk. The total number of camps is 112. The prisoners are for the most part Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Esthonians and Caucasians. In addition, there are also Russian and foreign prisoners—Japanese, Koreans, Spaniards, Dutch, Mongols, etc. The total number of prisoners is 55,000. There are two camps for women. The prisoners are employed in the coal mines, on the construction of new enterprises and in the graphite works.

*Kuybyshev*—in the area of the same name. Camp No. 234. Stalin and Lenin aviation works. 12 km away from the town, the town of Bezimyanka has been constructed underground. There are two airfields, military factories, power plant and houses—all underground.

*Kuybyshev*—in the area of the same name. Camp No. 234. Stalin other camps have been liquidated. The prisoners are employed in the sawmills in the area of Archangelsk and as woodcutters.

*Kungur*—in the area of Molotov. There were formerly 19 camps here; at present, there are only 5, the rest having been liquidated. The prisoners are employed on the construction of shelters against atomic raids and of military underground enterprises. There are many natural caves in the region of Kungur where strategic materials are stored.

*Kurgan-Tiube*—in the Tadzhik S.S.R. This region is to be colonized by the non-Russian peoples who are deported.

*Kuriles Islands*. There are 3 concentration camps here. Copper, sulphur and gold are found here.

*Kyzyl*—autonomous region of Tuva. The prisoners are employed on the construction of the main motor roadway Kyzyl-Abakan.

*Kyusiur*—in the Yakut area. The average temperature in January is minus 40 degrees Centigrade. The prisoners are employed in the gold and coal mines and also on the airfields.

*Leninogorsk*—in the Kazakh S.S.R. The camps are located in the Altai Mountains. Uranium mines and atomic research laboratories. Prohibited zone. The camps can only be visited by permission of

the MVD (secret police). They are under the direct control of the Secret Police Chief.

*Mayor-Kresty*—in the Yakut area. The camps are kept secret.

*Mirnoye*—a settlement constructed by prisoners, on the River Yenisei, in the area of Krasnoyarsk. The camps are kept secret.

*Monchegorsk*—a town built recently by prisoners, near Lake Monche on the Kola Peninsula. No details are known.

*Magdagachi*—a town built by prisoners, in the area of Amur. Gold mines.

*Magadan*. Belongs to the "Dalstroy" camp system. A main motor roadway—Magadan to Stakhanovets—has been constructed. Two motor repair shops, a foundry, tungsten mines, and a tractor repair shop.

*Minicheva*. The camps are located in the area of Tomsk, along the River Minicheva, a tributary of the River Tom, which is a tributary of the Ob. No details are known. The camps are under the control of the Ministry of War.

*Minichavo*—on the River Kura, 350 km from Baku. The camps are kept secret.

*Mordovian A.S.S.R.* The camps are located in: Temnikov, Kondrovka, Syelishig, Lambir, Kabayevo, Kemlia and Insar. Slate, phosphate and peat industry. Precision instruments and electrical motors are also produced. Most of the prisoners are Ukrainians.

*Magnitogorsk*—industrial centre of the U.S.S.R. There were formerly 38 separate camps here. Most of them were liquidated, but the prisoners were forced to remain in the prohibited zones for good.

*Miaso*—district centre of the area of Cheliabinsk. Gold mines and tank works. In 1955, 20,000 prisoners were employed in the tank works. The present situation is not known.

*Norylsk*—province of Krasnoyarsk. Camp No. 384. The camps are located on the "Syevernaja Zemlya" (North Land) in the Bay of Khatanga. The camps are controlled as a separate group by the Ministry of War. One of the groups is known as the "Nordvikstroy."\*\*\*)

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\*\*\*) Khatanga—military air base. On Igarka—big northern airfield. At Medvezhye—special camps Nos. 4 and 5. Prisoners: Ukrainians, Kazakhs, Caucasians, Latvians, Esthonians, Lithuanians, Chinese, French and Italians. Also some Russians, Roumanians, Czechs and Hungarians. In 1953 a riot initiated by the underground fighters of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian

*Naltchik*. Antimony, molybdenum and gold mines. Motor roadways and railways are being constructed. There were formerly 30 camps; most of them have been liquidated, and there are now only 5 camps left.

*Nikolayevsk*—area of the lower Amur. Iron mines and shipbuilding.

*Olekminsk*—area of the lower Amur. Iron mines and shipbuilding.

*Olekminsk*—in the Yakut A.S.S.R. Construction of the Kirensk-Yakutsk railway along the shores of Lake Ozhogino. The camps belong to the "Dalstroy" system. No details are known.

*Nizhnye-Tambovsk*—area of Nizhnye-Amur. The camps are 150 km away from the town of Komsomolsk. Construction of enterprises connected with the naphtha industry and of railways.

*Novaya Zemlya*—island in the Arctic Ocean. Coal, copper, other metals, iron ore and oil found here. No details are known.

*Novosibirsk*—on the River Ob, region of Novosibirsk. The prisoners are employed on the construction of machines, in the mechanical industry and as woodcutters.

*Nordvik*—see "Nordvikstroy."

*Orsk*—area of Tchkalov. Copper, Nickel, chromium, magnesium and asbestos are found here. Coal is found 110 km from Orsk. A tank works is in operation.

*Podkamennaya Tunguska*—on the river of the same name, region of Krasnoyarsk. No details are known. The only fact that is generally known is that an industrial combine of great military importance is at present being constructed here.

*Prokopyevsk*—area of Kemerovo. Camp No. 525/7. The prisoners are Roumanian, Greek, German, Ukrainian, Slovak, Bulgarian, Italian and Cossack women. There are no Russian women in the camp. Camp No. 525/9: Caucasians; Camp No. 525/1-2: Ukrainians. There are no Russian prisoners in the camps.

*Pokur*—a settlement on the River Ob, in the national region of Khanty-Mansi (Voguls and Ostiaks). Woodcutting industry. A chemical combine is being constructed.

*Ptichiy Ostrov* (Birds' Isle)—an island in the Sea of Okhotsk. Part of the "Dalstroy" system. A military airfield has already been

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Nationalists) broke out. In 1957, most of the Russian prisoners were either transferred to other camps, released or sent to other big constructions. The other nationalities continue to remain in these concentration camps.



constructed. At present, other airfields and military bases are being constructed.

*Ryepzh*—in the area of Sverdlovsk. Asbestos and coal mines. Camp No. 81.

*Salekhard*—in the Nentsi (Samoyed) national region, on the right bank of the River Ob. Construction of a railway, military airfields and power plant of military importance. In 1956, there were 50,000 political prisoners interned here. No details about the camp at present are known.

*Sakhalin*—island in the N. Pacific. Naval and air bases are being constructed here. Reports on the concentration camps on Sakhalin were published in the "Deutsche Illustrierte" of January, 1953, and in the magazine "Science et Vie," No. 421, 1952.

*Solikamsk*—area of Molotov. Railway construction, production of potash and chemical industry. The railway line—Vorkuta-Molotovsk—is being constructed.

*Stalinsk*—area of Novosibirsk. Aluminium combine, tank factory, iron and metal mines.

*Saran*—a small settlement built by prisoners, situated southeast of the town of Karaganda. Does not appear on any map. Coal and uranium mines.

*Sama*—the location of this camp is not known. Manganese mines and an aluminium enterprise.

*Stretensk*—in the area of Chita. Gold mines.

*Seymchan*—on the River Seymchan, tributary of the Kolyma. Belongs to the "Dalstroy" system, which is of military importance. Of what importance this camp is, is not known.

*Taiga*—near the station Taiga, area of Tomsk. Military airfields.

*Taldy-Bulak*—situated in the Kushmurunsk Mountains, in the Kazakh S.S.R. It is under the control of the Ministry of War and is kept secret.

*Tyebuliak*—a small settlement in the Yakut A.S.S.R. Belongs to the "Dalstroy" system, but of what military importance this camp is, is not known.

*Taishet-Bratsk* ("Ozerlag")—a new industrial centre. Camp No. 215/1. Only Ukrainian prisoners. They are employed on the construction of railways, railway sleepers and new enterprises and in the mica industry.

*Tiksi-Bukhta*. Prisoners have constructed a new military airfield in the north. In addition, a harbour and a new military and naval base are at present being constructed.

*Usol*—on the River Angara. The camp administration is located at *Usolye-Sibirskoye*. Construction of new water power plant, as at *Bratsk*.

*Ust-Kamchatsk*—at the mouth of the River Kamchatka, which flows into the Bay of Kamchatka. This camp belongs to the "Dalstroy" system. New military base.

*Ulan-Ude*—Camp No. 507—in the Buriat-Mongol A.S.S.R. The prisoners are employed on the construction of the railways *Ulan-Bator-Latard* and *Ulan-Bator-Kalagan*, of airfields and motor roadways.

*Ust-Kamenogorsk*—in the Kazakh S.S.R. Uranium mines.

*Chin-Chan-he*—the camp is located in a forest on the River *Chin-Chan*. It is kept secret. The prisoners are employed in the mines. No further details are known.

*Chukotka*—on the Chukotsk peninsula. Belongs to the "Dalstroy" system. Accelerated construction of enterprises for unknown purpose.

*Yakutsk*—on the left bank of the River Lena. The prisoners are employed on the construction of the railway *Yakutsk-Ayan*.

We know for certain that there were formerly 257 groups of concentration camps. Although some of them have been liquidated, a large percentage are still in existence.

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*Lev Bilas, Ph. D.*

## How History Is Written in Soviet Ukraine

**Comments on V. A. Holobutsky's Book »The Zaporozhian Cossacks«,  
Kyiv, 1957\*)**

The very fact that a historian, unlike other scholars, so often writes for "wider circles," points to the special character of his activity, which in the spectrum of culture lies on the dividing-line between science and art. The idea that the "scientific nature" of historical work can best be seen from its dryness, is wrong. This is proved by the works of all great historians,—from Herodotus to H. Pirenne and A. J. Toynbee. The difference—often hard to distinguish—between a masterpiece of historical science and a novel lies in the fact that whereas the imagination of the artist knows no limits, that of the historian is limited by facts (which sometimes only he knows). The scientific and, at the same time, the artistic quality of a historical work consists in bringing all the known facts into accord with one another, and, if this is impossible because the facts contradict one another, in showing why this is so and in proving that the fact which cannot be included in the version of events presented by the historian is not real, that is to say, not a "fact," but an invention or an error, etc.

The method of historical research depends to a considerable extent on its subject, on the theme of the work in question, on the status of historical science at the time in question and, lastly, on the personality of the person engaging in research. Although this latter factor only ranks of the same importance as the other two for the historian as a scientist, it is, however, decisive for the historian as an artist. If one bears in mind that these two aspects—the scientific and the artistic—are psychologically inseparable, then it is not feasible

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to underrate the subject in historical science,—the person who, by writing history, “reproduces” it.

This “reproduction” is just as much “production” as every artistic activity. Both a historian who has read some pages of Machiavelli, Voltaire or Ranke and an art historian who has gazed at a picture by Rubens, Renoir or Picasso which he so far had never seen before, will be able to determine the authorship of the work not only on the strength of a formal analysis, but also by reason of their insight into the way of thinking and personality of the author or painter in question. For this reason masterpieces of historical thought, like masterpieces of art, are not bound by the limits of time and are thus immortal.

It is obvious that not every personality is strong or brilliant enough to create masterpieces. As in art, so, too, in historiography there are well-known schools and well-known trends created by great individuals. During the past decades, however, a new “school” has been in evidence, which is, at the same time, a new phenomenon, though its story goes back over a hundred years: a form of historiography which has no individual characteristics at all, which has no subject and is impersonal and *inhuman*,—as inhuman as the mechanism and system which have determined it. Moreover, this type of historiography is inhuman inasmuch as the “heroes” of its historical conception consist in abstractions,—production essentials, living conditions, the struggle between “progress” and “reaction,” and definite historical laws, etc.

In this form of historiography, which regards itself as “scientific” and, in fact, as the only scientific form, the status of the historian has undergone as radical a change as has the status of the artist in the field of “socialist realistic” art. This change has taken place (and we intend to confine ourselves to the theoretical side of this change) because theory has become the dogma that the world, of which man constitutes a component part, is now known at last, that it is completely material, that our knowledge and our conception of it tally with reality, and, in fact, “reflect” it completely like a photographic plate, and that our words and ideas are not symbols of reality, but identical with it. Just as the painter “paints” this reality, so, too, should the historiographer “express” and “mirror” it by his words and works.

It is further maintained that as a "reflection of the genuine, material and actual reality, namely the past, written history is identical with this reality or past,—or at least should be identical. If such a "reflection" is possible, then it is (provided that it is a successful "reflection," but this will be guaranteed by unravelling the historical laws) the "truth", and anything that is "untrue" and a "distortion" of reality.

It is likewise stressed that the less individual quality a "reflection" has, the better it will be, for "reality" is something supra-individual and general, just as the universe, the historical process or the equation  $a+b=c$  are supra-individual and objective. From this point of view, that which we regard as the most important and most essential thing,—namely the personality, the individuality and its uniqueness, which alone can reveal something new to us and through the medium of which some aspect of the absolute is reflected, that would otherwise remain unrecognizable and transcendent to us,—appears to be something evil, which must be destroyed at any price and must be eliminated in order to be able to produce a professional "inhuman" reflection. It is obvious that this kind of historiography differs in character entirely from the usual type.

Apart from the fact as to whether the present Soviet historiography presents a reflection of this kind, or whether such a reflection is at all possible, or whether this type of historiography actually (and not merely theoretically) aims to be such an objective reflection of reality, it can already be assumed on the strength of its ideology that it is bound to be boring and dull, like all that is impersonal and anti-aesthetic,—just as a photograph is "boring" compared to a work of art. Actually, a certain effort of will is required to read Soviet historical essays and articles; and there can be no talk of "reading them through in one go"; and not merely because we do not agree with them ideologically—a difference in the way of thinking is quite a normal thing in the free world, and not even because we already know the Party line in question and the philosophical basis and thus already know in advance what will be "proved" in the work in question, so that the actual driving force of science, curiosity, is ruled out in this case, and every work of this type is thus only an illustration of the well-known "historical laws" of a thoroughly immanent reality; no, the most peculiar characteristic of such works lies above all in their uniformity, their lack of a subject and their inhumanity.

These introductory considerations, which possibly are somewhat too detailed, can perhaps be justified by the fact that our task differs from the usual discussion of a scientific work. Normally, when engaging in such a discussion, one concentrates one's attention on the ideas that are new, on the contribution made to science by the author, and on the good and bad points of his work. For the above-mentioned reasons it seems unsound and inexpedient to apply these criteria to Soviet historiography. It is true that occasionally a precise analysis may reveal new ideas or rather traces of such ideas, and in that case such an analysis is justified. But it involves a certain risk: the reviewer against his will (or consciously, too) assumes the role of an augur, inasmuch as he endeavours to draw far-reaching conclusions on the strength of material which is far too meagre. For this reason, we intend to leave out "new ideas" and shall concentrate our attention, as far as the scope of this article permits, on the constant factor,—that is, on the characteristic features of the Soviet Ukrainian historiography of our day which result from its theory and ideology, as well as from its general status as the historiography of a subjugated nation. In this way we should like to draw the attention of our readers to the essential character of this historiography, a factor about which so far comparatively little is known.

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It is characteristic of the status of Soviet Ukrainian science and learning that its more important publications, even in the fields of Ukrainian history, that is in a field which in the first place and, in fact, almost exclusively—as far as wider circles of the reading public are concerned—is of interest precisely to the Ukrainian reader, appear mostly in the Russian language. Mr. Holobutsky, the author of the above-mentioned history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks has only published a number of lesser works in Ukrainian (in the historical compilations of the universities of Lviv and Chernivtsi); his longer works, on the other hand, are in Russian (as for instance his book "The Black Sea Cossacks," published in 1956).

It can be seen from a number of his publications that the history of the Cossacks is his particular field of research and that he chiefly examines aspects and periods connected with this subject which so far have not been studied exhaustively. This is probably one of the reasons why 250 of the 424 pages of the book under review



are devoted to the history of the Cossacks before Bohdan Khmelnytsky's hetmanate, that is before 1648. The author (for reasons which are not evident to us) has in no way managed to overcome the difficulties involved in dealing with the history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and that of the Cossacks as a whole as two separate things, and he only presents a history of the Zaporozhian Cossacks as something separate from the history of the Hetmanate from the battle of Poltava (1709) onwards.

Whereas the history of the Cossacks prior to 1648 is presented in some detail—and the same can to a certain extent be affirmed of the years 1648-1654, which are dealt with in 47 pages, although, incidentally, there are certain peculiar omissions here, as for instance no mention whatever of the decisive battle of Loyiv (1649), the author only devotes 23 pages (including sociological digressions) to the subsequent period (from 1654 to the beginning of the 18th century), which is one of the most important in the entire history of the Cossacks. No facts are quoted for the years 1654-1657; and as regards the tractate of Hadiach (1658), all the author says, for instance, is that "Vyhovsky surrendered Ukraine to the rule of the Polish nobles" (p. 308).

One must not be so naive as to assume that this peculiar "division" can be explained exclusively by the scientific interest of the author or by a coincidence. In order to present the history of the Cossacks and of the Ukrainian people according to the Party line, namely as a struggle to effect a union with Moscow, it has been necessary to obliterate the decades after 1654 almost completely,—the period in which Moscow increased its stranglehold on the young Cossack state more and more, until it finally deprived the Ukrainian people of the political, cultural, economic and religious freedom which they had, as it seemed, already gained at such great sacrifice to themselves. And herein undoubtedly lies the chief reason for the omission of so important a historical period and for the disproportion in the composition of the book.

The history of every nation is only comprehensible from the aspect of political, cultural, economic and other processes which go beyond the national borders; and a thorough knowledge of these processes is just as much a precondition for national historiography as is a thorough knowledge of the human anatomy and physiology for medical diagnostics. If one considers Soviet historiography from this point of view, one cannot but draw unpleasant conclusions. For

instance on page 23 of Holobutsky's book, that is on the first page after the introduction, we find the following assertions:

1) the Ukrainian territories were under Tatar rule for two and a half centuries (from the middle of the 13th century until the end of the 15th century!);

2) East Europe owed its liberation from the Tatars to the fight of the Russian people;

3) in the 14th and 15th century a number of centralized state structures came into being, including the Netherlands (which in those days did not yet constitute a state!).

Assertions of this kind are so numerous in the said book and, incidentally, also in Soviet historical literature that they would, if enumerated, fill a whole pamphlet. It is sometimes difficult to trace the origin of any one such assertion, but it is obvious that they all compromise the claim of Soviet historiography to a scientific character.

To quote still another example: on page 47, V. A. Holobutsky raises the question as to why the farmers in the West fled into the towns to escape "feudal subjugation," whereas in the East they fled into the steppes in order to found the Cossack realm. The explanation he gives is that in the East the towns were too small and could not absorb all refugees. This is a most peculiar logic, for one would think that the towns were small precisely because the farmers did not flee to them. But when, in this connection, the author adds that in the West the towns were to a certain extent dependent on the feudal lords, not so, however, the Cossacks in the East, one is left guessing as to whether this assertion is to be ascribed to his lack of knowledge regarding West European history or to his political ideology.

But the history of the Cossacks is not only the history of a part of the common European process or of a certain social formation; it is also—if measured by Marxist ideas—the history of a class struggle, of the increase of means of production,—a sphere of action of dialectics. And the "History of the Civil War in France" by Karl Marx (1848) is still regarded as an unparalleled example of this type of historiography. Can the works of modern Soviet historiography bear comparison with this "old master"?

The existence of a class struggle, of antagonism between the "elders" (starshyna) and the "have-nots" (siroma) is taken for granted by V. A. Holobutsky in the case of the Cossacks from the moment that their realm came into being. This antagonism is said

to have been so fierce that the "elders" were obviously glad to get rid of the "have-nots" by "letting the latter go soldiering in Turkey" (p. 130). On another occasion, when the situation had become serious, the "elders" advised the Cossacks "to make an unconditional surrender to the Poles" (p. 141), in order to get rid of them in this way. According to the author, the "elders" and the Cossacks went their own ways, but, nevertheless, the former "endeavoured to maintain their influence amongst the Cossacks" (p. 133), for obviously they needed the latter (in any case, how could a "master" exist without his "servant"?); and, incidentally, it is quite incomprehensible what the "elders" actually thought when they "intended to get rid of the Cossacks." Perhaps they were not even clear on this point themselves?

And another question which is not clear is that of the Polish-Lithuanian magnates. After stressing the existence of differences of principle between them and the crown (p. 103), the author affirms a few lines further on that the crown had always represented the interests of the entire feudal class. Later (on page 154), the author deals with the magnates' rebellion of 1606-1608, which was directed against the king and as a result of which Polish intervention in Russia was temporarily undermined, and goes on to affirm on the same page that after the defeat of this rebellion became apparent, the magnates immediately started a new campaign against Moscow. Is the author trying to make out that it was their own defeat which gave the magnates new strength?

According to the author, the solidarity of the masses was not limited by national borders, and the massacre of the Cossacks (as for instance on the River Solonytsia in 1596) was effected exclusively by the "infuriated nobility."

It is hardly necessary to prove the fact that the importance of the Russian "elder brother" for the Soviet picture of Russian history has in no way diminished since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Don region allegedly belonged to Russia—at that time not yet in existence—even before the Don Cossacks appeared there; in order to become "Russian," this region, according to the author, did not need to be populated by anyone (p. 144). The hopes cherished by Ukraine of liberation and unification with Russia were, so the author affirms, constantly stimulated by the Russian "brother people." The endeavour to form a union with Moscow—such is the explanation which V. A.



Holobutsky is obliged to give—was what prompted the Cossacks to serve the tsar as hired mercenaries (p. 174). If we are to believe the author, then even Poland in the 16th century endeavoured to bring about a union with Russia (p. 151). But if one considers all these unexpected and frequently sensational statements, which are however presented as a matter of course, more closely, they prove to be either entirely unfounded or else based on a very peculiar interpretation of historical sources. To quote but a few examples in this respect:

The annalist Bielski writes: "...it is only since then that Cossacks have appeared amongst us," and by this he means, of course, in the Polish-Lithuanian state; V. A. Holobutsky, however, explains that "amongst us" means "amongst the nobility," and since he considers this interpretation as having been proved, he proceeds to build up a whole theory on it. To mention another case of such "interpretation": an eyewitness mentions the panic which broke out in the town of Vinnytsia at the news that the rebel Cossacks were approaching (1594) and writes; "What a panic there was as people fled from their homes..."—to which the author's comment is: "people, that is to say nobility" (p. 133).

Such pseudo-literary, fantastic and indiscriminating statements occupy hundreds of pages in Soviet "scientific" historical works. Since the author cannot, for instance, base his statements on any historical sources in order to substantiate the existence of a class struggle amongst the Cossacks at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, he "proves" his assertions in this connection by quotations from the 18th century (pp. 52, 55, 118, for example). Or else he affirms, without producing any proof at all, that the nobles had already seized Cossacks domains towards the end of the 16th century and that the Cossacks had "courageously defended their freedom" (p. 49). Again and again the fairytale is repeated that the ecclesiastical union with Rome was devised by the Polish nobles, in order to enslave the Ukrainian people spiritually and ideologically (!) and sever them from the Russian people (p. 147 et seq.). The reason why Dmytro Vyshnevetsky did not return to Moscow in 1558 is to be sought, according to the author, in the events of the year 1560 (p. 82).

In addition, the author constantly refers to contemporary sources and to later compilations as if both present the events in question in an equally objective way. As far as he is concerned, there is no

such thing as discriminating between sources,—or, at least, only as regards “bourgeois historians” (and, incidentally, he introduces an innovation in his book, inasmuch as these historians are sometimes taken into account). The pamphlet known under the title “Meleshko’s Speech in the Seym in 1589” is dealt with by the author as if it actually was a speech held before the Seym (p. 24). In a similar manner he “proves” the existence of Cossack winter settlements at the beginning of the 16th century with the aid of a “Universal Manifesto of Hetman Khmelnytsky,” which was drawn up in the 18th century, and affirms in a footnote that “although the Universal Manifesto is not genuine, the tradition reflected in it (for fixing the date of the early winter settlements) remains conclusive” (p. 55). The author takes his “proof” from all sorts of sources, including folk-songs, too; for instance, he “proves” the “anti-religious attitude” of the Cossacks by the following quotation from a Cossack song:

“The famous Zaporozhian boys

Have lived their life—have never seen a priest...” (p. 125).

From the point of view of logic, one could thus accept it as a proved fact that the Cossacks “have never seen a girl,” for that is what the song goes on to say!

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Our criticism is not intended to be a reproach directed against the author, for the author is really not to blame. His “history” represents, as pointed out above, a product which is for the most part impersonal,—a product of an inhuman mechanism. It is even possible that the author did not produce his work alone, but was “helped”; in any case, there is no sense in regarding his work as the expression of his own personal convictions or his free conscience as a research scholar. Like all Soviet Ukrainian historians of today, the author has merely endeavoured to carry out a certain scheme. Prompted by but little interest and more or less only by the sense of duty of a historian, we have taken up his book, as one takes up the photograph of a person unknown, have read it and then laid it aside indifferently,—for there was no one whom we could recognize on the photograph.

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Yar Slavutych

***FROM THE BOOK "THIRST"***

*The days are short, the nights are shorter still!  
Above me Heaven's half-sphere shrinks to pond-size.  
How will I satisfy my volatile  
Unsounded heart with space wherein this world lies?*

*The roads extend, the rivers bend and flow,  
The mountains mutely contemplate the luster;  
Time's witcher, Man, decyphers Heaven's glow,  
Unriddles stars from their disturbing cluster.*

\* \* \*

*The churning river eddied to its bank.  
How pompously its twisting torrents swirled!  
Surcharged with brimming strength and boasting rank  
The raging waters stunned the whole wide world.*

*In flux, have I the right to criticize  
Those blossoms which within the heart take shape?  
Beyond the tempest, richer, bluer skies,  
An aging mind grows mellow, like the grape.*

*Oh be my temples tinted silver gray  
And let my mien mature with dignity.  
A seal of calm, sure wisdom will allay  
The froths of youthful intrepidity.*



**FROM THE BOOK "OASIS"**

Better rot in the cask of earth,  
There to nourish the roots of maple,  
That the crown's vibrant, verdant girth  
Might embrace the blue sky and grapple.

The severe space of Heav'n would know  
I refused to deny my homeland,  
That in death's final freezing blow  
I chose destiny with my own land.

Sorrow rusts in my heart a hole  
As I dream of your verdant rich May.  
Maple trees of Ukraine, my soul  
Flies above your lush landscapes each day.

Translated from Ukrainian.

*Volodymyr Derzhavyn*

(4)

## Post-War Ukrainian Literature in Exile

### II. Prose

#### 2

Let us now turn to a group of writers whom we briefly mentioned in our previous essay on post-war Ukrainian literature in exile, — namely to the transition group “between two generations”, which includes those older writers who were already well-known before World War II, at that time, however, exclusively as poets (or in some cases as literary critics, too), but not as prose-writers, and who only began to occupy themselves with belles-lettres towards the end of the war or even later. This group, about whose existence there is something paradoxical (older writers in the role of beginners in a field of literature so far unknown to them), naturally only consists of a few names, but these, however, are amongst the most famous in the entire post-war Ukrainian literature. The reasons which prompted individual poets to partly, or in rare cases completely, turn to belles-lettres, were naturally of a very varied personal and literary nature.

Of the comparatively few posthumous publications, there is in the first place a story in prose by the great poetess, Olena Teliha (1907-1942)<sup>1</sup>, entitled “Either — Or”, which was reprinted in 1947 with the sub-title “Autobiographical Fragment”, but which is, in reality, a perfect short story as far as its form is concerned (and by no means a fragment) and, as regards its psychological contents, one of the outstanding masterpieces of Ukrainian prose as a whole; for in an unusually graphic way it depicts Soviet everyday life during the early years of Bolshevik rule (the authoress left Kyiv and Soviet Ukraine unlawfully in the spring of 1923),

<sup>1</sup>) For more details on her works and her heroic and tragic fate see “Ukrainian Review,” No. 4, 1957, p. 56.

and explains how it came about that Bolshevik brutality and cunning, which were spreading in every sphere of life, on the one hand also demoralized many politically neutral and by no means proletarian-minded circles of the population and, on the other hand, kindled a desperate will to resistance and uncompromising hatred against Bolshevik tyranny and falsehood in the hearts of those who were noble-minded. It is greatly to be regretted that this short story by O. Teliha is the only one of its kind in the whole of her literary legacy (as far as this is known).

The position is quite different as regards a number of longer and shorter stories by the great poet Yuriy Klen (1891-1947), who was probably prompted by his study of the history of literature and by his work as a literary critic to finally try his hand in various fields of prose:<sup>2</sup> two adventure stories, "Acacia" and "The Medallion", which are endowed with a faint touch of mysticism by the depiction of the mysterious concatenations within the external events of a human life, a longer fantastic story "The Adventures of the Archangel Raphael" (in his earthly incarnation), which is half satirical and half philosophical, and a humorous story, in the style and narrative technique of the historical belles-lettres of the last century, about the domestic life of the Cossacks in the 16th-17th century, entitled "The Apples"; all these stories are pleasant and interesting to read and reveal a sound mastery of the belletristic form but they contain nothing really outstanding and make one think rather of a somewhat senile literary hobby on the part of this great poet. In Y. Klen's work as a whole his belletristic prose plays the part of a well cultivated but by no means particularly prolific side-line, not to be compared with his pathetic and profound lyrics and still less with his monumental (unfortunately never completed) epic about the historical fate of Ukraine, Russia, Poland and Germany during the years from 1914 to 1945, — "The Ashes of Empires".

And once again the position is quite different as regards the belletristic works of that outstanding lyric and epic poet of the expressionist trend, Teodosiy Osmachka (born in 1895, emigrated in 1944 and at present living in Philadelphia, USA). We have already discussed the nature of his poetry in this magazine on a previous occasion (No. 4, 1957, p. 61-62); but as we have meanwhile become acquainted with two further English translations of

<sup>2</sup>) Ibid., 1957, No. 3, p. 17, for more details on his works.



his works (in the Ukrainian Students' Review "Horizons", New York, Vol. II, 1956-57, No. 1-2), we consider it appropriate to quote them here, all the more so as the second of these two works is a piece of artistic prose, — a cross between aphorisms and so-called "poetry in prose" (incidentally, neither of these two works belongs to Osmachka's most outstanding achievements, and even the best translation — if it is a faithful rendering, as is the case here, cannot surpass the original):

## Laughter

The Mediterranean Sea is rumbling,  
ringing with waves 'gainst the slopes of African pyramids,  
rivers of blood gurggle in the valleys of ages  
washing the steep shores of the bones of humanity . . .  
And I hear through the murmur of elements over the bodies  
of slaves  
the cracking of whips . . .

On the shores they are driven the sour-eyed, the unwashed,  
the naked.

they fall, perish like flies towards winter,  
in the valleys of Egypt, of Hellas, of Rome,  
in the valleys of the Middle Ages...

The cracking of whips!

With their fierce swishing are in one song united  
our fires, and roars, and smoke, and fumes,  
like the clangor of censers and the incense in temples...

The whips are cracking,

the sun blinks his eye,

and the blood squirts up to the ceiling of worlds;

stars grow out of the bloody drops,

and the stars in heaven

like cornflowers in the field are plucked by poets

and tied into garlands

for the white foreheads of their beloveds...

The sages uplift the oceans

in goblets of granite up to the hills 'neath the sun

and rivers entwine into the braid of the earth

but truth they will not discover . . .

Blood gushes into the sky and stars are in bloom . . .

O earth!

I hear your diabolical laughter  
in the whirring of millions of planets,  
through millions of ages,  
and I wish to spit from despair  
on you, Mother Earth,  
to burn a stain, a wasteland  
on the back of your body  
like an eternal brand of the captive,  
and to vanish — a smoke in the abyss of time.<sup>3</sup>

### To an Artist

As a flood, streaming across the meadow, leaves on every blade of grass a drop of its element, so the night, parting from us at dawn, leaves by every object, by every plant, by every beast or man a particle of itself which we call a shadow. And if you have seen it and understood it — you are an artist.

And if you have noticed a little girl who sits in a garden and with her small hand tries to sweep away the shadow from under a spike of grass, and then full of wonder realizes that every spike of grass and every leaf and every object is surrounded by a shadow which cannot be swept away — then you are an artist.

And if you, becoming quite serious, follow the child as she twists her dress on her little belly with one hand, and with the other, points to the shadow and asks her mother to wipe it away, and if you hear the mother say: "This is a shadow, and nobody can wipe away shadows", and if you hear that the child goes on asking: "But is it not dirt?", and that the mother answers: "Child, you may wipe away dirt, but never a shadow" . . . if you hear all this, and if you see and believe that all our deeds are nothing but grass, objects, and ears of wheat, and if you understand that evil is an element much darker than the dark ways of an autumn night, and that the wise heart is a light much brighter than the sun and the moon, because it lights up the core of things and not only their surfaces, and that we shall need this light until the last day of our consciousness, if you divine all this, — then indeed you are a great artist.

<sup>3</sup>) Translated by Eugenia Wasylkiwska. This poem was written in the middle of the 1920's.

And because of this, your understanding everything that you paint shall look into our souls like the child, and our souls shall answer like the mother. And we shall know that your painting and we, are on great truth.<sup>4</sup>

Osmachka's prose in his novels and stories, however, is not so didactic and declamatory, although here, too, it reveals a strong lyrical and also rhetorical touch, particularly in his first belletristic work, the novel "The Bride's Best Man" (1947), which, in spite of the fact that it met with a big response on the part of Ukrainian readers and also literary critics on account of its unusual and rich metaphorical style, nevertheless contains various serious faults; a large number of anachronisms and historical improbabilities (the novel depicts the Ukrainian national and social fight for freedom in the country, under tsarism, during the years from 1910 to 1914, that is to say in an epoch about which the author seems to know very little), an odd and, at the same time, naive and primitive plot, and, in addition, a blurred portrayal of the characters, which, however, are all painted in black and white. The language, too, is a peculiar mixture of literary and purely dialectal (northeast Ukrainian) words and idioms.

In his two subsequent novels, however, which were written precisely during the years that Osmachka's poetic activity was clearly on the wane, he achieved something quite unusual; he turned the above-mentioned faults into good points, inasmuch as he transposed the entire literary genre in question into the fictitious, thus giving not only the work as a whole, but also its various parts and features an entirely different aesthetic significance. This is already clearly noticeable in the novel which comes next in chronological order, "The Plan to the Farm" (1952), but it is not until his third novel, "Rotunda of Assassins" (1956), that this new — or, rather, ancient — literary genre reaches its true perfection. Both novels deal with the terrorism of the Stalinist epoch (1931-1938) in the country, with the systematic Bolshevik extermination of the old Ukrainian farming class, the true core of the Ukrainian nation; but whereas in the case of "The Plan to the Farm" one may still have some doubts as to whether the exaggerations and anachronisms which it contains are really intentional and meant seriously by the author, in the "Rotunda of Assassins" the atmos-

<sup>4</sup>) Translated by Bohdan Rubchak. This piece of prose was written in the latter half of the 1940's.



phere is entirely that of a fairytale; not that anything "supernatural" happens in this novel, but the entire history of this period is treated as an old tale, as a legend, such as those which are preserved and flourish in folk-lore, with the mythical element, which, though it does not so much affect the plot, at least surrounds the characters. Thus, the author is entirely justified in resorting to pure dialect, as well as to an extremely metaphorical style. It is true that the tragic fate of most of the characters, who perish as a result of Bolshevik terrorism and, above all, the terrorism directed against Ukrainian national consciousness, is depicted quite realistically, — indeed, one might even say naturalistically; but it is accepted by the reader in the spirit of the old Ukrainian folk-lore and it is precisely in this higher sense that it remains artistically true. It is not a question of whether the political events in question — as, for instance, a secret conference with Stalin, during which the decision is reached to exterminate Ukrainian national consciousness by every means available (hence the title of the work), — are historically credible or not; they are depicted as they would have been reflected in Ukrainian traditional national poetry (and also in national consciousness), if the tradition in question had been preserved. The author has thus succeeded in effecting a regeneration of the national poetry of his nation, an achievement which can be compared to Longfellow's "Hiawatha", since in both cases modern poetic art has served to regenerate the almost forgotten psyche of an ancient philosophy of life.

Of the Ukrainian poets in exile who, after the war, devoted themselves predominantly or exclusively to belletristic prose, one might also mention Ivan *Bahriany* (emigrated in 1944 and at present living in the Federal Republic of Germany). Unfortunately, Bahriany has misused his pen solely in order to propagate certain peculiar "revolutionary" ideas not only in his political writings, but also in his belletristic and dramatic works (among other ideas, for example, the assertion that the Ukrainian Communists and Young Communists of today are the chief "cadres" which should be used for the setting up of the future national Ukrainian anti-Bolshevist state). Since they are not by any means true literature, but publicist writings made to look like belles-lettres or dramas — we think it better to pass over the works published under I. Bahriany's name in silence, which we shall likewise do in the case of the works of various similar "belletrists" of the younger generation.

## 3

We now come to the belletristic works of the younger generation of Ukrainian writers in exile, that is those writers who before World War II and for the most part before the end of the war were not known either as poets or prose writers; and in this connection we should like to point out from the outset that of the extremely numerous Ukrainian "younger" belletrists, only those are to be considered here whose literary works undoubtedly are of artistic value and must not be regarded solely as patriotic or moral, educational, edifying or light literature; otherwise, instead of about ten names — as in this article — we could no doubt mention ten times as many names, as well as several hundred comprehensive works (novels, stories, plays, collections of stories, etc.). But we only intend to discuss true belletristic prose in this article, and not the numerous works of propaganda literature or the equally numerous products of literary dilettantism, which for obvious reasons are particularly prevalent in every literature in exile. In an interesting article entitled "The Cultural Problems of the Ukrainians in America", the well-known Ukrainian sociologist and writer, Dr. V. Markus', recently said very rightly: "Of the numerous literary products, there are actually very few works which will ensure themselves a definite place in our literature or will become well-known outside it. Many writers tend to adjust themselves to the average reader and his taste, and for this reason we have so many mediocre writers. — The same also applies to various fields of pictorial, vocal and dramatic art. Actually, we have little, indeed, very little, that is valuable, noble, genuine and really artistic. On the other hand, a lot of and perhaps far too much popularization, repetition, imitation, transformation . . . — How pleased we can be at the appearance of the various collections of true poetry by certain young poets, as a counterweight to all the scribblings of the "would-be poets"; how highly must we appreciate Y. Hirniak's enterprising performance of Ivan Franko's "Moses", as a counterweight to the patriotic but, as regards their contents, primitive dramas and other plays which today are so widespread (surely the genuineness of the Ukrainian resistance would be worthy of a true dramatic work!); how pleasing it is to perceive the initiative and genuine interest of those persons who in our midst wish to cultivate chamber music or to hear the performance of new (and not always the same) Ukrainian compositions! It is all the harder to reconcile oneself to

the fact that these are only very rare phenomena". And further on he writes: "One is fond of saying in the Free World that the new political emigrants "have chosen freedom". Yes, that is true: neither the wages nor the salaries, nor the jobs, nor American comforts have prompted the majority of these persons to leave their native country. The intellectual forces escaped from spiritual enslavement and sought freedom of creative work. And this puts them under a certain obligation. In contradistinction to the opportunist conception of emigration exclusively as "freedom of living", the emigrants' mission of the "freedom of creative work" must be emphasized, which... puts our prominent cultural personalities under the obligation not only of "applied" cultural activity for the needs of the emigrants, but also... of creating cultural values."<sup>5</sup>

It is with these words in mind that we shall here pass over many works which can only lay small claim or, in fact, an unjustified claim to any artistic value, and we should first of all like to turn to a book which from the outset really waives all claims to an aesthetic valuation, for it bears the simple sub-title "Memories" and undoubtedly depicts the actual experiences of the authoress; but it does this in so objective a manner, in keeping with moral truth and, one might say, so tactfully, that it can be regarded, as far as the literary genre and style in question are concerned, as an exemplary autobiographical story. It is the book entitled "In the Days of the Yezhov Regime" ("Z chasiv yezhovshchyny", 1949, last edition 1954) by Olha (Olga) Mał, who first made a name for herself as a writer whilst in exile. It is a fairly typical story of a family of Ukrainian intellectuals (from academic circles) under the terrorist regime of the notorious People's Commissar of the Interior and chief of the entire Soviet state police (NKVD), Nikolay Yezhov (1937-39) and during the early months of the German-Soviet war. The husband of the authoress, who was arrested in 1938, but was released after Yezhov was overthrown, is subsequently involved in a mock trial in a most infamous manner by the procurator and, in keeping with the system resorted to in the U.S.S.R., after the outbreak of the war, in the case of all persons accused of political crimes, is then "liquidated" without a trial.<sup>6</sup> His wife and children,

<sup>5</sup>) V. Markus': Kul'turni problemy ukrayintsiv v Amerytsi (published in "Ukrayins'ky Samostiynyk," Munich, 1957, No. 1).

<sup>6</sup>) About one-third of the book—the account of his imprisonment in 1938-39—is related in his name in the first person. The rest is related by



who have meanwhile been persecuted in keeping with the system of "kinship responsibility" which actually holds good in the U.S.S.R., remain in their native country Ukraine when the Red Army retreat and are firmly determined never to endure Bolshevik rule again. The mother-in-law of the authoress goes to Kyiv, which at that time is still under Soviet rule, in the wild hope of perhaps being able to find her son, even though he has in all probability already been executed by the Bolshevik authorities. And here the book ends.

Certain details (as for instance the very "ideological" dialogues towards the end of the book) point to the fact that although all the incidents depicted were actually experienced, they were not all experienced exactly as they are depicted. But this is of little significance compared to the really objective, well thought-out and well modulated literary style in which the Soviet political atmosphere of the last years before the war is reproduced, namely, the total lack of rights of a Soviet "citizen" in the face of the omnipotent NKVD and the bailiff's role played by Soviet "judicature", which is completely servile to the NKVD; which role, to quote the conclusion reached by the hero of the story who is accused of a political crime of which he is not guilty, "is, in fact, to take over and sentence such a case on account of complete lack of evidence. But in this case the court found no evidence; all it did was to accuse and it left the task of producing counter-evidence to the accused. And the more serious and senseless the accusation was, the harder was it for the accused to prove his innocence. Thus, a Soviet citizen can for instance be sentenced on a charge of having stolen Soviet gold from a safe on the moon, if he cannot prove, by producing a witness from the same moon, that someone else committed the crime, and if such a sentence seems expedient to the organs of Soviet justice".

Incidentally, the authoress reveals a considerable sense of humour — though it is, of course, grim humour — as for instance when she describes a house-search, in the course of which the so-called official "militia-men" (that is, simply the Soviet police) among other things also confiscated foreign language dictionaries as "suspicious" — even those printed by a Soviet publishing firm:

— In the publishing firms, too, there have been some public enemies, who have published all kinds of books for espionage, — the authoress herself.

is the reason given by the "militia-men" for their "vigilance". — If there are foreign words in a book and they are written in all sorts of capitalistic languages, then only a spy is going to use such a book . . .

But it is a lengthy and tedious job to look through over a thousand books. And for this reason, once the militia-men have secured what to them seems an adequate number of "counter-revolutionary" documents, they begin to pick out books at random.

— What is that? — they ask once again.

— That? As you see — Kant: "Critique of Pure Reason".

— We can see that . . . And what is it about?

I give full rein to my feelings.

— About the exploitation of the proletariat, — I reply, without batting an eyelid.

— And this fellow . . . what's his name? . . . Kant — what's he doing now?

— He's not doing anything: Tsar Nicholas had him hanged.

— Aha! — the militia-man pretends to recall this fact: — So that's the same Kant whom Tsar Nicholas had hanged?

— Exactly! . . . I smile a secret smile to myself.

— Well, of course, that's a different matter! He can go on standing on this shelf. He was all right! . . .

Lastly, to the manual of ecclesiastical Slavic (precisely because it is *ecclesiastical* Slavic, — V. D.) and to a volume of the "Small Soviet Encyclopedia" (because it contains a picture of Trotsky, — V. D.), as "suspicious stuff", there is added an ampoule of insulin, the last of the fifteen ampoules which the doctor had prescribed for me.

— Maybe it's medicine and maybe it's poison — the militia-men declare thoughtfully. — All sorts of things happen nowadays".

The authoress' language is plain and unadorned and devoid of all metaphor; though it is extremely clear and correct, as measured by the linguistic standard of today's emigrant press, it nevertheless adjusts itself admirably to the picture of Soviet everyday life which is presented in this story. The authoress has thus succeeded, mainly with the help of literary composition with the simplest means, in creating a work, which, quite apart from the historical truth and accuracy of its social and national political contents, satisfies the requirements of true belletristic art, — which is rarely the case as far as the mass of belletristic and semi-belletristic works that are

devoted to the subject of the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine are concerned. An English translation of the work would be extremely desirable, all the more so as the authoress herself says in her foreword that "these memoirs have been written specially for foreigners; for this reason, the authoress has, in certain passages of the book, been obliged to resort to a type of characterization of events and individual persons which is superfluous for the Ukrainian reader, but without which, however, many events would be incomprehensible to a foreigner".

Of the other literary works produced by Olha Mak, we should in particular like to mention her book "The Oddity" ("Chudasiy", 1956), which likewise depicts Soviet everyday life (namely that of the students and other youth) shortly before World War II. The description as such is as objective and well-done from the literary point of view as in the above-mentioned book of memoirs, but the typification of the characters, on the other hand, seems far too artificially idealized and thought-out as far as the hero — an "oddity" or "crank" — is concerned, and far too schematic, in fact, colourless, in the case of all the other persons in the book. The authoress has created the extremely likeable character of a national-minded and patriotic young man in Soviet Ukraine during the years before the outbreak of the war; she has endowed her hero with every possible and impossible positive quality (even his shyness where women are concerned is, of course, depicted in such a way as to arouse sympathy); in fact, she is quite in love with him and this naturally detracts from the artistic value of the work. In addition, the narrative is overloaded with a lot of patriotic reflections and tirades, — for whose benefit? For the editor's? Those who hold a different opinion are not likely to let themselves be converted by this kind of publicistic matter, and a national-minded person of culture is not likely to find much pleasure in discovering in a belletristic work those facts with which he has long been acquainted, — indeed, precisely the same facts which he can enjoy in a more expertly prepared state in the daily press.

It is thus obvious that Olha Mak owes the considerable success of this her most recent belletristic work (both amongst literary critics and a wide circle of readers) mainly to the fact that she has complied far too much with the unsophisticated taste in literature of the average reader; one would have expected something better from a writer of her talent.



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## THE UKRAINIANS OUTSIDE UKRAINE

**A Geographical and Statistical Survey\*)**

Of the 45 million Ukrainians in the whole world, 10 to 12 million, that is to say approximately one-fourth, live outside the Ukrainian ethnical territory (including the border regions in the East with a mixed population) and approximately 14 million outside Soviet Ukraine (the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic). Of the said 10 to 12 million "dispersed" Ukrainians, over 2 million live outside the U.S.S.R. (80 per cent of them in the free world). This Ukrainian diaspora is for the most part the result of the colonization and migration processes of recent times, that is of approximately the last 80 years. These processes began on a large scale during the last decades of the 19th century, at about the same time as one stream of Ukrainian emigrants moved from West Ukraine, which formed part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, towards the West, namely towards America, whilst the other stream from Central and East Ukraine, which formed part of the Russian empire, moved towards the East, that is towards Asia.

### THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1880

Prior to this date, the Ukrainians as a whole inhabited their own ethnical territory, with the exception of a small number who lived

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\*) The original Ukrainian text of this article was published under the title "Ukrayintsi za mezhamy bat'kivshchyny" in the Munich fortnightly "Suchasna Ukrayina," No. 15-16 (194-195), 1958.

in ethnical enclaves, which were, however, near to their ethnical territory; in addition, there were several Ukrainian colonies in Baczka and in the Banate or border province (the region north of the middle reaches of the Danube, at that time part of the kingdom of Hungary), as well as numerous ethnical enclaves in the South Volga region and in the Urals. For hundreds of years the Ukrainians had migrated to the east and the south and, in the course of their struggle against the nomads and, above all, after the latter had finally been driven out (towards the end of the 18th century), had colonized and cultivated the adjoining steppes; but this was a direct expansion of their own ethnical territory. Indeed, the entire history of the Ukrainian people is for the most part the history of Ukrainian colonization,—of the expansion or contraction of their national territory. After the above-mentioned process had been finally completed (in the first half of the 19th century) and the Ukrainian element had established itself in the steppes on the Black Sea and in the western extremity of the Caucasus (the Kuban region), certain borderlands in the East assumed a mixed ethnical character, rather than a purely Ukrainian character, since they had been colonized both by Ukrainians as well as by Russians. This applies above all to the vast eastern extremity of the Caucasus (an area of 163,400 sq. kilometres, with a population of 3.7 million in 1939; according to the only more or less exact census of 1926, the Russians constituted 57.3 per cent, the Ukrainians allegedly 33.4 per cent—actually, however, there were more, and the rest 9.3 per cent), as well as to the Crimea, which up to the forcible expulsion of the Tatars by the Bolsheviks (after World War II) was a mixed Ukrainian-Russian-Tatar territory, and to the northern part of the Chernihiv region, where Ukrainian, Byelorussian (White Ruthenian) and Russian elements intersected. All the above-mentioned regions have a mixed population, and it is impossible to determine where there are Ukrainian enclaves and where the Ukrainians constitute the majority of the population. Apart from these mixed territories—the products of the colonization of the 19th or even of the 20th century (as far as the extremities of the Caucasus and the Crimea are concerned), the Ukrainians in the years 1870 to 1880, that is, before they began to emigrate on a large scale, already formed numerous small enclaves in the border regions of the Russian ethnical territory, namely in the region of Kursk, Voronezh and

the Don. Still further eastwards, at a distance of 100 to 300 kilometres from Ukraine, large Ukrainian ethnical enclaves came into existence—for the most part in the 18th century—in the Volga region (near to the German enclaves) and in the Urals. The processes which took place along the western frontiers of the Ukrainian territories in the vicinity of the Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians and Roumanians, were, however, different. In this border territory, particularly the Polish, the Ukrainian element was, on the whole, receding; Polish islands were formed in the Ukrainian ethnical territory, and the Ukrainian-Polish ethnical border shifted eastwards; as a trace of their former course, Ukrainian enclaves remained behind in the midst of a Polish majority,—as a rule, in less accessible localities, as for instance the enclave of the so-called “mixed breeds” (*zamishantsi*) in the mountains between the middle reaches of the River San and the River Wislok. Only in a few exceptional cases are the Ukrainian enclaves the result of the colonization of hitherto uncolonized regions of Polish or Slovak territory; of such origin is the western part of the Lemky gore, which is wedged in between the Polish and the Slovak territory. In the Slovak border region, a trace of the former wide expansion of Ukrainian territory can be seen not only in the Ukrainian enclaves, but also in the linguistic Slovakisation of thousands of Ukrainians, who nevertheless retained their feeling of ethnical affinity with the Ukrainians and also their common Greek Catholic Church. A trace of the former expansion of the Ukrainian element in Moldavia and Bessarabia, which from the end of the 14th century onwards were colonized by Roumanians (that is, Moldavians and Wallachians), is to be found in the numerous Ukrainian enclaves between the rivers Sereth and Dniester, which—mainly in Moldavia—underwent an increasing Roumanization. On the other hand, however, the Ukrainian enclaves in Dobruja and in South Bessarabia are the result of the colonization of the uninhabited or practically uninhabited steppes in the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. In the 18th century, Ukrainian colonies were established far away from Ukrainian territory, namely in Baczka and in the Banate or border province, which, at that time, after their liberation from Turkish rule, belonged to Hungary; the Ukrainians who settled there came from Western Carpatho-Ukraine.



## THE YEARS 1880-1914

About the year 1880 there begins a new period of Ukrainian emigration, which differs entirely from the previous period. It is an emigration to regions which are far away from the mother country: as was already pointed out, from the West Ukrainian territories to America, and from the Central and East Ukrainian territories to the Asiatic parts of the Russian Empire, that is to Siberia and Central Asia. The reasons for this emigration were unhealthy social conditions, in particular the agrarian over-population (95 per cent of the Ukrainians lived in the rural districts), coupled with a considerable natural increase in population (1.2 to 2 per cent yearly), very little urbanization and industrialization, as well as the disinclination of the Ukrainian farming class to settle in the towns. In Central and East Ukraine there was an additional reason,—namely, that the colonized regions nearby—above all, the steppes of South Ukraine and the extremities of the Caucasus, as well as the Volga region and the Urals—were already fully populated by Ukrainian colonists, so that the latter had to go further afield eastwards in order to find new regions. The emigrants in both directions—to America and to Asia—were farmers who had little or no land. The intensity of this emigration process increased by degrees and reached its peak during the last decade before the outbreak of the first World War. Up to 1914, 2 million Ukrainians emigrated to Asia (a certain number, however, returned later) and about 500,000 to America.

As far as the process of emigration to Asia was concerned, the Ukrainian farmers as a rule settled in those districts where they found natural conditions similar to those in their native country; for this reason, they avoided the forest-zone of Siberia (the so-called taiga) and the desertlike steppes of Central Asia and for the most part settled in the black earth belt of the steppes and wooded steppes region. Consequently, considerable Ukrainian centres came into existence in two regions of Asia, namely in Far East, in the so-called "Green Wedge" (Zelenyi Klyn) and in the long and narrow belt extending from the River Ural in the West to the towns of Novosibirsk and Barnaul in the East, in the borderland of South Siberia and Central Asia (today called Kazakhstan), that is to say, in the black earth belt of the steppes and wooded steppes region. In both of these centres the Ukrainians were in the majority as

compared to the Russians and the native population (in Central Asia, the Kazakhs and Kirghizians). Their way of living and of farming was the same as in their native country.

The Ukrainians from the Russian empire emigrated almost exclusively to Russia in Asia (only those from the southwestern regions of the Russian empire partly emigrated to America, too), whereas the Ukrainians from Austro-Hungary, however, emigrated exclusively to America. The earliest and most numerous emigrants came from Carpatho-Ukraine (which at that time was part of Hungary); almost all of them went to the USA; their example was followed later on by the emigrants from Galicia and Bukovina, who went to the USA and to Canada and, to a lesser extent, also to Brazil and Argentina. Up to 1914, approximately 500,000 Ukrainians emigrated from former Austro-Hungary; this, incidentally, was a very high percentage compared to the total number of Ukrainians in that monarchy (over 4 million prior to the first World War). It can be assumed that of this total number—the number of persons who re-emigrated has already been deducted—about 350,000 Ukrainians settled in the USA, over 100,000 in Canada, and over 50,000 in South America.

In each of these countries the Ukrainians encountered different natural and social conditions. In Brazil and Argentina they settled in the sub-tropical forests and steppes, which were entirely uninhabited by the natives; here, the Ukrainians as a rule formed compact agricultural colonies (in Brazil, Prudentopolis and environs, in Argentina, Misiones) and lived their own national life, as if in their native country. And for this reason, they were not threatened by any denationalization, above all, since their cultural level was far higher than that of the local rural population.

The Ukrainian emigrants in Canada settled in the steppe regions of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan under natural conditions which were very similar to those under which the Ukrainian settlers in Asia lived. As in Asia, these regions constitute a broad belt of wooded and wooded steppes region; here, too, we find a black earth belt, with as clearly marked a continental climate—that is, with a considerable difference between summer and winter temperatures—as the said belt in Asia. In Canada, too, the Ukrainians occupied themselves almost exclusively with farming, settled on the whole in sparsely populated peripheral areas (together with other col-

onists—British, Polish, German and Scandinavian), constituted a considerable percentage of the total local population and, indeed, sometimes the majority, and for a long time continued to live their own national life as they had done in their own country. There was, however, one difference. The Ukrainians in Asia continued to live in the same empire, in the same political and social order, with the same fairly primitive economic system; the Ukrainians in Canada, on the other hand, found themselves in a free Anglo-Saxon country, with an entirely different political and economic life, in which the economic system was more adjusted to the demand of the world market.

The living conditions which the Ukrainian settlers encountered in the USA were quite different. Only in exceptional cases did they settle on the land as farm workers or as independent farmers; as a general rule, they took on jobs in the towns, especially in industry, and settled mainly in the eastern states, in particular in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey ranking second. They thus lived under conditions entirely different from those in their native country. As a result of favourable economic and political living conditions and thanks to the tireless work of their own intellectual class, which at that time was not as yet very numerous, the Ukrainians in the USA, more rapidly than those in other emigrant areas, changed from a poor and, to a large extent, illiterate mass with little national consciousness into a financially secure and nationally conscious ethnical group, which kept up a close and active contact with its native country and was more interested in the latter's problems than were the Ukrainian emigrants in other countries. A negative feature as far as the Ukrainian emigrants in the USA were concerned was, already in those days, the division into two groups, which differed according to their origin,—the Galician and the Carpatho-Ukrainian; these two groups led an entirely separate life; as a rule, they had separate parishes (and from the 1920's onwards, also separate dioceses), separate organizations, press organs, etc., and they also differed in their national outlook, for the Carpatho-Ukrainians (and, to some extent, the Lemky, too) did not always support the principle of an all-Ukrainian national unity.

As a result of the constant influx of new emigrants and the close and active contact with their native country, the Ukrainians who had settled in various countries of the American continent (as distinct from those in Asia) were at that time not yet threatened



by denationalization; in the USA, however, the first indications of this danger were already noticeable,—both because the Ukrainian emigrant groups there were the oldest and also owing to the fact that they had settled in urban and, in particular, in industrial centres.

In the course of the last few years before the outbreak of the first World War, thousands of Ukrainians from Galicia settled in Bosnia, which in those days was annexed by Austria-Hungary; here, agricultural colonies were formed. Several hundred Ukrainians also settled in England (in Manchester). Some also went to Germany (as well as to Denmark, Roumania and Bohemia), but only as seasonal workers.

In the course of the aforesaid emigration process, the total number of Ukrainians living outside their native country increased from 1 million (or a little over) in 1880 to 4 million (or a little over) in 1914, that is, to 10.5 per cent of all the Ukrainians in the world. Apart from the actual emigration process itself, this increase was also the result of a natural increase, that is by birthrate, amongst the settlers. Of the said 4 million, 750,000 were living in the New World.

### BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

The change in political conditions after the First World War and after the Ukrainian national war of liberation from 1917-1921, the new state frontiers, which in several cases cut through Ukrainian territory, changes in the immigration policy of those countries in which the Ukrainians had formerly settled,—all these factors influenced the trend and intensity of the Ukrainian emigration process very considerably. The difference between the emigration processes in West Ukraine (which had been divided up between Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia) and those in Central and East Ukraine (which became part of the U.S.S.R.) now became far more marked than had been the case before the First World War.

The emigration process to America extended to further areas than had been the case prior to 1914, namely to western Volhynia and Polissia, too, which now belonged to Poland; in spite of this fact, however, it decreased as far as figures were concerned. As a result of immigration restrictions, the emigration process to the USA ceased completely; on the other hand, however, the emigration to Canada and, in the second place, to Argentina, which prior to the

First World War had only played a minor role, now increased in significance. At the same time, there also began an emigration to France. The West Ukrainian emigration process was strongest in the years 1922 to 1929; in the years 1931 to 1934 it practically ceased as a result of the international economic crisis, but eventually revived again shortly before the outbreak of World War II; during this latter period, the emigration process to Argentina ranked foremost; it was during this period, too, that the emigration process to Paraguay and Uruguay also began. During the years from 1919 to 1939, about 200,000 Ukrainians emigrated from West Ukraine; of this number, 15,000 emigrated to the USA, 70,000 to Canada, 50,000 to Argentina, 10,000 to Brazil, about 10,000 to Paraguay and Uruguay, and 40,000 to France.

Meanwhile, certain changes were taking place with regard to the distribution of the Ukrainians within the various immigration countries; from the places where they had previously settled they now began to spread to further regions. In Argentina, for instance, the new emigrants concentrated above all on the capital, Buenos Aires. The Ukrainians in Brazil, on the one hand, showed a tendency to colonize new areas, in particular the forests in the north of the state of Parana, and, on the other hand, settled in large numbers in Curitiba, the capital of Parana. In Canada more and more Ukrainians began to settle outside the steppes region, that is mainly in the province of Ontario (above all in Toronto), as well as in Montreal; but in spite of this fact, 85 per cent of the total number of Ukrainians in Canada were living in the three prairie provinces in 1931. And lastly, the Ukrainians in the USA partly began to settle in the Middle West.

The collapse of the temporary independence of the Ukrainian National State (1917-1921) resulted in the first large-scale political emigration process in the history of Ukraine; in 1921, the political emigrants numbered 100,000, but, later, after part of them returned—mostly to Galicia, this figure dropped to 50,000. The main centres to which they emigrated were the capitals of the states in which there were Ukrainians,—Vienna, Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, Paris (Vienna ceased to be of importance in this respect after 1923). The country which played the leading part as a collecting centre of the Ukrainians in West Europe was France, since, apart from the political emigrants, the workers who had emigrated

had also gone there. A small number of Ukrainians were also living in Belgium.

Prior to the outbreak of World War II, the total number of Ukrainians living outside their native country, that is in the Western world, amounted to approximately 1,880,000. They were distributed as follows:

1.	Western ethnical border-countries <sup>1)</sup>	... ..	420,000
2.	Yugoslavia <sup>2)</sup>	... ..	30,000
3.	France	... ..	50,000
4.	Other countries of West and Central Europe <sup>3)</sup>	... ..	60,000
<hr/>			
1-4.	Europe	... ..	560,000
<hr/>			
5.	USA	... ..	800,000
6.	Canada	... ..	350,000
7.	Argentina	... ..	80,000
8.	Brazil	... ..	60,000
9.	Other countries of America <sup>4)</sup>	... ..	20,000
<hr/>			
5-9.	America	... ..	1,310,000
<hr/>			
10.	Manchuria and China <sup>5)</sup>	... ..	10,000 (?)
<hr/>			
1-10.	The Ukrainian diaspora outside USSR	... ..	1,880,000

As regards the emigration process in the territory of the U.S.S.R., the only information available pertains to the 1920's. The intensive emigration from Ukraine to the East prior to 1914 practically ceased during and immediately after the first World war, and, in fact, never again reached its former degree of intensity. Whereas prior to the first World War, 106,000 Ukrainians emigrated annually from Ukraine to Asia, during the years 1924 to 1928 the number of persons who emigrated to Asia from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic amounted to 142,000 that is an average of approximately 28,000 annually. The reasons for this decrease lay in the fact that the longing for land on the part of the Ukrainian farming class was partly satisfied

<sup>1)</sup> In the Ukrainian enclaves in West Galicia 70,000, in the regions of Kholm (Cholm) and Pidliashshia 12,000, in Carpatho-Ukraine 33,000, in Bukovina 19,000, in Moldavia approximately 60,000 (?), in Bessarabia 155,000, in Dobruja 70,000 (?).

<sup>2)</sup> Baczka, Bosnia, Sirmia.

<sup>3)</sup> In Poland 20,000 (?), in Roumania 10,000 (?), in Czecho-Slovakia 10,000 (?), in Germany and Austria 10,000 (?), in other countries 10,000 (?).

<sup>4)</sup> Mainly Paraguay.

<sup>5)</sup> Partly settlers prior to the revolution, who were employed on the Far East Railway, and partly emigrants of the post-war years (from Zeleny Klin).



by the provisional partition of the manorial estates, as well as in the industrialization and urbanization processes in Ukraine, and, lastly, in the fact that free emigration to the East was now prohibited. The census of 1926 is the only one which gives any definite figures with regard to the status of the Ukrainian diaspora within the U.S.S.R., but here, too, the number of Ukrainians (particularly in Asia) is intentionally given as being less than it really was. According to the statistics of this census, there were at that time 1,210,000 Ukrainians living in the European part of the U.S.S.R. outside Ukrainian ethnical territory, and they included 320,000 in the enclaves near the Ukrainian-Russian ethnical border (170,000 in the region of Kursk, 70,000 in the region Voronezh, 80,000 in the Don region), and 770,000 in the colonies of the Volga and Ural region; for the most part, these Ukrainians lived in large enclaves, which linked up the Ukrainian motherland with the Ukrainian colonies in Asia, but there were also scattered Ukrainian groups.

The same census also gives the number of Ukrainians in Soviet Asia as 2,138,000 (of these, 861,000 in Kazakhstan, 828,000 in Siberia, 315,000 in the Far East, 64,000 in Kirghizia), but actually they numbered far more, — in all probability about 3,000,000. On the whole one can assume that at the beginning of 1933, that is to say prior to the large-scale resettlement of the population on Soviet Ukrainian territory, of the 45,000,000 Ukrainians in the whole world, over 6,000,000 (i. e. 13.5 per cent of the total number) were living outside their native country and that of this number almost half, that is up to 3,000,000, were living in Asia, a million in America and half a million in Europe.

In the 1930's considerable changes took place in the status of the Ukrainian dispersion in the U.S.S.R., but unfortunately, owing to the fact that exact data are not available, these changes cannot be ascertained in figures. The early 1930's brought the introduction of compulsory collectivization in Ukraine, a general industrialization and urbanization, as well as famine and repressive measures, which claimed about 4 million Ukrainians as their victims; in short, it was the tragic epoch of the extermination of the Ukrainian population by the Russian Bolsheviks. And it was during these years that far-reaching changes occurred in the Ukrainian dispersion in the U.S.S.R. On the one hand, the Ukrainian enclaves outside Ukraine suffered considerable losses, for here, too, famine and terrorism prevailed, and, on the other hand, thousands of Ukrainians left

their native country. Some of them were deported to concentration camps (mostly to the Far North), whilst others escaped from famine and repressive measures by fleeing to Asia, in particular to the new industrial centres (as for instance in the Kuznetsk Basin) and to Kazakhstan. In this way the number of Ukrainians in the Soviet dispersion, above all in Asia, increased at the expense of their native country.

## WORLD WAR II AND THE POST-WAR YEARS

World War II, which to a considerable extent was enacted in Ukraine and which, as far as the German-Soviet war was concerned, was in the first place fought for the possession of Ukraine, likewise brought great changes with it as regards the population of the Ukrainian territories. Apart from big losses which were suffered as a result of military operations, millions of Ukrainians either left their native country of their own free will or else were forcibly deported, and only a relatively small percentage returned to Ukraine after the war. The emigration of the Ukrainians took place in two directions: to the east, in other territories of the U.S.S.R., and to the west, to the countries under German rule. When the Bolsheviks, in view of the advance of the German troops, retreated from Ukraine, they evacuated a certain proportion of the population and settled the latter mainly in Asia — in Kazakhstan, south-west Siberia, including the Ural region, and in the Far East, namely in those regions to which they had evacuated numerous industrial concerns; a considerable proportion of the Ukrainian population was also mobilized for the Red Army. In addition, the Germans also deported over a million Ukrainians to Germany for forced labour and during their retreat in the years 1943-1944 they likewise forcibly evacuated a certain proportion of the population; moreover, countless Ukrainians left their native country voluntarily before the next Bolshevik invasion. As a result of these processes there were in Germany and Austria at the end of the war about 2 to 3 million Ukrainians (including the soldiers of the Red Army who were prisoners-of-war), the majority of whom during the next few years returned to the U.S.S.R. either by compulsion or of their own free will; approximately 200,000 of this number, however, were firmly determined not to return and to endure Bolshevik tyranny, and they now constituted the second Ukrainian political

emigration process, which, incidentally, was far more numerous than the first one had been.

Only a relatively small proportion of the repatriated Ukrainians managed to return to Ukraine, for the majority of them were deported to Asian regions before reaching Ukraine; similarly, only a small proportion of the Ukrainians who were evacuated to the interior of the Soviet Union by the Bolsheviks in 1941, returned to Ukraine later on. The number of Ukrainians deported to concentration camps increased very considerably with a new wave of Soviet terrorism during the years from 1945 to 1953. As a result of World War II the Ukrainian dispersion in the U.S.S.R. thus increased to a very considerable extent (especially in Asia); on the other hand, however, it can be assumed that a certain proportion of the Ukrainian dispersion in the U.S.S.R. has, in the course of Soviet rule, finally succumbed to a Russification as a result of Russian Bolshevik pressure.

After an interval of several years, the process of the shifting of the Ukrainian masses from their native country to the East has now been resumed, namely in conjunction with the cultivation and agricultural appropriation of the so-called "virgin land" in the steppes of North Caucasus, but, above all, in the steppes region of Central Asia — in the Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, as well as in the adjoining part of Siberia. Part of the population — and, in particular, young persons of the farming class — from the densely populated black earth belt of the European part of the U.S.S.R., mainly from Ukraine, are being forcibly resettled on the said "virgin land". This resettlement process has resulted in a decrease of several hundred thousands in the Ukrainian population of the main Ukrainian regions and in a corresponding increase in the Ukrainian dispersion in the U.S.S.R.

As a result of the above-mentioned processes, the number of Ukrainians living in the U.S.S.R. but outside Ukrainian national territory, which amounted to 4 million in 1914, has now increased to approximately 10 to 12 million. The largest aggregation of Ukrainians outside Ukraine is undoubtedly to be found in Central Asia, namely in Kazakhstan, whose population can be divided into three fairly equal groups: Kazakhs, Ukrainians and Russians. The development of the population proportion tends towards a steady drop in the percentage of the native Kazakhs; it is hard to say to what extent the fact that the Ukrainians constitute an absolute and



large percentage of the population can protect them against Russification.

Considerable changes also took place after the war in the Ukrainian dispersion in the Ukrainian-Polish border territory, as well as in the West European countries. In connection with the shifting of the frontiers between Soviet Ukraine and Poland in 1945 and with the resulting exchange of population, all the Ukrainians (about 500,000) were evicted from the zone which now belonged to Poland; this measure also led to the liquidation of the Ukrainian enclaves near the former Ukrainian-Polish ethnical border, which before the war had numbered up to 100,000 Ukrainians. And this also happened in the case of the Ukrainian colonies in regions which were essentially Polish. But in place of the former Ukrainian dispersion in Poland a new one came into being there. Those of the Ukrainian population who refused to settle in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic were forcibly resettled by the Poles in the new West Polish territories, which before the war had belonged to Germany and from which the Germans had been evicted, in particular East Prussia and Lower Silesia. It is quite possible that there are at present 150,000 to 200,000 Ukrainians living there and in the regions which are essentially Polish.

On the other hand, however, the number of the Ukrainian population in the Ukrainian-Slovak and Ukrainian-Roumanian border regions underwent no changes.

In connection with the Bolshevik occupation of Central Europe the pre-war centres of the Ukrainian political emigrants in Warsaw, Berlin, Prague and Vienna ceased to exist, though small Ukrainian colonies still continue to exist there today. On the other hand, however, the number of Ukrainians in the countries on this side of the Iron Curtain has increased considerably.

During the early post-war years (1945-1948), the largest number of new Ukrainian political emigrants was to be found in West Germany (and in the western part of Austria), where there were at that time about 200,000 Ukrainians. From 1947 onwards, they began to emigrate to other countries, — to begin with, to other European countries, to Great Britain, Belgium and, to a lesser extent, to France, and, later on, overseas, namely to the USA, Canada, Australia and, to a lesser extent, to Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Venezuela, Uruguay and New Zealand. The Ukrainians now left in West Germany number about 15,000 to 20,000, and

in Austria about 5,000. Of the Ukrainians who emigrated to Belgium (and also to Great Britain and France) after 1947, some have since emigrated to the USA and Canada. Since World War II about 60,000 Ukrainians have emigrated to the USA, 30,000 to Canada, up to 20,000 to Australia and New Zealand, 6,000 to Argentina, 7,000 to Brazil, and 4,000 to other countries of South America. Thus, on the one hand, the number of Ukrainians in those countries to which Ukrainians already emigrated on previous occasions has increased, and, on the other hand, the Ukrainians have for the first time settled in other countries.

As a result of all these emigration processes there are now living in Europe on this side of the Iron Curtain about 140,000 Ukrainians; of this number, about 15,000 to 20,000 are living in West Germany, about 5,000 in Austria, about 50,000 in France, about 25,000 in Great Britain, about 3,000 in Belgium and about 30,000 in Yugoslavia<sup>6)</sup>.

The emigration of about 140,000 Ukrainians from Europe — and this figure includes a fairly big percentage of the intellectual class and also a high degree of national consciousness — has resulted in a corresponding increase in the number of the Ukrainian population in the countries in which they have settled. The new emigrants have settled almost exclusively in the towns, and though some of them may, to begin with, have worked on the land for some time (in accordance with their immigration contract), they have in due course settled in the towns. Consequently, the number of the Ukrainian population in the Ukrainian agricultural colonies in Argentina (Misiones) and Brazil (Prudentópolis) has not been increased by the influx of new emigrants. In the USA the Ukrainians have settled mainly in New York (and also in New Jersey, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, etc.), and in Australia in the chief towns. The distribution of the new Ukrainian emigrants in Canada is, incidentally, very typical of this new tendency to settle in the towns; here, they have for the most part not settled in the agricultural prairie regions, where the Ukrainians represent a strong ethnical group (and constitute about 10 per cent of the total population), but, rather, in the east of the country, in cities such as Toronto and Montreal; indeed, next to Winnipeg, Toronto now ranks as the second largest centre of the Ukrainians in Canada.

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<sup>6)</sup> As a result of the war the number of Ukrainians in Bosnia has decreased: some of them emigrated from Yugoslavia.

As a result of the Communist occupation of Manchuria and the Chinese mainland since World War II, the Ukrainian colonies there (the main centres were Harbin and Shanghai) have ceased to exist.

### *THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN DISPERSION*

The Ukrainian emigration processes from Ukraine have now entered upon a new phase, which differs completely from the conditions prevalent since the 1880's. There is now no emigration from Ukraine to the West, and the Ukrainian dispersion in the free world no longer has any contact with Ukraine. On the other hand, the problem of emigration from Ukraine to the East now constitutes an internal problem of the U.S.S.R., and this emigration process is no longer voluntary, but is controlled by the Soviet state.

Our information as to the Ukrainian dispersion in Soviet Asia or in the U.S.S.R. as a whole has always been very limited, but nowadays practically no data at all on this subject are available. We should like to stress the fact once more that this dispersion increased very rapidly: about 1880 it numbered practically 1,000,000, by 1914 it had reached 3,000,000, by 1940 it probably exceeded 4,000,000, and it is possible that it at present numbers 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 (we are including all persons of Ukrainian origin, though a considerable proportion of them have already been Russified). This emigration from Ukraine — since the 1930's it has been carried out by compulsion — results in a decrease in the number of the Ukrainian population in their native country, all the more so as, at the same time, the Russians are settling in the Ukrainian towns and industrial centres. As the percentage of the Ukrainians in dispersion in the U.S.S.R. increases, so the percentage of Ukrainians in Ukraine decreases and the percentage of Russians there increases. The progress of the Russification process has made itself particularly strongly felt in the Ukrainian territories in the U.S.S.R. which are situated beyond the state frontiers of Soviet Ukraine, that is within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic; this applies above all to the territories with a mixed population, namely to the eastern extremity of the Caucasus and the northern part of the Chernihiv region, as well as to the western extremity of the Caucasus (Kuban region). On the other hand, Kazakhstan or at least the northern part of Kazakhstan (as well



as the adjoining region of south Siberia) is, as already mentioned, assuming the character of a mixed Russian-Ukrainian country in which the percentage of the native Kazakh population is steadily decreasing.

Since the Bolshevik subjugation of Ukraine the Ukrainian dispersion in the free world has assumed more and more significance for Ukraine, since it alone is in a position to speak up in support of the motherland. The exact number of the Ukrainian dispersion in the Free World at present is not known, and we can only give a rough estimate of about 2 million (in 1939 it was 1.5 million) as regards the number of Ukrainians and persons of Ukrainian origin living in the Free World today. Of these, as mentioned above, about 140,000 are living in West Europe (including Yugoslavia), about 1,000,000 in the USA, up to 500,000 in Canada, 100,000 in Argentina, about 100,000 in Brazil, over 20,000 in Australia, and several thousands in Paraguay, Venezuela, Uruguay and New Zealand respectively.

This is not the time and place to discuss the problems of these two million persons of Ukrainian origin; they are partly problems that are common to all and partly problems that are specific to each of the countries concerned. All these former immigrants and still more so their children (the second and third and, in some cases, the fourth generation) are becoming more and more attached to their new country, but, at the same time, they still feel their affinity with Ukraine and Ukrainian problems. The problem of assimilation on the one hand, and that of the preservation of at least an affinity in feeling and sentiment with the country of their fathers and of a desire to help the latter, on the other hand, — these are the main and fundamental problems of all the Ukrainians and all the persons of Ukrainian origin living outside their native country. And these problems are of a specific character in each country in which Ukrainians have settled. We do not intend to analyse these problems here. We merely wish to point out in this connection that in all the countries in which the Ukrainian emigrants have settled, the process of their constantly increasing territorial dispersion is apparent, — the process of urbanization and of the transition from agriculture to industry, by means of which their assimilation with their environment is accelerated. Without wishing to discuss in detail the problems of the Ukrainian groups in individual countries, we should like to draw attention to one

difference between the Ukrainian emigrants in Europe and those in America. The former (apart from the Ukrainians in Yugoslavia) still entertain the idea of emigrating to America and most of them regard the country in which they are at present living merely as a temporary place of domicile. In this respect the fact no doubt plays a part that, owing to the relatively small number of Ukrainian women amongst the emigrants in Europe, a considerable percentage of the men have no chance to found a Ukrainian family and to feel permanently settled. Incidentally, the unequal proportion of the two sexes amongst the Ukrainian emigrants in Europe (and also in America) represents a grave danger as regards denationalization, since many Ukrainians are thus obliged to marry persons of another nationality.

In conclusion we should like to give the following table of statistics for the Ukrainian dispersion during the past 80 years:

*The Ukrainian Dispersion in the years 1880, 1914, 1933 and 1957*  
(in millions)

Year	Total No. of Uk- rainians in the world.	Number of Ukrainians in Dispersion					
		Total Number		West & Central Europe	East Europe	Asia	America and Australia
		000,000's	% of tot. no. of Ukrain- ians in the world				
1880	26	1.2	4.6	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.1
1914	40	4.2	10.5	0.5	1.0	2.0	0.75
1933	45	6.1	13.6	0.6	1.3	3.0	1.2
1957	45(?)	10.5-11.5	24.4(?)	0.5	1.3(?)	7-8(?)	1.7

A. Yurenko

## **Resistance of the Ukrainian Farmers Continues\***

The main emphasis of this year's Soviet party propaganda, which filled the columns of all the newspapers in Soviet Ukraine, was on the obligation to deliver to the state the full quotas fixed as regards this year's harvest. Hardly had the harvest in Ukraine commenced, when standardized headlines began to appear in all the papers: "Grain for the State," "Harvesting without Loss," "Kolkhoz Workers Will Fulfil their Obligations to the State," "We Shall Deliver More than the Planned Quotas of Grain in the Time Fixed," etc.

Although headlines of this kind in the Soviet press, at a first glance, appear to be merely a repetition of similar headlines which have appeared on previous occasions, Moscow is in this way trying to conceal the far-reaching consequences of the determined anti-Bolshevist fight that was going on during this year's harvesting season in Soviet Ukraine. Moscow, this year, intended to rob Ukraine of even more grain than it did last year; according to the propaganda disseminated by Moscow, the reason for this lay in the fact that this year's harvest prospects were extremely good. "Good harvest prospects" were, incidentally, also reported by the Statistical Central Administration of the U.S.S.R. in its statement regarding the fulfilment of the state plan for the first half of 1958, but no concrete figures were mentioned on this occasion; the said department contented itself with making some general remarks. The latter can, however, be interpreted in two different ways: it is possible that this year's harvest in Ukraine actually was very good, though this seems rather doubtful in view of the kolkhoz system in agriculture and the determined passive resistance of the Ukrainian farmers in the kolkhozes; on the other hand, it is equally possible that the sole motive behind propagandist remarks regarding a good harvest was to deprive Ukraine of as much grain as possible. And this latter case seems more probable, since this year's plans for the state acquisition of grain from Ukraine have contained far higher quotas than was the case last year; in addition, a decision was reached at the last plenary session of the Central Committee

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\*) The original Ukrainian text of this article was published in the Munich weekly "Shlyakh Peremohy" ("The Way to Victory"), No. 33(234), 1958.



of the Communist Party of Ukraine, to the effect that Ukraine was to deliver 72 million poods<sup>2)</sup> more of grain than was fixed in the said plans, and the reason given for this measure was "the good prospects" for this year's harvest.

According to a report in the Kyiv paper "Radyanska Ukrayina" ("Soviet Ukraine"), of July 28, 1958, the spoliation of the Ukrainian grain in the kolkhozes began on a large scale as soon as the first mowing-machines appeared in the fields. "Day and night, an endless line of trucks, laden with grain, moves incessantly from the kolkhoz barns to the state elevators,"—this was the report which the above-mentioned paper received by telephone from Dnipropetrovsk on July 28th. The paper added that in the Pokrovske district the grain delivery plan must by this time already have been fulfilled and that more grain than the amount fixed in the quotas was now being "sold" to the state. It was also pointed out that the grain deliveries in the Pyatykhatka district had been completed and that the kolkhoz "Lenin's Guard" (Gvardiya Lenina) had delivered over 1,200 tons of grain.

In the area of Poltava 131,000 tons of grain more than the fixed delivery quotas were to be extorted. In most of the areas of the districts of Cherkassy, Khmelnytsky and Sumy, the spoliation of the grain according to the fixed quotas has been quickly accomplished and additional spoliation has then begun.

In reporting on the accelerated speed with which Moscow's spoliation of this year's grain harvest in Ukraine has been carried out, Party propaganda is, of course, full of praise for the work of the Party organizations, the secretaries of the regional Party committees, the head supervisors of the kolkhozes, and the "farmers, who have a profound sense of duty towards the state." From the same Soviet Ukrainian press, however, we learn that this year's harvest and spoliation of grain by no means proceeded as smoothly and as successfully as the Moscow subjugators of the Ukrainian farmers would like. In the majority of kolkhozes the Ukrainian farmers have adopted an entirely indifferent attitude towards this year's harvest, and their conception of their "duty" towards their subjugators has been very different from what Moscow (that is, Soviet Russian) propaganda tried to make it out to be.

On July 26th, the "Radyanska Ukrayina" published an article by its correspondent K. Kalitayev, who by special permission toured the Sumy district, namely as "the eyes and ears of the Party and of its press," in order to "put the screw on" those kolkhozes which did not show a "profound sense" of their duties towards the exploiting state. He visited the kolkhoz "Zoria" ("Dawn") in the Okhtyrka area, Sumy district, so he writes, one afternoon. As he walked through the streets, he was surprised to see so many kolkhoz workers, in particular young persons, at home. In spite of the fact that it was harvest-time, all was quiet in the fields. The engines of the two combines were still... The kolkhoz "Zoria," he adds, only gathers in the harvest on 18 to 20 hectares of land per day. In 8 working days, the total area on which the harvest has been gathered in only amounted to 164 hectares (instead of 500 hectares, as fixed by quota). Many of the machines were

<sup>2)</sup> 1 pood = 16,38 kilograms (1 kilogram = 2,2 lbs).

standing idle in the fields for several hours every day, owing to the fact that they were badly in need of repair (such are the consequences of Khrushchev's reorganization of the machine tractor stations and the sale of technical appliances to the kolkhoses!).

In the kolkhoz "Chapayev" (in the same area), so the above-mentioned correspondent points out, the mechanized workers of the kolkhoz have only mown 300 hectares of grain and threshed 150 hectares in the course of eight days' work... In the kolkhoz "Ukraine" the correspondent in question asked the combine foreman Pererva with whom he was competing in the harvesting work; the latter thereupon bluntly replied: "What has competition to do with it? What do I want competition for? I shall gather in as much as I can."

And the situation was no different in the kolkhoses in the district of Odessa. The correspondent of the paper "Pravda Ukrayiny," A. Prysiazhniuk, likewise in the capacity of the "eyes and ears of the Party press," has toured this area. In No. 172 of the said paper he reports as follows: "In the Comintern area of the Odessa district, the attitude with regard to the new harvest is one that is very uneconomical... In the middle of July a plenary session of the regional Party executive committee was held, at which the secretary of the regional executive committee and the district prosecutor, as well as several kolkhoz supervisors and sovkhoz directors<sup>3)</sup> said that there must not be a repetition of the year 1957, when all the paths from the fields to the barns and from the barns to the collecting centres were strewn with grain."

And what is the situation like this year?—"In the kolkhoz "Voykov," threshing of the wheat has been completed, and so, too, has the direct work of the combines, but so far no attempt has been made to gather the small ears of corn. It has been ascertained that 40 to 60 ears of corn are left lying on the ground on every square metre of cornfield that is mown. It has been calculated that the total number of ears of corn left on the fields during the harvest amounts to 4 cwts loss per hectare." The said correspondent then added that the kolkhoz workers were not in the least interested in gathering the ears of corn left lying on the ground.

On the strength of this statement published in the "Pravda Ukrayiny," one can already draw conclusions as to the quality of this year's harvesting in the Ukrainian kolkhoses (which are supposed to be "saturated with first-class Soviet agricultural machines") and as to the attitude of the kolkhoz workers regarding the foodstuffs of which they were to be deprived.

The correspondent of the "Pravda Ukrayiny" continued as follows: "Huge quantities of grain are piling up in the barns. Trucks drive past in every direction and a lot of the grain which they carry is spilled on the ground, but this fact seems to leave the kolkhoz workers completely indifferent. This is the state of affairs in almost all the kolkhoses in the "Comintern" area of the Odessa district."

<sup>3)</sup> Sovkhozses ("sovetskie khoziaystva") are Soviet state estates cultivated by hired workers.

From a certain state collecting centre this same correspondent proceeds to a certain kolkhoz in the neighbourhood. It was not necessary for him to ask anyone the way, since the entire route of 9 kilometres was strewn with grain. Elsewhere, too, so he writes, as for instance in the vicinity of the collecting centre at Buyalyk, the roads were strewn with grain; in every sharp bend and hollow of the road which lead from this collecting centre to the sovkhos "Kirov," one could gather several hundredweights of wheat which had, of course, been spilled by the trucks coming from the sovkhos. On the roads in the vicinity of the railway station Buyalyk, which is where a number of kolkhozes hand over their grain to the state, there was nearly a pound of grain lying about on every square metre.

"One would think—the same correspondent continued—that anyone who notices such a big loss of grain, would promptly react in some way or other; but so far no one at all seems in the least interested."—One day, the following incident occurred: truck No. 13-72 was conveying a load of wheat from the kolkhoz "Rodina" (in the district of Ivanivske) to the collecting centre. The district inspector of the Ivanivske police, a man of the name of Radul, noticed that grain was spilling onto the ground through a groove in the truck and thereupon asked the driver to produce his papers, as he wanted to take down his name and have him up before a court. At that mement, another truck came along from the kolkhoz "Put' Lenina;" it had no tail-board at all and had already lost about half a ton of grain on the way. Raul also asked the driver of this truck to produce his papers. But as he was doing so, a car drove up in front of the collecting centre and in it was an "important person from the district centre," who shouted at the police inspector and told him: "Mind your own business! You clear out and don't interrupt us when we're busy handing over grain to the state! We have to keep to our fixed times, and "where there's a drink, there's a stink"!"

It was reported that the grain harvested in the kolkhoz "Lenin" had been conveyed in trucks which were riddled with holes, like a sieve. The truck drivers of the seed factory in Odessa, who came to collect the grain at the kolkhozes, loaded it onto the trucks without putting up the drop-sides and tail-board, so that the grain not only was falling through the grooves, but also spilled all over the ground.

The drivers of the column of trucks from Odessa harbour had the job of collecting the grain from the kolkhoz "May 1st." They were paid by the ton-mile. In order to exceed the quotas and to earn more, they loaded up the trucks to the full, and, consequently, the grain spilled all over the ground at every bend in the roads.

In many of the kolkhozes the grain was left lying in an open shed, unguarded.


In the kolkhoz "Dzerzhynsky" hundreds of tons of wheat, barley and oats were left lying unguarded in the barns, whilst the kolkhoz workers either remained at home or else worked on their own plots of land; the above-mentioned correspondent said that even when he had rung the alarm bell to pretend that the barns had caught fire, no one appeared on the scene:



"The alarm bell rang for a long time, so as to alarm the kolkhoz workers, but not a single person came rushing up, not even the fire-brigade."

It is obvious that a report of this kind by a correspondent, who represents the "eyes and ears of the Party press," was bound to have serious consequences for plenty of persons in the Odessa district. But what is all this proof of? Of mismanagement? Or of remissness? No, under Soviet conditions, remissness cannot be a mass phenomenon; it can only be in evidence in a certain kolkhoz. But if "mismanagement" involves most of the kolkhozes not only of a certain area or district, but even spreads to other districts, then one can surely assume that this is a case of passive mass resistance on the part of the Ukrainian farmers.

And even though some kolkhozes in the district of Dnipropetrovske, Poltava and Cherkassy have, under Party pressure, fulfilled the quotas of Moscow's spoliation of this year's harvest in Ukraine, it is perfectly obvious that wherever possible the Ukrainian kolkhoz farmers, as well as the Ukrainian workers—truck drivers, combine foremen, tractor drivers and mechanics, and, partly, too, Ukrainian employees and officials (in this respect one only needs consider the behaviour of the "important person from the district centre") are continuing their determined resistance against Moscow's Bolshevik system in various ways. For such mass phenomena as, for instance, inactivity on hearing the fire-alarm, systematic spilling of grain on the roads, over a distance of several kilometres, leaving hundredweights of grain in the form of ears of corn behind on the fields, an unbelievable slowness in mowing, an indifferent attitude regarding repair of the agricultural machines, and disregard of, and even opposition to the "socialist system of competition," etc., can only be interpreted in one way,—namely as a passive, determined and unbroken resistance against the Bolshevik, that is Soviet Russian and, hence, Russian, system of spoliation.





*Members of the Presidium of the VIth Anti-Communist Continental Congress in Guatemala: (from right to left) Ernesto de la Fe (Delegate of Cuba), Jaroslaw Stetzko (President of the A.B.N.), Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (Brazil, Chairman of the Congress), Delegate of Guatemala, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens (Mexico), Minister to Guatemala from National China, Dr. Nestor Procyk (Chairman of the American Friends of the A.B.N.), Dr. Habib Shiber (General Secretary of the Anti-Communist League of Israel).*



At the II<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, held at the New Yorker Hotel, New York, on 20-21 September, 1958, one of the main speakers was Hon. Edward O'Connor, formerly Commissioner for the Displaced Persons in Washington, and now Director of the Political Research Center at Canisius College, Buffalo, N.Y. (centre). Also in the Presidium: (From right to left) Mr. Alexis (Lithuanian), Mr. I. Bilynskyj (Ukrainian), Mr. Adriansky (Hungarian), Mr. Rajken (Bulgarian).



## The Ukrainian National Underground Movement Continues Its Armed Fight For Freedom

In its edition of June 1, 1958, the Soviet paper in Lviv (Lemberg), "Vilna Ukrayina" ("Free Ukraine"), published the following report, signed by a certain I. Et $\bar{c}$ alo and entitled "From the Courtroom. A Band of Criminals Made Harmless," which to outward appearance seems to be fairly harmless from the political point of view. (We herewith print an exact translation of the entire text of the said report.)

"Kateryna (Catherine) Illivna Pshyk was alone in her home because her daughter was out on the farm. The door was opened suddenly, and the woman faced a pistol pointed at her.

Before she could gather her wits, the bandits tied her arms and legs, gagged her mouth, and picked up everything of value in a pillow case.

They threatened the woman once again, and disappeared.

Police investigating authorities under Comrades Rudyk, Bondarenko and Kharytonov caught the gang of criminals. Within eight days, the Circuit Court in Lviv tried the case of the band of robbers headed by Ivan Myhus. It was established that the rest of the Banderists<sup>1)</sup> who had already served the terms of their sentence, had returned to their native villages, but did not engage in honest work. Unearthing their concealed weapons, they engaged in their old "trade": they began robbing Soviet people, warehouses and depots of state enterprises.

The criminal activities of the brothers Myhus, Stepan Kadylo, Mykola Kadylo, Teodor Antoshchak, Yosyp Henda and others were fully proven by court investigation, and the Lviv Circuit Court sentenced each member of the gang of bandits to long terms of imprisonment."

Such is the report by the Soviet press,—which, incidentally, for the past decades has been describing every (not only Ukrainian) anti-Bolshevist armed resistance as "banditism" and, in doing so, accusing its members of invented crimes, in order to discredit the national liberation movement as much as possible in the eyes of the population.

The above report of the paper "Vilna Ukrayina" is a particularly striking example of this type of defamatory misinformation, for it contains no end of gross absurdities. To begin with, a lot of fuss is made about an armed attack on a woman who is alone in her home,—an incident which is not of any political significance and at which there were no witnesses. On the other hand, however, attacks on warehouses and depots of state enterprises might

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<sup>1)</sup> The Bolsheviks call all Ukrainian anti-Soviet freedom fighters "Banderists", after the name of their leader, Stepan Bandera.

be of considerable political significance; these depots, for instance, need not necessarily have been munition depots (though the report is so vague in this respect that this possibly could be assumed or not), but, in any case, they must have been objects which were fairly important for the Soviet economic system, seeing that the Soviet press maintains so consistent a silence regarding their nature and all the attendant circumstances of the incidents in question,—even though there were undoubtedly enough witnesses to give testimony about these incidents!

And, furthermore, in what way did the “rest of the Banderists” organize an armed “band of robbers” in the Lviv area, that is precisely in the vicinity of the capital of the whole of Western Ukraine? Since the Soviet press is determined not to admit the fact that the anti-Bolshevist resistance on the part of the population, which has been going on for over fourteen years, still continues, it invents a group of *former* resistance members, who, after their capture (that is arrest) and deportation, “had already served the terms of their sentence” and “had returned to their native villages.” This is utter nonsense; for, in the first place, all the political prisoners in the U.S.S.R. who are released remain under very strict police surveillance; and, in the second place, there have so far never been any Ukrainian political prisoners (with the sole exception of various aged and invalid priests and bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church) who, after their release, have been allowed to return to Western Ukraine, let alone to “their native villages.” If the persons mentioned in the report really were national resistance members who, at some time or other in the past, were deported, then they could only have managed to get back to their native villages by *illegal and secret means*, and this would, naturally, not have been possible without considerable secret support on the part of the local population.

And as for the sentence itself,—why is it only mentioned in such a general manner (“long terms of imprisonment”)? For the simple reason, no doubt, that the *decades* of imprisonment imposed, which in practice are equal to a life-sentence, would be too big a contradiction of the fact that the criminal nature of the attack (which, in all probability, has been either partly or completely invented) is over-emphasized at the beginning of the report, whereas the attacks on Soviet state property, which actually are of political importance, are only mentioned as something quite secondary in the same report,—precisely for political reasons.

It is thus perfectly obvious that the intention is, on the one hand, to stir up the population, by defamatory means, against the “criminal Banderists,” and, on the other hand, to disparage the national and social liberation campaign of the latter. Considered from this point of view, the report in question by no means seems absurd, but, on the contrary, entirely to the purpose. Readers of the Soviet press behind the Iron Curtain, however, are adept at reading between the lines,—especially those of them who belong to the nations subjugated by Moscow.

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Volodymyr Matsiak

THE WORLD CONGRESS OF ONOMATOLOGISTS IN MUNICH  
AND THE SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY OF PROFESSOR YAROSLAV B.  
RUDNYTSKY DURING THE PAST 25 YEARS\*)

In 1958, the jubilee year of the 800th anniversary of the founding of Munich (Bavaria), this city was the scene of the 6th International Congress for Onomatological Sciences, which was held there from August 24 to 28th, in the building of the German University, and was attended by several hundred experts from all over the free world, above all, by philologists and onomatologists, as well as by historians and toponomatologists.

Onomatology or the science of names can be divided into anthroponymy, that is the study of family names and proper names (also of domestic animals, too), and toponymy, that is the study of geographical and topographical designations of towns, villages, settlements, rivers and mountains, etc. Philologists and historians (or rather, historians who study the history of earliest times) supplement each other, as it were, in their onomatological research, for though onomatology as a branch of philology has its own linguistic tasks and aims, at the same time it also helps the research scholars of history and prehistoric times to a very considerable extent in the solving of numerous problems, which could neither be clarified with the aid of written historical sources nor with the assistance of ethnology and archaeology.

The Munich international congress of onomatologists was held under the kind patronage of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Professor Dr. Th. Heuss, and the Prime Minister of Bavaria, Dr. H. Seidel. In spite of an official announcement to the effect that numerous onomatologists from East European countries would be participating in the congress (with various lectures), only very few were actually present; and there was no response whatever from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Under these circumstances, Ukrainian onomatology could be represented at the congress exclusively by Ukrainian emigrants,—unfortunately, unofficially, as this was not possible otherwise. These representatives were Dr. Yaroslav Bohdan RUDNYTSKY, Profesor of Ukrainian and Slavist Studies at the University of Manitoba, Canada, Dr. Hanna NAKONECHNA, lecturer of Ukrainian at the University of Munich, and the author of this article as a scholar without official appointment (historian and toponomatologist) residing in West Germany. Professor Y. Rudnytsky was the soul and spokesman of this little Ukrainian group. Full of initiative and well versed in scientific congresses, he has on numerous occasions since 1934 most actively supported and furthered the cause of Ukrainian science and culture at scientific congresses in Europe and North America and has given proof of

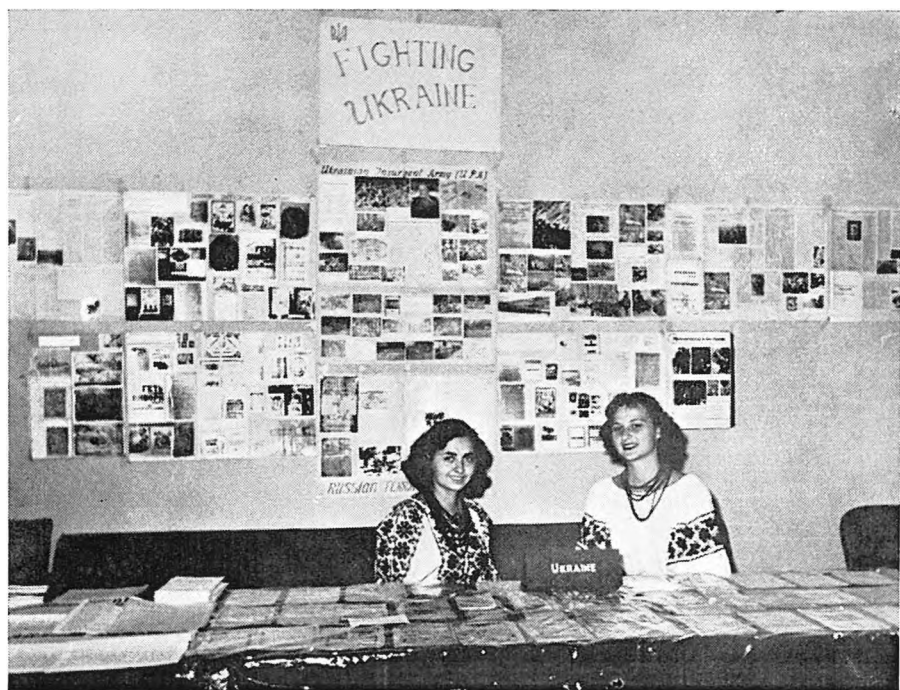
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\*) The original Ukrainian text of this article, which has been slightly abbreviated in translation, was published under the same title in the London weekly "Ukrayinska Dumka" ("Ukrainian Thought"), of October 2, 1958.



the unparalleled merit of his work in various fields of Ukrainian philology. His manysided, prolific and expert scientific activity in the field of Slavic and, in particular, Ukrainian lexicology, dialectology, folk-lore and onomatology has found great recognition—indeed, outstanding recognition—not only in Ukrainian but also in international expert circles. Professor Y. Rudnytsky is not only the President of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, an active member of the Ukrainian Shevchenko Scientific Society, as well as Professor of Ukrainian and Slavic philology at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (formerly in Prague)—prior to settling in Canada he lectured in these subjects at the German universities of Heidelberg and Munich from 1945 to 1948, and at the University of Manitoba (Winnipeg, Canada), in addition to his above-mentioned professorship, he is also the head of the Department of Slavonic Philology. He is also an active member of more than ten academic and scientific institutions, namely the Académie Internationale Libre des Sciences et des Lettres (in Paris), the Canadian Linguistic Association, the Canadian Association of Slavists (as its President), the American Name Society (as its Vice-President), the Centre International d'Onomastique et de Dialectologie (in Louvain, Belgium), the Ukrainian Centre of Culture and Education in Canada, etc.; he is also the scientific adviser of the library of the U.S. Congress in Washington. Professor Y. Rudnytsky has, furthermore, edited numerous valuable scientific works (in English, too), as for instance the fifteen volumes of the series "Onomastica" (published by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Art and Sciences in Canada), which, in the first place, are devoted to the origin and meaning of Ukrainian place-names in Canada and in which Professor Rudnytsky himself has also contributed several of his own onomatological studies, including a number which are of general interest, as for instance those dealing with the origin of the names "Ukraine," "Galicia," "Lviv" (Lemberg) etc.

By reason of this valuable and extensive scientific and academic activity, it is understandable that Professor Rudnytsky played a very prominent part at the above-mentioned Munich international congress for onomatology as the expert who enjoys most renown outside his native country and his country of domicile. As the only representative of onomatology in Canada and as the Vice-President of the American Name Society, he was elected President of the 7th section of the congress (that of Slavic onomatology) and held an excellent lecture entitled "Anthroponymic Changes amongst the Ukrainian Population in the USA and Canada" (an English résumé of this lecture was published in the bulletin of the congress) before the members of this section. The scientific participation of Professor Rudnytsky in the congress was so valuable and significant that when, on the last day of the congress, the German presidium of the congress arranged an interview (conducted by the secretary-general of the congress, Dr. Puchner, Professor at the University of Munich) in the South German (Bavarian) broadcasting corporation, only two non-German congress members, Professor Dr. Y.B. Rudnytsky and Professor Albert Carnoy (Belgium), were entrusted with the task of giving a report on the onomatological work, aims and results of the congress.



An interesting feature of the IInd Congress of the American Friends of the A.B.N. was the exhibition of the documents and photographs illustrating the anti-Bolshevist liberation struggle of the nations enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. Above: the Ukrainian section of the exhibition.



*The Conference of the A.B.N.-Canada which was held at Masey Hall, Toronto, on 9th November, 1958, was addressed by the Rt. Hon. Michael Starr, Federal Minister of Labour. Among those seated in the Presidium were: Hon. John Yaremko, Provincial Minister of Ontario (fourth from right), Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, Mr. Gyllis (General Consul of Lithuania, Dr. Kashkellis, President of A.B.N.-Canada), Dr. R. Malashchuk, Chairman of the Canadians for Liberation of Ukraine, Dr. Kirschbaum, Slovak representative, Dr. Hojbota (Rumanian representative), as well as Bulgarian, Latvian and Estonian representatives.*



## **CONTINENTAL ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS IN GUATEMALA**

The IVth Anti-Communist Continental Congress held in Guatemala from 12th till 18th October, 1958, and organized by the Guatemalan Government, was a step towards the preparation of the World Anti-Communist Congress. The Presidents of Guatemala and Honduras, the delegates from 22 states of Central, South and North America, members of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent participated in it. Mr. J. Stetzko, the President of the A.B.N., and Dr. Nestor Procyk, Chairman of the American Friends of the A.B.N., were present and greeted the Conference.

The ideas for which A.B.N. stands and which it supports were incorporated in the resolutions of the Conference and were adopted by acclamation.

The aspirations of the nations subjugated by Russian Communist imperialism and their just demands as regards the policy of the Western World were presented to the Anti-Communist Continental Conference and were accepted. These demands include: an active support by the Free World of the liberation movements beyond the Iron Curtain which fight under the slogan of disintegration of the Russian Empire of whatever colouring into national independent states, the severance of all relations with Russia and its Communist bloc, the refusal to be led astray by the deceitful propaganda of co-existence spread in the West by the Muscovite tyrants and their henchmen and dupes.

After the Conference the meeting of the Steering Committee of the World Anti-Communist Congress was held in Guatemala.

## **ARTICLES ON UKRAINE INTRODUCED INTO CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:**

### **1. "U.S.S.R.: MOSCOW'S BASIC EMPIRE"**

On March 6, 1958, Hon. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio introduced into the Congressional Record a transcript of the Georgetown University Forum program discussing the problems of the USSR as Moscow-based Russian empire. The participants were: Col. Charles W. Hostler, USAF; Dr. Peter Lejens, professor of the University of Maryland and Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University.

## 2. "MOSCOW'S POLICIES IN SATELITE EUROPE"

Also on March 6, 1958, Congressman Feighan introduced into the Congressional Record another Georgetown University Forum transcript dealing with the Russian policies in satellite Europe. The participants in this discussion were: Dr. Tibor Kerekes, of the Institute of Ethnic Studies of Georgetown University; Dr. Slobodan Draskovich, author of *Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse*, and Walter Dushnyck, East European analyst and journalist.

## 3. "THE NEW LOOK AT MOSCOW'S STRATEGY IN DOMINATING EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS, AND THE LATTER'S MEANS OF OPPOSING IT"

Hon. Walter H. Judd of Minnesota introduced into the Congressional Record on March 13, 1958, the address of Dr. Lubomyr O. Ortynsky, editor of *Prologue* in New York, which he delivered at the annual meeting of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism in Pittsburgh, Pa., November 1957.

## 4. "UNITED STATES AND THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE"

On March 17, 1958, Hon. Clement J. Zablocki of Wisconsin introduced into the Congressional Record the editorial under the above heading which, written by Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, appeared in the December, 1957, issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, published by the UCCA.

## 5. "THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN THE USSR—FROM LENIN TO KRUSHCHEV"

On March 24, 1958, Congressman Feighan of Ohio read into the Congressional Record still another Georgetown University Forum transcript which discussed the problem of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. The participants in the forum were: Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki of Marquette University; Hon. J. Kajeckas, Charge d'Affaires of the Lithuanian Legation in Washington and Dr. James D. Atkinson of Georgetown University.

## 6. "UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE"

On March 26, 1958, Hon. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio introduced into the Congressional Record the fourth Georgetown University Forum transcript dealing with the overall U.S. policy toward the Communist Empire of Moscow. The participants in this discussion were Hon. Charles J. Kersten, former Congressman from Wisconsin and John E. Means, Department of Government, Georgetown University.

## 7. "SUMMIT AGENDA POINTS—RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND THE CAPTIVE NATIONS"

On April 2, 1958, Hon. Albert W. Cretella of Connecticut read into the Congressional Record two memoranda, one dated October 22, 1957, and the other December 12, 1957, which were submitted to President Eisenhower by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; they dealt with Russian communist imperialism and its oppression of the non-Russian nations. These memoranda were written before the Anglo-American conference and the NATO conference in Paris.

**BOOK REVIEWS**

Felix Steiner : "DIE FREIWILLIGEN—IDEE UND OPFERGANG"  
("The Volunteers—Principle and Sacrifice"). Plesse Verlag,  
Göttingen, 1958. 392 pp.

In addition to the novel about Ukraine, "Das Goldene Feld" ("The Golden Field"), by Kern, another interesting publication, which deals with the grim events of World War II in Ukraine during the years 1941 to 1944, has now appeared on the German book-market. The name of the author was well-known amongst the volunteers on the German side in World War II, for he was in command of large volunteer units of various nationalities, who were prepared to join forces with the advancing German troops and fight the arch-enemy of mankind, the godless Russian Communists. Almost all the nations in Europe sent their volunteers to Eastern Europe for the purpose of overthrowing Russian world Communism. But all these volunteers were bitterly disappointed when they realized that Hitler did not intend to liberate the peoples of Europe, but to enslave them. Thus, the dissatisfaction of the volunteers with the Nazi policy pursued at that time in the territories of Eastern Europe which had been seized by the Communists, is perfectly understandable. And Hitler's onslaughts on various non-Communist states of Europe embittered the volunteers still more.

The people of Ukraine, too, were most dissatisfied with the German policy in their country, for they realized only too well that they were not being liberated from Communism, but were being enslaved anew. The author, too, was opposed to such a Nazi policy, which in the end was bound to lead to the collapse of the German forces in the East.

On page 55 of his book, the author affirms that nowadays it seems incomprehensible to any German that the Third Reich on principle refused to recognize free Baltic states and an independent Ukraine.

On page 56 he expresses the opinion that the security of Ukraine could in the long run only have been guaranteed by national Ukrainian troops. But on two occasions (in 1941 and at the beginning of 1943) the suggestions made by the author, to the effect that an adequate Ukrainian army should be set up, were violently turned down by H. Himmler.

And yet, these Ukrainians were great Europeans, as the author stresses on page 57, "for the West Ukrainian town of Lviv reveals so many characteristics of the European mind and spirit that there can be no doubt about the fact that Ukraine is a vital part of Europe". Felix Steiner emphasizes the fact that the Ukrainians fought for the freedom and independence of their country in a truly exemplary spirit of self-sacrifice.

Since the Ukrainians were prepared to fight the Red Russians without German aid (in fact, they armed themselves against the will of the German rulers), they set up a powerful Ukrainian underground army, numbering 200,000 men, in the Carpathian area of Ukraine in 1944 (page 208).

In conclusion, we should like to stress that this book is a valuable military and political contribution to the history of World War II.

V. Luzhansky



## BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

### A GERMAN REPORT ON ODESSA

The German daily "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung," in its edition of August 9, 1958, published an article by its correspondent Herman PERZGEN, entitled "Odessa—an Industrial Town in South Ukraine." In this article the author gives a report of his recent trip to Odessa, the largest Ukrainian port on the Black Sea. We quote the following excerpts from this article, since they throw an interesting light on the Bolshevik Russification policy in Ukraine:

"Nowadays, in Odessa, luxurious hotels are at the disposal of all travellers of importance,—dignitaries of the Party, ministers of state, admirals and foreigners. The regional committee of the Party also attaches great importance to outward show. Its head office is in the building of the former stock exchange, which is built in the style of the ancient Roman temples, with Corinthian pillars and statues in semi-circular niches. On the monumental and ornate building which was formerly the residence of the governor, the following words are inscribed in Russian (!) and Ukrainian: "Palace of the Pioneers<sup>1</sup>) and Scholars."

"On the newspaper-stalls and in the book-shops in Odessa more Ukrainian publications are displayed than Russian ones; and yet Odessa gives the impression of being a Russian town. The signboards displayed by the shops are the same as those one finds in Moscow; only seldom does one come across a signboard in Ukrainian. Of the five theatres in the town, only one performs Ukrain-

ian plays. Of the nineteen cinemas, only a few show the latest Soviet films with a Ukrainian synchronization. Only in one-sixth of the total number of secondary schools and high schools is instruction imparted in Ukrainian. There is, incidentally, also a secondary school, No. 20, where the language used is German; the majority of pupils are children of former German settlers in the region of Odessa. Even at the university—as is pointed out to every guest who visits the building<sup>2</sup>)—practically all the lectures are held in Russian; only lectures on such subjects as Ukrainian history and literature are always held in Ukrainian."

"On taking all this into consideration, one comes to the conclusion that Odessa has retained its character of a traditional (?!) Russian centre of culture, in spite of the fact that it lies in the south of Ukraine and that the migration of the population from the periphery is constantly increasing."

"The indications of the so-called personality cult have by no means been obliterated in Odessa. In the municipal park there is a fountain flanked by two stone statues—Lenin and Stalin; and a large statue of Stalin adorns the centre of the Square of the Soviet Army. There is a Stalin district in the town, as well as a Stalin Avenue, a Stalin Street and a Stalin Square."

<sup>1</sup>) The name for the Soviet (Bolshevized) Boy Scouts.

<sup>2</sup>) An interesting detail which shows how negative the attitude of most of the students is towards this Russification language policy.

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After a three-day tour of the city of Kyiv, French students were shown over the collective farm "Soviet Ukraine", which is supposed to be one of the best in the vicinity of Bila Tserkva, by the head of the public travel bureau "Intourist".

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The artistes of the Prague circus "Alfa", which recently toured Ukraine for the first time, spent two weeks in Dnipropetrovsk, where they gave performances with trained elephants, lions, monkeys and zebras. Acrobats, groups of cyclists and performers in other sports also appeared on the programme.

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A number of concerts were recently held in the town of Luhanske (Donets Basin) by the ensemble of artistic activity of Scottish miners. The audiences were said to have been deeply impressed by the performance of a well-known orchestra, the colourful national costume of the dance ensemble of the miners' club from Boy Hill colliery, the songs rendered by Pat Lesley, and the solos given by the violinist William Ferney, the accordionist Archie MacMillan, and the pianist A. Sharp.

\* \* \*

In accordance with Khrushchev's orders to the effect that the Soviet educational system should be re-organized, 90 special training schools, in which the future teachers of the Muscovite brand of Communism are to be trained, have so far been opened in Ukraine. Courses are already in progress at ten new training schools in the regions of Stalino, Vinnytsia, Carpatho-Ukraine, the Crimea and Chernyiv.

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For several weeks the works of the "Progressivist" painter Rockwell Kent were recently on display in the exhibition hall of the Kyiv artists' society. Commenting on this fact, the Soviet Russian press in Ukraine affirmed "the exhibition halls in the U.S.A. have no fitting place for Kent's works". The American artist, who, together with his wife, visited Kyiv, discussed various subjects with visitors to the exhibition and held a "progressivist" speech before members of the society for the promotion of cultural relations with foreign countries and also on the Kyiv television.

\* \* \*

The academic "Little Theatre" from Moscow recently gave a number of performances in Kyiv. The programme included new productions of "The Power of Darkness" by L. Tolstoy, "The Village of Stepanchikovo" by F. Dostoyevsky, "Macbeth" by Shakespeare, "Ghosts" by H. Ibsen, and various other dramas. No comments are made by the press as to how these performances were received by the audiences.

\* \* \*

In connection with a so-called "Friendship Campaign", 300 tourists from Czecho-Slovakia arrived in Kyiv at the beginning of November, 1958. Under the supervision of specially selected guides of the committee for the promotion of peace and of the society for Soviet Russian and Czecho-Slovakian friendship, the tourists inspected a number of special (i. e. not average) enterprises and collective farms. On November 5, they left by a special "friendship train" for Moscow.

\* \* \*

At the instructions of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the central institute for the promotion of the qualification of the leading organs in the field of public education has now organized monthly training courses for the teachers responsible for instruction in literature and languages in the Ukrainian schools in Poland. The purpose of these courses is allegedly to promote cultural relations between the Soviet Union and Poland. Members of these training courses study the methods of instruction necessary when teaching Ukrainian in Poland, in order in this way to introduce the methods of instruction usual in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Poland, too.

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It is interesting to note that the work by the Polish writer, A. Mickiewicz, entitled "To Our Russian Brothers", as well as a series of lectures on Slav literature, which the writer held in Paris from 1841 to 1842, are carefully preserved in the safes of the State Library of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. And an article by Mickiewicz, "Pushkin's Necdology", which was published in the Parisian paper "Globe", is guarded and preserved with particular care.

\* \* \*

The Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic passed a resolution to the effect that amateur cine-films should be subjected to a check, to last from November 24 to 30th, 1958, and to be undertaken by the Ministries of Culture and Education of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

\* \* \*

At Moscow's orders, the Authors' Society in Ukraine has condemned the writer Pasternak, by calling him a traitor to his country. The Society fully approved of the resolution passed by the Authors' Society of the R.S.F.S.R. (the Russian Soviet Republic proper), according to which B. Pasternak was condemned on account of his book "Dr. Zhivago".

\* \* \*

The journal "Radyanska Osvita" ("Soviet Education") complains about the fact that the pupils of the secondary schools in Ukraine, in particular those in the fourth and fifth forms, are not doing their homework satisfactorily. The reason for this, the journal affirms, is to be sought in the fact that the children are overburdened with too much syllabus material, in unsatisfactory living conditions and in the ever-decreasing supervision of the parents over their children. The parents, however, are more than fully occupied day in day out, working in the factories.

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In conjunction with the fortieth anniversary of the Komsomol in the U.S.S.R., the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Organization has "presented" the Komsomol in Ukraine with a presentation testimonial. The purpose of this "present" is allegedly to stress the fact that the Red Russian superiors of the Ukrainian youth have done a great deal towards training the youth of Ukraine in the Communist spirit.

But the local paper "Vil'na Ukrayina" ("Free Ukraine") in the district of Lviv gives a very different report of things. At the 1958 September session of the local Party



## ***Some Books on Ukraine Published in English***

### **I. GENERAL, HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, ETC.**

1. Allen, W.E.D., **THE UKRAINE**, A History. Cambridge, The University Press, 1940, 404 p. + 1 map.
2. Hrushevsky, M., **A HISTORY OF UKRAINE**, New Haven, Yale University Press. London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1941. 629 p. Bibliography, index, map.
3. Doroshenko, D., **HISTORY OF THE UKRAINE**. Edmonton, 1940.
4. Manning, C.A., **THE STORY OF THE UKRAINE**. Philosophical Library, New York, 1947, 326 p.
5. Manning, C.A., **OUTLINE OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY**. Winnipeg, 1949.
6. Mirtchuk, I., (Editor), **UKRAINE AND ITS PEOPLE**. A Handbook with Maps, Statistical Tables and Diagrams. Ukrainian Free University Press, Munich, 1949, 280 p. + 1 colour map.
7. Manning, C.A., **TWENTIETH CENTURY UKRAINE**. Bookman Associates, New York, 1951, 243 p.
8. Simpson, G.W., **UKRAINE**. A series of Maps and Explanations Indicating the Historic and Contemporary Geographical Position of the Ukrainian People.
9. Chamberlin, W.H., **THE UKRAINE, A SUBMERGED NATION**. New York, 1944, The Macmillan Company, 91 p.
10. Sichynsky, V., **UKRAINE IN FOREIGN COMMENTS AND DESCRIPTIONS FROM THE VIth TO XXth CENTURY**. New York, Publ. by Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953, 236 p. Maps.
11. Brégy, P. and Obolensky, Prince Serge, **THE UKRAINE—A RUSSIAN LAND**. London, 1940. (An emigre Russian publication biassed against Ukrainian independence).
12. Sands, Bedwin, **THE UKRAINE**. London, 1914.
13. Hessel Tiltman, H., **PEASANT EUROPE**. Publ. by Jarolds, London, 1934. On Ukraine see pp. 193-239.
14. Hordynskyj, W., **A BRIEF OUTLINE OF UKRAINE AND UKRAINIAN FOLK ARTS**. On Foreign Soil (Germany?), 1948, 20 p.
15. **UKRAINIAN ARTS**. Published by Ukrainian Youth's League of North America, Inc., Compiled by Olya Dmytriw. Edited by Anne Mitzi. New York, 1955, 217 p. Many colour illustrations.
16. Lawton, Lancelot, **UKRAINA: EUROPE'S GREATEST PROBLEM**. Reprinted from "East Europe and Contemporary Review" Vol. 3, No. 1., Spring, 1939). Second Reprint—Nov. 1950, 32 p.

## II. MODERN HISTORY AND LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

17. Ohloblyn, Alexander, *TREATY OF PEREYASLAV, 1654*. Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Toronto—New York, 1954, 104 p.
18. Vernadsky, George, *BOHDAN, HETMAN OF UKRAINE*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, 150 p.
19. Hryhorijiv, N., *THE WAR AND UKRAINIAN DEMOCRACY*. A Compilation of Documents from the Past and Present. Publ. by Committee of Canadian Citizens from the Ukraine. In Toronto, Ont., 1945. 206 p.
20. Sciborsky, Mykola, *UKRAINE AND RUSSIA*. New York, 1940, 96 p.
21. Hryshko, Vasyi, *EXPERIENCE WITH RUSSIA*. Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., New York, 1956, 180 p.
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