

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



I

1 9 6 4

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



Ukrainian ethnographic territory

Boundaries of Soviet republics and provinces

RECENTLY PUBLISHED!

ORDER NOW!

A book packed with hard facts and revealing unpleasant secrets hidden behind the façade of the USSR

RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE

Reports and Documents.

This voluminous book of 576 pages + 24 pages full of illustrations contains articles, reports and eye-witness accounts drawing aside the curtain on the horrible misdeeds of the Bolshevik Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian Nation.

Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
200, Liverpool Road,
London, N.1.

Price: 36/- net (in USA and Canada \$8.00)

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XI. No. 1

Spring, 1964

A Quarterly Magazine

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky, Mrs. Slava Stetzko

and

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk

Price: 5s a single copy

Annual Subscription: £1. 0.0. \$4.00

Six Months 10.0. \$2.00

Cover designed by Robert Lisovsky

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
40 Linden Gardens, London, W.2

CONTENTS

<i>Taras Shevchenko: PEREBENDYA. Translated by Vera Rich</i>	3
<i>Prof. Dr. Jurij Bojko: SHEVCHENKO'S 150th ANNIVERSARY AND THE TASK OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARSHIP</i>	6
<i>Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky: SHEVCHENKO — A LIVING SPIRIT OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS</i>	14
<i>Hon. Michael A. Feighan: HUMAN DESTINY</i>	16
<i>Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski: TARAS SHEVCHENKO — EUROPE'S FREEDOM FIGHTER</i>	19
<i>Hon. Alvin M. Bentley: U.S. AND RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE</i>	21
<i>M. J. Mandryka: THE INFLUENCE OF SHEVCHENKO ON BULGARIAN POETRY</i>	22
<i>Z. P.: JANUARY 22nd — A MEMORABLE DATE IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE</i>	32
<i>A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT. Report by Intelligence Section to U.S. President on Ukraine, January 21, 1919</i>	36
<i>Stephan M. Horak, Ph.D.: LENIN'S POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION AND OF WORLD REVOLUTION</i>	37
<i>Charles J. Kersten: THE LONG NIGHT OF SLAVERY</i>	48
<i>Jaroslav Stetzko: THE LIGHT OF FREEDOM FROM THE FORESTS OF UKRAINE</i>	53
<i>IMPORTANT EVENTS IN UKRAINE AND IN THE LIFE OF THE UKRAINIAN ÉMIGRÉS IN 1963</i>	60
<i>STARVING UKRAINE</i>	63
<i>THE SHARE OF UKRAINE IN THE INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF THE USSR IN 1963</i>	68
<i>AN UNDEGROUND CONVENT IN LVIV</i>	70
<i>D. Horniatkevych: UKRAINIAN FOLK ARTS AND CRAFTS</i>	73
<i>Ivan Kovaliv: ASPECTS OF UKRAINIAN MUSIC</i>	74
<i>UKRAINIAN ART EXHIBITION IN TORONTO. By Bohdan Stebelsky</i>	76
<i>André Weber: THE ARTIST HUTSALIUK</i>	78
<i>A.B.N. AND O.U.N. LEAFLETS AT INNSBRUCK WINTER OLYMPICS GAMES</i>	80
<i>UKRAINIANS IN CUBA</i>	82
OBITUARIES:	
<i>Dmytro Buchynsky (1913-1963)</i>	83
<i>Ivan Bahryany (1907-1963)</i>	84
<i>BOOK REVIEW</i>	85
<i>UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE</i>	101
<i>FROM THE LETTERS TO THE EDITORS</i>	104

Taras Shevchenko

PEREBENDYA

Perebendya, old and sightless,
Who'd not recognize him?
He goes roaming everywhere,
Plays his kobza blithely,
And the folk know who is playing,
And their thanks return him;
All their grief he scatters, though
The world to him's a burden.
Frieze-clad wretch, beneath the fence
He dwells both late and early;
There's no home for him on earth;
Fate is ever hurling
Evil jests on his old head,
Yet never does he dread them;
There he sits and sings his song:
"Do not sigh, green meadow!"
There he sings his song, recalling
That he lives bereavedly
That he sits beneath the fence
Sorrowing and grieving.

Such, indeed, is Perebendya,
Old and ever-moody,
Now he sings the song of Chalyi,
"Horlytsia" now pursues he,

With the girls out in the pasture,
"Hryts" or "Springtime ditty",
With the lads down at the inn,
"Serbyn" or "Barmaid pretty",
With young husbands at a feast
(When in-law trouble's looming)
"The poplar-tree" — adversity —
And then "In woodlands gloomy".
Sings "Lazar" in the bazaar,
And, that folk know the story,
Sings, weary-dreary, how the Sich
Was ruined, robbed of glory.

Such, indeed, is Perebendya,
Old and ever-moody,
Sings his song and smiles his smile,
And then in grief sits brooding.

The wind is blowing, softly blowing,
Through the field roams, straying,
On the gravemound sits a minstrel,
On his kobza playing,
Round him, like a sea, the steppe-land
Spreads and bluely shimmers,
Gravemound beyond gravemound rises,
There — but misty glimmers.
Grey moustache and aged locks
The wind blows hither, thither,
As it draws close and hearkens to
The singing of the minstrel,
How the heart smiles, how the blind eyes are weeping,
It listens, blows softly...

The old man is hid

In the steppe, on a gravemound, that no one may see him,
That the wind through the field bring the message it bids,
That folk should not hear, for divine words it carries,
And the heart thus may freely converse with the Lord,
And the heart thus may sing, like a bird, of God's glory,
And thought at the world's end may roam in the clouds,
Like a grey-plumaged eagle it flies, soaring higher,
Until with its broad wings it beats on the blue,
It rests on the sun, and asking, enquires
Where it slumbers at night-time, how wakes it anew;
It hearkens and listens to words the sea whispers,
Or asks the black mountain, "Why, then, art thou dumb?"
And again to the sky, for on earth sorrow lingers,
For in all its expanse, there's no corner as home

For one who knows all things, hears all things arightly,
What the sea whispers, where sleeps the sun nightly,
And of folk in the whole world to welcome him — none.
Like the high sun, dwelling lone among people,
They know him, for still the earth bears him, indeed;
But if they should hear how, his lonely watch keeping,
He sings on the gravemound, he speaks with the sea,
Then they would mock the divine word he carries,
Would name it as foolish, would not let him tarry,
“Let him roam”, they would say, “high over the sea!”

Wise thou art, indeed, my minstrel,
Wisely act and sagely,
Father, that to sing and talk, thou
Goest to the gravemound;
Go then there, my dove so dear,
While thy strength still lingers
From its slumbers, and sing there
That folk know not thy singing,
And, lest folk should spurn and mock thee,
Humour all their fancies,
Lords are paying, so obey them
When they call the dances!

Such, indeed is Perebendya,
Old and ever-moody,
Merrily he sings his song,
And then in grief sits brooding.

Translated by *Vera RICH*

* * *

Prof. Dr. Jurij Bojko

SHEVCHENKO'S 150th ANNIVERSARY AND THE TASK OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARSHIP

1964 marks the 150th anniversary of the birth of the great Ukrainian national poet. On this occasion the entire Ukrainian emigration is paying tribute to this great figure. For some time preparations for the celebration of his anniversary have been going on in various places: individual works on the poet are being prepared for publication and measures for the erection of memorials are being taken. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the scope of the preparations is not commensurate to the greatness of the occasion.

Among the leading figures who are active in the contemporary political and spiritual life of Ukraine, there is no one who can take a place beside Shevchenko. It was he who gave meaning to the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation and who created that idealistic perspective, from which whole generations of artists, thinkers and men of public and political life took their inspiration. Moreover, the imagery of his poetry was imbued with such suggestive power that even the masses were deeply stirred by it. From the folk poet of the Ukrainian people, he became the poet of the nation. He led his people into battle with flying banners. Without Shevchenko there would not have been a national revolution in the years 1917-1920 — a revolution distinguished by its heroic deeds and flaming pathos.

Shevchenko's poetry reveals the most diverse elements of the Ukrainian soul. The most beautiful, holy and pure elements which mark the height of the people's spiritual life find their echo and their further unfoldment in his works. The Ukrainian who involves

himself in Shevchenko's poetry experiences himself and feels a mysterious vibration of his own "soul". He partakes of the overflowing of a powerful psyche, which embodies the whole nation, and gently and sensitively he finds the place of his own "soul" in the total harmony of eternal Ukrainian emotion. For this reason Shevchenko is close and familiar to millions of people. Perhaps no other poet in world literature has ever found so much sympathy among his own people, and most likely the name of no other master of words is surrounded by a cult, which almost borders on divine veneration, as the name Shevchenko.

There have already been quite a number of anniversary celebrations in honour of Shevchenko: 1911, 1914 and 1934. But it has never been possible yet for the Ukrainians to celebrate these anniversaries on their native soil in "a free and new family". As has always been the case, this year's celebration also is darkened by the heavy hand of the police. It is this very condition, however, which places a grave obligation upon the political emigrants in regard to it. Above all, the most pressing task is to put the results of the scholarly work on Shevchenko into order, to classify it in a definite system and to note that material which is most relevant to our own period.

Moscow has always sensed the enormous importance of Shevchenko for Ukraine and her future only too well. Since 1840, the year in which the "Kobzar" appeared for the first time, the Muscovite conquerors have never lost their fear of him. While the appearance of the "Kobzar" evoked joy from the Ukrainians, it evoked ill will, even hatred, from the Russians. Convinced that Shevchenko would relinquish the Ukrainian language and turn to Russian literature, articles defaming the Ukrainian language as an uncouth one used only by "backwoodsmen and peasants" were printed in periodicals. When the great Russian critic, Belinsky, learned of Shevchenko's deportation, he let it be known that if the destiny of the poet had been placed in his hands, he would not have made a less cruel decision than the one made by the Tsar anyhow.

This approach did not last long, however. Open hatred and neglect were not able to thwart the ideas and creative force of the poet. Already in the fifties and sixties of the last century, a changed attitude toward Shevchenko was assumed in Russian circles. Various men in Russian public life began to praise his creations — only to twist their meaning, however. Dobrolyubov gave a plausible presentation of the popularity and extraordinary creative capacity of the poet. At the same time, however, he took great pains to convince everyone that the level of Ukrainian literature was doomed to remain on an elementary basis of simple national sentiments. These were endeavours to barricade the road of Ukrainian literature to prevent it from creating values of universal importance.

As can be imagined, Dobrolyubov concealed Shevchenko's ideas on a national state from the eyes of the reader. Everyone knows Nekrasov's sensitive poem written on the occasion on the death of the Ukrainian genius. Hardly anyone, however, knows that Nekrasov called for participation in the funeral rites, not because he thought the deceased should be paid a last tribute, but solely and only because "it was customary", as we learn from the volume **Literaturnoye Nasledstvo** (Literary Heritage), which is dedicated to Nekrasov. Apparently, then, one "had" to declaim at the grave of the poet, to designate him as "one from the ranks", as "a poor unfortunate wretch" and to rank him with the second-rate Russian poet, Koltsov, or the third-rate Slepushkin. At the turn of the century, Shevchenko was included in an anthology of Great Russian literature which was edited by Prof. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovskiy and published by a group of Russian literary historians. In this anthology he was designated as a "Little Russian" poet and as a secondary force in the development of Russian literature. This soon became a "tradition". Now Shevchenko's name began to appear in the bibliography of Russian literary reference books. Nonetheless, despite all this and notwithstanding all the efforts of Russian circles, together with the "sensible Little Russians", they did not succeed in disguising the true picture of the poet from the Ukrainian nation.

Shevchenko's enormous popularity as a national prophet and precursor of the national revolution evoked in the Bolsheviks the need to make the most exquisite and the most varied falsifications. An open, undisguised hatred toward Shevchenko showed itself only in the beginning. In Vynnychenko's drama *Mizh dvokh syl* (Between Two Forces), a Bolshevik commissar — a russified Jew — stabs the portrait of Shevchenko with a bayonet with bitter hatred. Nonetheless, as we already pointed out, such a complete and openly expressed cynicism was to be observed only at the beginning of the October Revolution. Communist Moscow perceived only too quickly that the use of an open attack was much too dangerous. It is not surprising, therefore, that already from 1919-1920, articles by the pro-communist critic Koryak appeared in which Shevchenko is presented as a manly, courageous revolutionary and as the precursor of the Bolshevik revolution. At that time social revolutionaries still carried some weight in the Bolshevik camp, and it was by all means in keeping with their position to reveal Shevchenko as a manly, courageous precursor of the October Revolution. So to speak, this was an adaptation of Shevchenko's creations to the political aims of the Moscow-friendly social revolutionaries and the Russian Bolshevik camp.

Another pro-communist critic, A. Richytsky took this beaten path when he declared Shevchenko as the poet of the "pre-proletariate" — so to speak as a poet belonging to rural domestic servant circles. This, however, was an extremely dangerous confining and simplifying

of Shevchenko's position in Ukrainian literature and Ukrainian cultural life. Richytsky was intent upon deducing all the poet's ideas from the narrow perspectives of a poor villager, even if this was done a bit forcefully.

As one well-versed in world literature and one who creatively reshaped the literary heritage of the most significant masters of the word, Shevchenko missed out on any consideration. The social element in the poet's work was so exaggeratedly pushed into the foreground, that the national element was completely obscured in this way. In 1933, when Richytsky's partisanship for nationalism became a bit too fiery for the Moscow government, he was "liquidated", just as S. Yefremov, who was as a matter of fact the initiator of Shevchenko scholarship in Ukraine. After Richytsky, Koryak disappeared from the scene also. To replace him the "Komsomol members were summoned" — young people who neither appreciated nor had any knowledge of our literature. They compensated for their deficiency, however, by showing themselves ever ready to meet the demands of Moscow.

For a number of years the public indictment of men like S. Yefremov, of Mychailo Novytsky, Pavlo Fylypovych, Ol. Doroshkevych and others who had made great efforts to lay the foundation of Shevchenko scholarship was carried on. They were condemned and ridiculed as enemies of the people. A number of Shevchenko editions were labelled as "damaging", as they expressed it, and were removed from the libraries. A greenhorn in uniform of the NKVD, Yevhen Shabliovsky, became the dictator on Shevchenko scholarship (not for long, however, for he himself was indicted for "nationalism" and was banished shortly afterwards). Shabliovsky established the line of falsifications, which is generally followed even today.

According to this line Shevchenko succeeded the Russian "revolutionary democrats" like Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky. Both men were younger than Shevchenko (when the poet died, Dobrolyubov was only a youth). Both men began their literary careers considerably later than Shevchenko, and both were one-sided and much less gifted than the Ukrainian genius. Notwithstanding all conceivable efforts made by the Soviet "scholars" they did not succeed in bringing forth convincing evidence of the younger two poets' influence on Shevchenko. Instead, concrete evidence was replaced by high sounding phraseology. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov became the representatives of the Russian "elder brother". There was some similarity between their slogans and some of the social ideas of our poet — for them this was already sufficient reason to push Shevchenko aside as a disciple and to present him as a blind imitator of Russian publicists. The critics of "Kobzar" were constantly endeavouring to cloud over the intellectual content

of the work. To the lines from "Kateryna": "Fall in love, o girls with the dark eyebrows, but not with the Muscovites...", the critics remarked that "Muscovite" was to be understood as "officer"*.

All of Shevchenko's references to historical events and historical places are dealt with in this way. His interpretation of historical phenomena, consequently, is completely obscured to the reader. Furthermore, it comes about that the average Soviet reader is left in complete obscurity about Shevchenko's ideas. A biography of the poet was written in such a way that the reader had no notion of his Ukrainian background. The creator of the "Kobzar" is revealed as a man constantly surrounded only by Russians, men of public life, who were concerned about and cared for the Ukrainian poet. To reveal Shevchenko as related to Russian life and Russian culture has become the central task of the Soviet scholars.

This kind of perversion has been going on for decades now... The scholarly work revealing Shevchenko in this light is voluminous — indeed, by no means all of it is to be classified as second or third rate. Large sums of money were invested and many people, among whom there was certainly no lack of talent, took great pains to continue shaping this false image of Shevchenko. The sovietized Shevchenko became a thoroughly artificial and anti-historical figure, which is so masterfully created, however, that to those who are not able to recognize the falsified sources, it may appear completely real and convincing.

Here a great and responsible task arises for scholarship, namely, to carry out a thorough and critical study of the main works written on Shevchenko within the last decades in Ukraine. This will be a thankless and weary task. Nonetheless, in view of its pressing necessity, it will be of inestimable value. As we study the Soviet literature on the Ukrainian genius, we will be able to detect the passages in which the Communist publicists have seen the possibility for a "possible" falsification and we will recognize the problems on which we have to concentrate our scholarly efforts, so that Shevchenko scholarship is brought up to a scientific and moral level.

*) The name "Muscovite" — "Moskal" — has its origin in the past and is used by Ukrainians to designate the Russians, the inhabitants of Muscovy, the early Russian State, whose beginnings go back to the times of the Tatars. At this time, around the middle of the 13th century, the first East Slavic state, the so-called "Kyïv Rus" with its capital Kyïv, fell apart and yielded the rule to "Muscovy", which, however, in view of the threatening Tatar invasion, did not hesitate to harass Southern Rus with fire and sword. Moscow not only usurped Ukraine's lawful name, "Rus", but as much as seven hundred years ago it plundered and suppressed the South — a practice which culminated under Stalin, when over 5 million Ukrainians perished as a result of an artificially provoked famine in the 1930's. To this very day hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians are deported to Siberia and the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Empire "as voluntary reconstruction helpers". — Translator's note.

Archival objects pertaining to Shevchenko, his handwriting, personal effects, etc. are mostly preserved in Ukraine. The Soviet scholars who distort Shevchenko to obscurity publish new material from time to time and rescue unknown facts from obscurity. This material is often interesting. The Soviet scholars, however, cannot and will not stay with this factual material and draw the necessary conclusions which it demands. Here also it should be our obligation to record the new factual material which was brought to light by the suppressed Shevchenko scholars in Ukraine, so that this material could be added to the already acquired treasures of Shevchenko scholarship.

A problem of tremendous importance which has not been sufficiently investigated until now, is the problem Shevchenko and Moscow. My book, which was published in 1952 by the Ukrainian Free University, by no means elucidates this problem exhaustively. It has not yet been sufficiently investigated which anti-Muscovite figures were adopted by Shevchenko from folk poetry and which from the preceding literary tradition. Only then will it be possible to show more clearly to what extent Shevchenko's anti-Muscovite attitude was original and to what extent he deepened and extended the fruits of Ukrainian thought. Moreover, **Velykyy L'okh** (The Great Vault) should be studied more carefully. It would be valuable if this work appeared as a special edition, accompanied by an extensive preface, and with an appendix of commentaries and detailed remarks. It is of extreme importance that Shevchenko's attitude toward Moscow, toward Russian culture and Russian public figures be studied with an unprejudiced mind, without condemnation, without distortion of historical truth and without unjustly attributing those anti-Muscovite sentiments, which are a part of our own generation, to the poet.

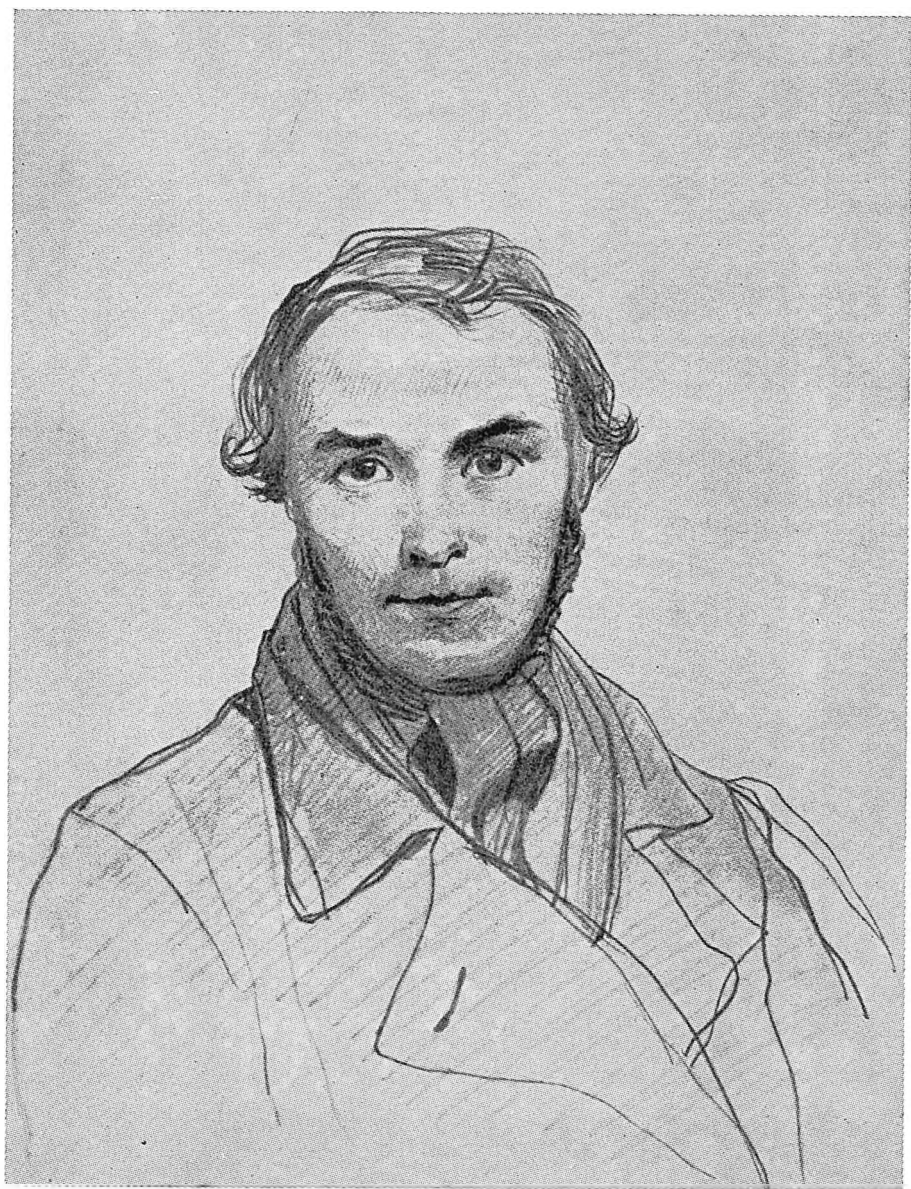
In my opinion both Bolshevik scholars and Shevchenko scholars in the national Ukrainian camp have placed much too much emphasis on the poet's relationship to his Russian environment. It seems important that Shevchenko was occasionally surrounded by people who either had no relationship to Russian culture at all or were related to it only conditionally and partially. Names like Bryullov (from the German name Bruehl, Translator's note), Venetsiyanov (one from Venice), Schmidt, Fitzum, Joachim Sternberg, Jakob de Balmain, Strandmann, Gern and many others are eloquent evidence of this fact. Only in elementary matters and only in part his environment was determined by accidental factors, for Shevchenko himself was extremely active in creating his environment. It would be important to consider to what degree the people surrounding him were of non-Russian descent and stood outside the limits of Russian culture and Russian intellectual life.

Very little has been done in this direction. It would also be interesting to investigate the Ukrainian circle of friends who surrounded the poet before and after his deportation. We do not even know all the names. His relationship to Kostomarov, Kulish, V. Zabala, Hrebinka and Kukharenko has been more or less clarified. Letters, objects of remembrance and literary works which reveal the nature and weight of these relationships exist. Shevchenko's relationship to the *mochymordy* (drunkards), is of unexpected interest, as was shown by M. Novytsky's article which appeared in the periodical **Zhyttia i Revolyutsiya** (Life and Revolution). These very discoveries made by Novytsky give rise to the justified hope that some day, after we have studied the Ukrainian persons who surrounded the poet, we will be able to get a more complete and more exact picture of Shevchenko. Possibly, new light might be thrown on him, if one could succeed in gaining a deeper insight into such interesting men as the landowner Savych, V. Hryhorovych, and the student Holovko and others. It can already be assumed that the Ukrainian colony in which Shevchenko lived in Petersburg was far more extensive. Unfortunately, there are a number of people about whom we either have no information at all or only very fragmentary information: F. Chernenko, Soshalsky, Trotsyna, Klopotsky and others. The nature of the cultural life led by these people and of Shevchenko's connection to them remains a problem which is difficult to solve under the existing emigration conditions. Nonetheless, this problem too has ripened.

It is impossible to approximate the number of works which have appeared on Shevchenko over a period of more than a hundred years. The number of articles, remarks, annotations, poems and memoirs is enormous. From among this bulk of literature on Shevchenko, several hundred valuable works as well as several dozen of valuable books can be named. Nonetheless, there are only very few books and articles which are dedicated to the "secrets of the poet's poetic creations", to the specifically literary aspects of his genius. O. Doroshkevych wrote on Shevchenko's aesthetical views; Ol. Kolessa presented a rather far-fetched comparison of Shevchenko's poetry with folk poetry and folk songs; Zahul and Yakubovsky concentrated on the formal verse structure of the "Kobzar"; Franko analysed the artistry of Shevchenko's words in reference to their effect on the human psyche; Shamray studied the development of Shevchenko's style; Rylsky, a poet himself, made a number of valuable studies on the form of Shevchenko's poetry; Chyzhevsky made several scientific studies on the meter of Shevchenko's verse. Shevchenko's **Naymychka** (The Servant Girl) was analysed in comparison to his short story by the same title (Franko), to **Knyazhna** (The Princess), as well as to **Haydamaky**



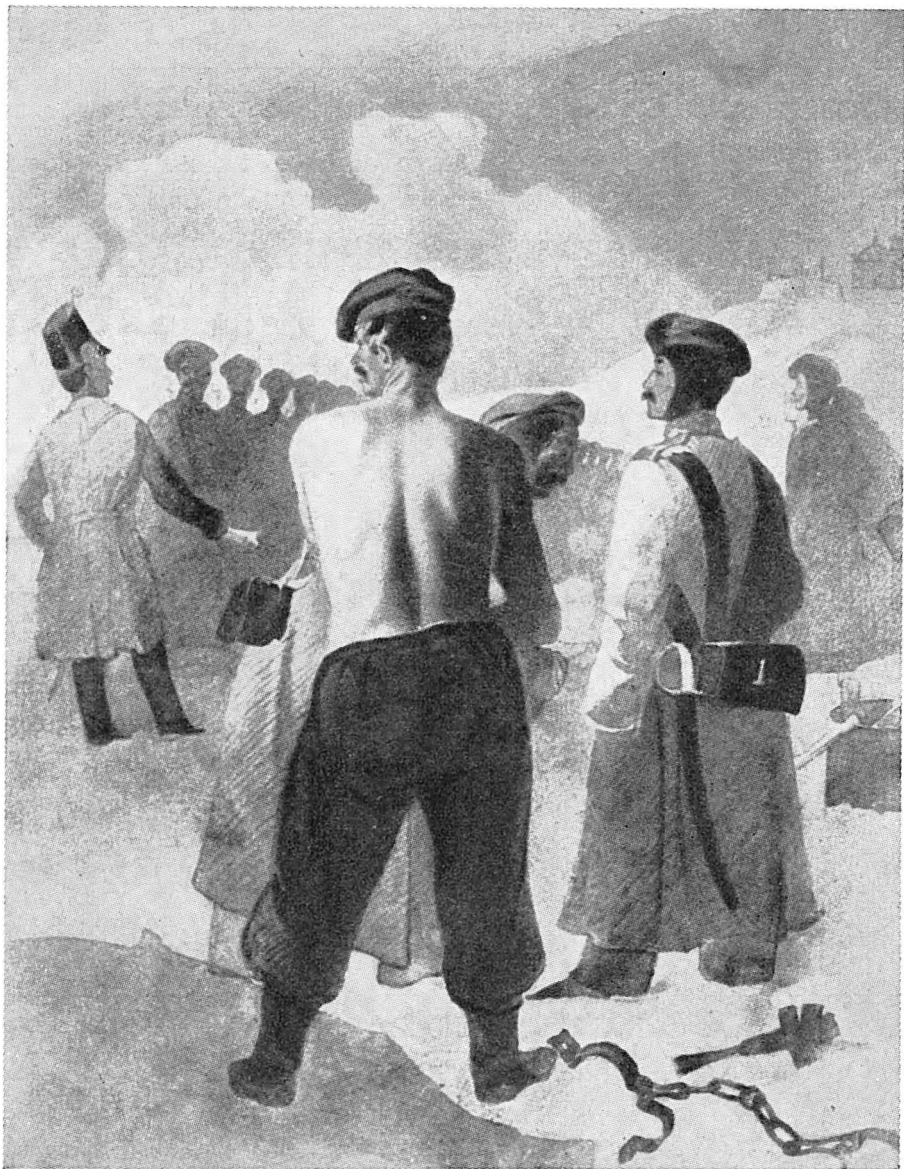
Taras Shevchenko. SELF-PORTRAIT, 1843.



Taras Shevchenko. SELF-PORTRAIT, 1845.



Taras Shevchenko. SELF-PORTRAIT, 1860.



Taras Shevchenko. PUNISHMENT WITH RODS.
1856-1857

(The Rebels) (Navrotsky). But can we name other analogous works? We certainly cannot.

It is never an easy task to analyse the style, imagery and poetic individuality of a poet, and it is especially difficult with a poet as complicated and original as Shevchenko. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of his critics either wrote about him in the tone of a publicist, or they tended to take the biographical or historical approach, digging up material which is not always of great value, but which could, however, lead the scholars studying the problems of poetic form to a different approach. I feel, that it is time to write a work on Shevchenko's poetic creation as a whole. This need not be a narrow formalistic work. The publicist's commonplaces, however, should be avoided. Historical, biographical, folkloristic material, as well as textual studies — all this must be utilized for a detailed analysis of individual works. And on the basis of this analysis, one should begin to sketch all the basic stylistic peculiarities of Shevchenko's poetry as well as the evolution of his style. Doubtlessly, a work of this nature would give a new understanding and increased receptivity to our own generation. For the writing of such a work, the pre-requisites which have already been set down in Shevchenko scholarship are more or less sufficient. All that is needed is a serious scholar who will dedicate several years to this task. And as can be understood, he should have sufficient funds to enable him to dedicate himself to this task exclusively.

It seems to me that it would be an honorable matter for the Shevchenko Scientific Society to find a means of realizing this task.

“FOR OUR SOUL SHALL NEVER PERISH,
FREEDOM KNOWS NO DYING,
AND THE GLUTTON CANNOT HARVEST
FIELDS WHERE SEAS ARE LYING;
CANNOT BIND THE LIVING SPIRIT,
NOR THE LIVING WORD,
CANNOT SMIRCH THE SACRED GLORY
OF ALMIGHTY GOD.”

*From “The Caucasus” by Taras Shevchenko,
translated by Vera Rich.*

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky

Shevchenko—a Living Spirit of the Captive Nations

Who was Shevchenko? He was a Ukrainian, a serf, a poet, a painter, a patriot, a nationalist, a humanist. He was a contemporary of Lincoln the Emancipator and Marx the humanist, and like them despised slavery, oppression, Russian and other forms of imperialism and colonialism. He was the earliest of the freedom fighters in the Tsarist Russian Empire — fighting for the freedom and independence of his Ukrainian nation, for the freedom of all other captive non-Russian nations in that empire, yes, even for the freedom and independence of the Russian nation from centuries of barbaric native rule, in substance the same as found in the Soviet Union today.

When did all this transpire? Living in the period of 1814-1861, Shevchenko lived during the reigns of Alexander I, Nicholas I, and Alexander II — all of them able predecessors of this century's Soviet Russian imperio-colonialists, from Lenin to Khrushchov. Then as now, historic non-Russian nations were under the heel of traditional Russian imperialism. Then as now, Western Europe was under the threat of Russian expansion and domination. Then as now, imperialist Russian penetration of our hemisphere was attempted, but with less success. Aside from the trappings of "The Third Rome", Pan-Slavism, and communism, the continuum of imperialist Russia's policy of conquest and colonial exploitation affected Shevchenko as it affects us today. His contemporary, Marx the humanist, saw Russia as did he: "Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the polar star of its policy — world domination — is a fixed star".

Now what does Shevchenko mean to us Americans who have received him as our own? His poems and his prose, which stand as classics in world literature, have made him the poet laureate and national leader of Ukraine, the largest captive non-Russian nation behind the Iron Curtain today. Few nations of the world possess their own single poet laureate who has captured the soul and the heart of a nation.

His literature of freedom has three dimensions that reflect his own background as a serf, a patriotic nationalist, and a humanist; and each must not be confused with the other. As a serf, he knew oppression, poverty, and exploitation; and his pen laboured in the defense of the rights of Jews, women, and the downtrodden, regardless of colour, creed, or origin. As a patriotic Ukrainian, he saw his people under the foreign Russian yoke; and his pen laboured in the defense of a nation to be free and independent. As a humanist he had deep compassion for all mankind; and his pen laboured in behalf of all the enslaved nations and people in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Ponder well, my friends, these three dimensions: civil liberties and the detestation of exploitation and poverty; national self-determination and independence; and a humanistic interdependence of peoples. Despite much uncritical talk about liberalization in the Soviet Union today — in reality the primary Soviet Russian empire — on each of these levels the negation of freedom persists as it did in Shevchenko's time. The oppression of Jews, discrimination against dark-skin Central Asiatics, the continuous genocide of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, Russification in the Baltic states and in the Caucasus, the absence of free press and free speech, Moscow's complete domination over the captive non-Russian republics and its colonial economic exploitation of their resources for global pursuits that have nothing to do with the basic aspirations and hopes of the non-Russian captives — these and many other negations of freedom scarcely add up to any substantive liberalization.

Why, then, do we honour Shevchenko in this capital of the Free World? The answer to this should be obvious now. Shevchenko is not only of the past; he is very much steeped in the present and projected into the future. The memorial to be erected in Washington will not only honour this early East European freedom fighter, upon whom our own American tradition rubbed off, but it will also be a tangible and everlasting expression of him as a living spirit of the captive nations today. It will be a monument to truth and freedom — to the truths about the captivity of the 45 million Ukrainian nation, about the captivity of the many other captive non-Russian nation both within and outside the Soviet Union, about the truths of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, about the freedom and independence drives of all these captive peoples, who truly are our natural allies in this titanic struggle between a communism-masked imperialist system and the free forces of the world.

In his American University address last June President Kennedy said: "Let us re-examine our attitude toward the Soviet Union". In the spirit of Shevchenko we agree. Let's begin to see it for what it is — not a nation, not a normal and conventional state, but a basic

colonial empire of over a dozen captive non-Russian nations. Before the U.N. General Assembly in September, 1961, President Kennedy stressed: "Let us debate colonialism in full — and apply the principle of free choice and the practice of free plebiscites in every part of the globe". Again in the spirit of Shevchenko we agree. Let us as free and courageous men do it. For, as so often in the past, only disaster will befall those who would accommodate by the approval of silence the Soviet Russian imperio-colonial system that extends from the Danube to the Pacific and into Cuba. Shevchenko, like his contemporary Abraham Lincoln, also knew that mankind cannot remain half slave and half free. His monument in Washington will thus be a memorial not of past deeds or even of present inspiration as much as of the future and its liberation and independence of Ukraine and all the captive nations.

Hon. Michael A. Feighan
U.S. Representative from Ohio.

HUMAN DESTINY

In 1964 the Ukrainian Nation marks the 150th anniversary of the birth of its greatest poet, Taras Shevchenko. Soon a memorial to Taras Shevchenko will take its rightful place in Washington among the monuments to freedom which grace our national capital.

For Taras Shevchenko was a unique champion of freedom for all men and independence for all nations, just as he was an avowed enemy of tyranny, despotism, and imperialism.

Shevchenko stands among that small but select group of gifted men whose toil and sacrifices over a lifetime have won them a lasting place of honour in the annals of their native lands. He shared as well as sensed the sufferings of his countrymen under the oppressive yoke of Russian imperialism. He sensed as well as shared with moving convictions the aspirations of his countrymen for a life of freedom and human dignity. He was able to see beyond the travail of his own people and the despotism of their oppressor and thereby to understand the spirit of the new hope which had been lighted up across the seas by George Washington. With gifted pen he recorded all these things and communicated them to his people in a style which won for him the enduring role of Poet Laureate of Ukraine.

A century has passed since the death of Shevchenko. But the message of his literary works burns more brightly today in the hearts of his countrymen. The reasons for this are all too obvious. Ukraine remains a victim of Russian imperialism and her people now suffer the tyranny and exploitation of the Red Tsars.

During the century since the death of Shevchenko much has happened and much has changed in the affairs of men and of nations. The autocratic Tsars, who felt the literary barbs of Shevchenko and who put him to exile and prison for his efforts, have met the fate he predicted for them. The empire over which the hated Tsars ruled crashed and was broken in 1917 and 1918 by the power of the national independence movements, unleashed by the circumstances of World War I. Ukraine won its national independence, as did more than a score of other non-Russian nations long submerged by an evil concert of empires. Petrograd, the seat of despotic Russian power, temporarily rid itself of a corrupt aristocracy when the chains of its historic imperialism were broken. The world, so it then appeared, was on the threshold of a new era of peace in which freedom and the independence of nations long was assured.

This illusion of peace was short lived. The vacuum of imperial power in Petrograd was soon filled by a new batch of despots, who sailed under a red banner and called themselves revolutionary Marxists. They were not long at the task of fixing their dictatorial power over the Russian nation — whom Shevchenko called the Moskals. These so-called social revolutionaries were unable to reform or contain the chauvinism or the imperial spirit of the Moskals. But they did manage to change the name of the Russian nation from Muscovy to that of Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic, and to make Moscow the permanent seat of imperial power. Wars of subversion and aggression were soon launched by the Red Moskals against all the newly independent non-Russian nations — in an effort to reconstruct the Russian empire.

By 1923 the Red Moskals had destroyed the national independence of Ukraine, along with that of Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, and the Republic of Siberia. But the theories of Marxism were embarrassed by the dominance over the practice of those theories exercised by historic Russian imperialism. So the Russian solved this embarrassment in 1924 by announcing the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The formerly independent nations recolonized by the Red Moskals were labelled Union Republics. This served and continues to serve as a propaganda cover for the reconstructed empire of the Russian Tsars.

Lenin, the oracle of Russian Marxism, recognized before he died that the theories of Marx and Engels had become the victim of Russian despotism and imperialism. He made this deathbed prophesy in 1923:

"There can be no doubt that the insignificant percentage of Soviet and Sovietized workers will drown in the great Russian sea of chauvinist riff-raff like a fly in milk".

The forty years since his death have proved Lenin's prophesy to be correct.

World War II restored by force of armies the former imperial Russian colonies of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to the USSR and added a new crop of Russian colonies, called People's Republics or Socialist Republics. While the new crop of colonies were not forcibly incorporated into the USSR, the spirit and national life of these colonies are imprisoned by Imperial Russia.

It is proper, therefore, to observe that while much has changed in the affairs of men and of nations during the century since the death of Shevchenko, Russia, the Russians and their empire have not changed in substance. They are little different today than they were in the days of Shevchenko. Some alterations in form and tactics have been forced upon the Russians by the pressures of time and change, but the rock bed substance of Russian national life and purpose remains as imperialist and chauvinist.

Nevertheless, I am convinced time and the unchangeable aspirations of the common man in the captive, non-Russian nations will yet make Shevchenko a prophet among his people.

The poet patriot whom we honour this year, Taras Shevchenko, raised this question in one of his most famous poems:

"When shall we receive our Washington,
With a new and righteous law?"

That question remains unanswered for over 40 million Ukrainians who now inhabit the land of Shevchenko. But hundreds of millions of other non-Russian people behind the iron curtain would welcome an answer to that burning question. Our world is sick of tyranny and human slavery. The nature of man deserves a destiny which accords to all the fullness of freedom and human dignity, without which mankind will soon cease to exist. Fulfilment of that destiny must become and remain the goal of all civilized men.

"STRUGGLE ON — AND BE TRIUMPHANT!
GOD HIMSELF WILL AID YOU;
AT YOUR SIDE FIGHT TRUTH AND GLORY,
RIGHT AND HOLY FREEDOM."

*From "The Caucasus" by Taras Shevchenko,
translated by Vera Rich.*

Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski
U.S. Congress

Taras Shevchenko—Europe's Freedom Fighter

(Address Delivered at the Shevchenko Memorial Banquet, Held on Saturday, September 21, 1963 at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.)

We have gathered here in Washington today to celebrate a major new event in man's long struggle for national independence and for individual liberty.

We have come from cities and towns all over the United States to honour a poet. He was not an average man. During his lifetime, he rose from serfdom, and once his own freedom was won, he dared losing it in his fight for the freedom of all Ukrainians and of all peoples.

Taras Shevchenko has been the national hero of Ukraine for over 100 years.

Today, with the groundbreaking for a memorial statue to him in Washington, D.C., we proclaim him as a champion of liberty for all mankind.

I am proud that, as a Member of Congress, I had the opportunity to help in making United States soil available for the erection of the Taras Shevchenko Memorial.

All of you here tonight, and the many, many thousands elsewhere who join us in spirit, deserve the credit for this vision and generosity which has made this Memorial a reality.

I feel humble as I stand before you on this great occasion tonight. Your fathers and mine came to this land, drawn by the bright flame of liberty about which Shevchenko wrote so eloquently and so movingly.

We gained our freedom from Russian Tsarist Imperialism and from Russian Communist Imperialism.

In our freedom, we are mindful of the legacy Taras Shevchenko has left to us and to all mankind. His legacy is an insistent demand that we, in our lifetime, risk whatever may be necessary to carry forward and complete the struggle he fought so courageously for, the national independence of Ukraine, and all nations.

Others here tonight, far more talented at reading poetry than I, would be better able to convey to you some of the most meaningful and beautiful passages from Shevchenko's poetry. But if you will bear with me, I want to read just a few lines. These lines from "GOD'S FOOL" were addressed to those who defended freedom too weakly, and to those who bowed down before the Russian imperialists and did their dirty work for them. I read:

*"...You were not fit to rise in the defense
Of justice and our sacred liberty!
You have been taught to torture your own brothers,
And not to love them! Ah, you miserable
And cursed crew, when will you breathe your last?
When shall we get ourselves a Washington
To promulgate his new and righteous law?
But some day we shall surely find the man!"*

Ladies and Gentlemen: There are those among the Russian Communist Imperialists and Colonialists, who would claim that the man who wrote these lines would be a Bolshevik if he were alive today. Never! Those who believe such claims deserve the whiplash of Shevchenko's lines — "You have been taught to torture your own brothers, and not to love them".

I leave it to you. Were Shevchenko alive today, he would be a hero in the fight against Communist Imperialism for Ukrainian independence, as he was a hero in the fight for Ukrainian independence against Tsarist Imperialism.

Taras Shevchenko is alive today. He is alive in his vibrant poetry. He is alive in the minds, and in the hearts and spirit of everyone who has read his poetry, and who has gained his inspiration.

This is the significance of the Memorial Statue to Shevchenko which will rise at 22nd and P Streets in Washington. This Memorial will be an inspiration to the peoples of Ukraine, of the other non-Russian nations of the USSR, of East-Central Europe, and of Cuba, in their courageous fight for national independence and human liberty.

Shevchenko fought for the freedom of all peoples, regardless of creed, colour, or national origin, and the Memorial Statue initiated today will rise as a beacon of liberty for the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America as well.

To our fellow Americans, the Memorial will have a double significance. It will be a constant reminder that the monolithic might of the USSR is a myth, that the USSR is composed of many non-Russian nations which once were independent and whose people today wish to regain their independence. It will remind fellow citizens here that Russian Imperialism and Colonialism remain as the major threat to the peace and security of our world.

The Memorial will hold a second and even more important significance. It will represent to the entire world the American love of liberty, and the constant support of the American people for the just aspirations of the captive peoples for national independence. Our world, sadly, is divided today, part slave, part free. The free and independent nations, while in the majority, are under serious siege. Even we in the United States are threatened by the Russian Communist Imperialists ambitiously grasping for universal power.

If free men lose, and God forbid, it will not be due to lack of economic power, nor lack of military power. *It will be due to imprisonment in false concepts of the world forced upon us by massive and world-embracing Russian Communist propaganda.*

If we should lose, we can also blame the lack of vigor and the lack of understanding in fighting for national independence and for human liberty.

We must not fail. We must know that knowledge is power even greater than the power of money and of machines.

The words of great poets, the words of Taras Shevchenko, have power to move men and shape human destinies, which is even greater than the physical might to imprison them. It is this great power which has made Shevchenko the national hero of Ukraine, and a champion of liberty for all peoples. It is this great power that the Memorial Statue to Taras Shevchenko will unleash throughout the captive world.

We, who meet here tonight, have our eyes focused on the future, just as we are mindful of the past.

May I at this time propose that we initiate action now to establish a Shevchenko Memorial Library as a section of the United States Library of Congress. This would be most helpful in infusing the heroic spirit of Shevchenko into others, and further inspiring them to join the struggle for national independence and liberty. This should be given serious consideration by the Congress.

It has been my privilege to submit House Joint Resolution 174, providing for the issuance of a Shevchenko Champion of Liberty stamp in 1964. It would

be most appropriate and most telling to have this stamp issued on the day the Memorial Statue to Taras Shevchenko is unveiled in this Capital of the Free World. This would crown the whole action that began with approval of the use of American soil for this memorial.

Ladies and Gentlemen: We are on the threshold of great events. In our power is the ability to carry forward the great struggle for the national independence of Ukraine, and of every other enslaved and subjugated nation of the world.

It is an undertaking in which we must not fail.

It is an undertaking in which we must overcome, and be victorious.

Hon. Alvin M. Bentley

U.S. and Recognition of Ukraine

(Remarks at Groundbreaking Ceremonies, held on Saturday, September 21, 1963 at the Shevchenko Statue Site in Washington, D.C.)

Many people believe that U.S. foreign policy is solely the province of the Executive Branch of our government and that Congress confines itself to voting appropriations and ratifying treaties. This is usually the case, but not always. There are occasions when Congress actively asserts leadership in the creation of foreign policy and the passage of P.L. 86-749 was one of these.

In authorizing the erection of this memorial to Taras Shevchenko for which we break ground today, Congress was not only paying tribute which was both well-deserved and long overdue to a recognized champion of human liberty and freedom. We are all familiar with the inspiration which Shevchenko, a contemporary of Abraham Lincoln and an admirer of George Washington, has given the people of his native Ukraine and freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

But far more important from your standpoint, Congress in 1960 by the passage of P.L. 86-749 took the initiative in one phase of foreign policy by recognizing the independent existence of Ukraine as a separate entity, a separate people, a separate state. Congress stated and President Eisenhower, by his approval, ratified the recognition of Ukraine and its people as a separate, distinct being and demolished any confusion about Ukraine being a part of Russia except insofar as bondage has created a relationship. Whether the State Department cares to admit it or not, it is now a historic fact that in 1960 the United States Government officially recognized the existence of a Ukrainian nation by approving this tribute to the greatest of Ukrainian heroes.

Although many may not have recognized this fact, I did and that is why I worked so hard for the passage of the bill. The Russians recognized it too, which explains the propaganda attacks on us for having passed this legislation. And I am certain that the people of Ukraine also recognize it and that it will cause the flame of liberty and the desire for self-determination and freedom to burn even brighter in their hearts.

Continued acts of recognition by our government will help to strengthen this desire for freedom. This is why the passage of H. J. Res. 174, sponsored by Congressman Dulski and providing for the issuance in 1964 of a Shevchenko champion of liberty commemorative stamp would be a further recognition of the independent status of Ukraine by the American government and the American people.

M. J. Mandryka

THE INFLUENCE OF SHEVCHENKO ON BULGARIAN POETRY

Bulgarian-Ukrainian relations in the field of literature have in recent times been fairly active, but unfortunately very little mention has so far been made of this fact. Slav studies, which are controlled by the Soviet Russians, occupy themselves above all with the cultural influence exerted on the Slavs and also on the Bulgarians by the Russians.

The Russians conceal the fact that in cultural respect the Slav peoples formed a complement to each other and that the Bulgarians, for instance, in the 19th century showed a far greater preference for Shevchenko with his watchwords of national freedom than they did for Russian writers such as Pushkin or Zhukovsky. But for various reasons Soviet Russian official Slav studies refuse to mention this fact. Objective Slav studies — outside the sphere of the moral pressure exerted by the so-called Russian "elder brother" in the USSR — are thus particularly qualified to give an unbiased account of the actual processes of the common intellectual life of all the Slavs. And this is all the more essential since these processes already constitute part of history. One of the most interesting contributions in the sector of objective Slav studies is undoubtedly the following article by M. J. Mandryka. It does not deal with purely Ukrainian studies but with Slav studies as such, that is to say with the relations between two Slav peoples. For our conception of objective Slav studies is based on a scientific elucidation of the entire Slav world, or at least of two Slav cultures. — *The Editor.*

I

The unhappy historical fate of the Bulgarian people in many respects resembles the historical fate of the Ukrainian people. Towards the end of the 14th century the old Bulgarian state

collapsed under Turkish pressure, and it was not until the end of the 19th century (in 1878) that the Bulgarians regained their state independence once more. Thus for 500 years they were subjected to a cruel and relentless Turkish slavery and also to an intellectual slavery under the so-called "Phanariots", which was imposed on them by Greek ecclesiastical rule. After the conquest of Bulgaria the Turks sold the soul of the Bulgarian people to the Greek Patriarch, whose residence was situated in Fanar, a suburb of the Turkish capital, Constantinople. After the Greek Patriarch had paid the Turkish Sultan an annual rental, the Sultan assigned to him certain military units, which accompanied the tax-collectors and Greek priests (if they can be designated as such) to Bulgaria. Although these priests were in the first place to fulfil their ecclesiastical duties and hold services in the churches, they preferred to act as tax-collectors and collect the imposts which had to be paid to the Turkish Sultan from the Bulgarian population. These taxes served as an income for the Patriarch, the Turkish army, the tax-collectors and the Greek priests. As can be seen from various historical documents, the inhabitants of the towns and rural areas fled into the neighbouring mountains and forests, taking all their possessions and cattle with them, whenever these executors carried out their raids. It is thus not surprising that Bulgarian historiographers describe this intellectual slavery by the "Phanariots" as far worse than the Turkish yoke.

As a result of these conditions the intellectual life of the Bulgarian people, which had formerly flourished, rapidly decayed and the intellectual elite was destroyed. An indescribable cultural darkness set in. It was solely in the Rilski Monastery in the Pirin Mountains that the light of Bulgarian scholasticism still shone forth and could not be extinguished. There the intellectual and spiritual torch of Bulgaria, the torch of St. Ivan Rilski and his disciples, was held aloft for future generations.

It was not until the 1860's and the latter half of the 19th century that the history of Bulgaria was marked by the growth of liberation movements, which manifested themselves both as revolutionary outbreaks and as intellectual aims and aspirations. The champions of these freedom ideas fled from their enslaved native country to Roumania, to Bucharest and Braila, where they published their papers and printed appeals, pamphlets and books. The subjugated Bulgarians were however most strongly attracted to tsarist Russia, for they cherished the hope that Russia would liberate their country from the Turkish yoke of slavery. This all the more so since the Bulgarian patriots in Moscow received moral support from the Russian Slavophiles.

For it was in the Russia of those days that "they heard the powerful and enchanting voice of the Ukrainian prophet Taras Shevchenko, a voice hitherto unknown in Russian literature".

The enslavement of the Ukrainian people as a nation by the Russians, its suppression in every respect, the social injustice inflicted on it, and the violation of its sacred human rights — in short, the evil which Shevchenko courageously opposed in his talented poetic works — were known only too well by the Bulgarian people. The ideals and the wishes of the Ukrainian people expressed so eloquently by Shevchenko were also the ideals and wishes of the Bulgarian people.

In spite of the fact that the Bulgarian freedom fighters found asylum in the Russian imperium and cherished the hope that Russia would save their native country, they realized that the fate of Ukraine was very similar to the fate of Bulgaria and that the peoples of these two countries were related to each other on the strength of their ideals. The Bulgarians found understanding in the powerful voice of protest of the talented Ukrainian poet.

None of the Russian literary geniuses made so profound an impression on the Bulgarian emigrants as did the Ukrainian poet Shevchenko. Pushkin they regarded as an aristocrat; Zhukovskiy to some extent appealed to them on account of his sentimentality, but they found nothing else in his works that was related to them and to their ideals, namely the ideals which had as their aim the liberation of Bulgaria in the near future.

The attitude of the Bulgarians to the works of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko was entirely different.

Prof. B. Penev for instance writes as follows about the poet and freedom fighter of the Bulgarian people, **Petko Slaveikov**: "Slaveikov's love of his people, whose fight was the sole purpose in the life of this poet — even at a time when he could not hope for the realization of the ideals of the Bulgarian people, and his wish for a better future for his people found eloquent expression in his imitations and translations of the works of Taras Shevchenko..."¹

And the contemporary Bulgarian poet **St. Chilingirov** very aptly says: "All that the Bulgarian poet had to do was to substitute Bulgaria for Ukraine, the Bulgarian Tsar for the Ukrainian Hetman, the River Yantra for the River Dnieper, the Vardar for the Danube, the Balkans or the Pirin Mountains for the vast Ukrainian steppes and burial mounds, the Turks for the Russians, and the "Phanariots" (Greek exploiters) for the evil overlords..."²

¹ P. R. Slaveikovata prevodna i pr. Per. Sp. 67 (Translation by P. Slaveikov), 1906, p. 205.

² Sbornik v chest' na Iv. D. Shishmanov (Compilation in honour of Iv. D. Shishmanov), Sofia, 1920, p. 65.

II

The first of the Bulgarian poets to be influenced by Shevchenko was **Ksenofont Raiko Zhinzifov** (1839-1917). Not only did he translate Shevchenko's works but he also adopted the form of the latter's poems; he obtained the subjects and ideas for his poems from Shevchenko's works, and in fact followed in the latter's footsteps in the field of poetry. Indeed, he became almost as fierce an opponent of Russian tsarism as Shevchenko had been. Although he hoped that Russia would liberate Bulgaria, Zhinzifov held the view that Russian tsarism must be prevented in every possible way from infiltrating into Bulgaria. For he definitely supported the ideals of the secret Ukrainian society of SS. Cyril and Methodius, to which Shevchenko also belonged.

Another Bulgarian poet of those days, **Liuben Karavelov** (1837-1879), was also strongly influenced by Shevchenko, as was later Petko Slaveikov (1827-1895). All these Bulgarian poets spent some time in the Russian imperium and also visited Ukraine.

The first translations of Shevchenko's poems by R. Zhinzifov appeared in 1863. In that year he published in Moscow the collection "Novo Bulgarska Sbirka" ("New Bulgarian Collection of Verse"), a volume of 186 pages, 42 of which were devoted to translations of poems by Shevchenko. They included the following poems:

- 1) "The Poplar Tree" — p. 135-140;
- 2) "The Water flows into the Blue Sea" — p. 140;
- 3) "Oh, Thou Mighty Wind" — p. 141-142;
- 4) "My Black Eyebrows" — p. 142-143;
- 5) "The Drowned" — p. 144-150;
- 6) "Katherine" — p. 150-172.

Five years later **Zhinzifov** published Shevchenko's "Poslaniye Shafarykovi" ("Message to Shafarik") in the journal "Obshti Trud" ("Joint Work"), Vol. I, No. 3, 1863, pp. 32-35, and in the periodical "Svoboda" ("Freedom") in 1870, in Vol. I, No. 35, pp. 274-275, "Kazashka Pesen" ("A Cossack Song"), an excerpt from Shevchenko's poem "Hamaliya" — "U turkeni na tim botsi" ("The Turkish lady yonder").

In the following year he published two more poems by Shevchenko — "Mynayut' dni, mynayut' nochi" ("Days pass, nights pass") and "I den' ide, i nitch ide" ("Day dawns, night falls") — in the journal "Chitalishte", No. 15, 1871, p. 474-475.

In 1873 **Zhinzifov** published Shevchenko's "Prychynna" in the same journal, Vol. III, No. 12, pp. 1114-1120, and his poem "Oy try shliakhy shyrokiyi" ("Three Pathways") also in this same journal, No. 12, pp. 1141-1142.

In 1874 he published three more poems by Shevchenko in the journal "Vek", No. 12, p. 3, No. 21, pp. 3-4, No. 25, p. 4: "Kalyna" ("The Guelder-rose") — "Choho ty khodysh na mohylu?" ("Why dost thou seek out the grave?"), "Vitre buynyy, vitre buynyy" ("Oh, thou flighty wind"), and "Oy choho ty pochornilo, zeleneye pole?" ("Oh green meadow, why hast thou become black?").

Liuben Karavelov began to publish his translations of Shevchenko's poems in 1870. He also translated works by the Ukrainian writers **Marko Vovchok** (Maria Markovychева) and **Oleksander Konysky**, but as **Nikola T. Balabanov** rightly affirms in his monograph "Liuben Karavelov i ukrainskaya literatura" ("Liuben Karavelov and Ukrainian Literature"), which was published in Plovdiv in 1922, Taras Shevchenko was "his first and probably his only teacher, above all as regards poetic form."

Karavelov was an active revolutionary. At the age of 19 he travelled to Moscow where he spent 9 years (1857-1866). Here he was influenced by the Slavophiles (Aksakov and others) and by such revolutionary writers as Herzen, Chernyshevskiy and Pisarev). It is quite possible that Karavelov made the personal acquaintance of Shevchenko through Aksakov. From Moscow he went to Belgrade, and a year later to Bucharest, from where he led the revolutionary underground movement in Bulgaria, mainly with the aid of the periodicals "Svoboda" ("Freedom") and "Nezavisimost" ("Independence"). He died a year after the liberation of Bulgaria (1879).

In 1870 Karavelov published two poems by Shevchenko — "Nashcho meni chorni brovy?" ("Why do I need black eyebrows?") and "Porodyla mene maty" ("My mother gave birth to me") — in the journal "Svoboda", No. 44, p. 347, and No. 52, p. 410. These two poems were subsequently published in the first volume of Karavelov's works, pages 16, 21-22.

In 1871 Karavelov published a translation of that part of the poem "Jan Hus" which had been passed by the Russian censors, under the title "The Heretic", in "Svoboda", No. 1, p. 3 (the poems were subsequently published in Karavelov's works, Vol. I, pp. 22-23), as well as the poem "Teche voda v synie more" ("The water flows into the blue sea") in No. 17, p. 131 of "Svoboda" (Vol. I, p. 139 of Karavelov's works). In 1873 he published two translations — "Uchitesia, braty moyi" ("Learn, my brothers") and "Ya rydayu, yak zhadayu" ("I sob when I recall it") — in the journal "Uchilishte", Vol. III, No. 13-14, p. 107. These two poems were also published in the first volume of Karavelov's works, with a note to the effect that they had been translated in 1869.

Amongst the manuscripts by Karavelov which are preserved in the National Library in Sofia there is also a translation of

Shevchenko's poem "The Neophytes", which has so far not been published.

Of the 191 poems which Karavelov left to posterity, 133 were modelled on Shevchenko's works, as has been pointed out by Prof. I. Shishmanov. Karavelov not only borrowed the form of Shevchenko's poems but also the latter's themes, and this applies in particular as regards Shevchenko's poem "Do not marry a rich woman!" (Imitation in Karavelov's Works, Vol. I, p. 65). Karavelov also imitated the form and style of Shevchenko's "Testament" (The Works of Karavelov, Vol. I, p. 6).

Both Karavelov and Zhinzifov followed Shevchenko in ideological respect. In the journals "Svoboda" and "Nezavisimost" (which were printed in Roumania) Karavelov propagated the ideas of the Ukrainian secret society of SS. Cyril and Methodius (Kyrylo-Methodiyivs'ke Bratstvo). He wrote as follows: "There will only be understanding amongst the Slav tribes when each tribe attains its independence and when each nationality preserves its own characteristic peculiarities..." (in "Nezavisimost", 1873, Vol. III, No. 44).

Eleven years then elapsed (1874-1885) during which none of Shevchenko's poems were published in the Bulgarian language. It can be assumed that this was due to the fact that the attention of the Bulgarians was completely occupied with the intensification of the revolutionary campaign against Turkish rule in Bulgaria (the insurrection of 1876 and the subsequent revolutionary uprisings) and also the war which ended with the creation of a mutilated Bulgaria (without the southern part, East Roumelia). Thus, all the efforts of the Bulgarians were concentrated on the armed fight against the Turks.

In 1885, however, translations of Shevchenko's works by **Petko Rachev Slaveikov**, one of the most outstanding Bulgarian intellectuals, appeared. Slaveikov, a writer and poet, who was later honoured with the title of "Uncle" or "Father of the Bulgarian people", was also a teacher, and sought to regenerate the Bulgarian language and to eliminate the Greek "Phanariot" influence which dominated in the educational and ecclesiastical spheres of Bulgarian life. Slaveikov also took part in the revolution of 1876 and in the war of liberation in 1877-1878. Incidentally, 200,000 Ukrainians, soldiers of the so-called tsarist liberation army, also took part in Bulgaria's war of liberation, as well as well-known representatives of Ukrainian science and culture, as for instance the famous statistician F. Shcherbyna, later professor at the Ukrainian University in Prague, who died about twenty years ago, and many others. After the liberation of Bulgaria Slaveikov was appointed Minister of Education and subsequently also Minister of the Interior. He deserves especial credit for having regenerated the Bulgarian language. In connection with this task he collected 18,000 popular idioms, in which the

originality and the living quality of the Bulgarian language were preserved and which had formerly been mutilated and corrupted as a result of the Greek and Turkish oppression. Slaveikov also translated the Bible into Bulgarian.

In 1885 translations of a number of Shevchenko's works were published in the journal "Periodichesko Spisaniye", No. 15, pp. 426-428, namely: "Dumy moyi, dumy moyi" ("My Songs"), excerpts from the collection "Kobzar", part of the "Perebendia" ("Minstrel"), as well as "Viter viye-povivaye" ("The wind blows now strongly, now softly"), "Syrotyna" ("The Orphan"), and "Taka yiye dolia" ("Such is her fate").

At this point the fact must also be mentioned that in 1881 the journal "Slavyanin" ("The Slav") (No. 8, p. 58) published an article on Taras Shevchenko. The author was **D. Z. Kostov**, the deputy director of the Bulgarian National Library.

Thus ended the first period, as it were, of Shevchenko's influence on Bulgarian literature.

III

During the years 1877-1878 Bulgaria liberated itself from Turkish rule and earnestly set about establishing and expanding its own state order and system. Whereas Ukraine continued to remain under Russian rule, the situation in Bulgaria was now different; the poetry which glorified the fight for freedom and opposition to subjugation were now no longer up-to-date or to the point in Bulgaria. These things were no longer of interest to the people of Bulgaria, for an era of freedom, an era of exultant songs of joy (although there was no gifted poet to compose such songs), had now commenced.

In those days the Bulgarians apparently forgot the great poet of Ukraine (with the exception, perhaps, of "Father" Slaveikov) and were influenced by Russian literature, the literature of the alleged state "liberator" (although opinion in Bulgaria was and is divided as regards this liberation by Russia). The Bulgarian poets and the Bulgarian intelligentsia now began to express their enthusiasm for the "bourgeois" themes of Nekrasov and, later, of Nadson, etc.

Neither the fate of the Ukrainian people nor its talented poets, who had inspired the first poets of Bulgaria, were of any interest to the Bulgarian poets and intellectuals of this era. The Slavophil ideals that were now upheld by the Bulgarians had little in common with the ideals of the Ukrainian secret organization of SS. Cyril and Methodius. In fact, the necessity of a "single and indivisible Russia" as the protector of the Slavs was now stressed, even though the liberated Bulgarians themselves resisted their political enslavement by Petersburg with all their might and looked to England and the Central Powers for help.

Towards the end of the 1890's a group of gifted young poets and writers made their appearance in Bulgaria's literature. They greatly admired foreign poets, including Taras Shevchenko. But translations of Shevchenko were not made from the Ukrainian original but from Russian translations. For instance, **Iv. Belev** published a translation of the poem "Vitre buynny, vitre buynny" ("Oh, Thou Mighty Wind") in the journal "Bulgarska Sbirka" ("Bulgarian Collection"), No. 7, pp. 10-102, in 1895. And **A. D. Ikhchiyev** — his pen-name was **Diamanten** — published the poem "Dumka" (The water flows into the blue sea) in the journal "Uchenicheski Drugar", No. 9-10, p. 393, in 1898. The same author also published a translation of "Oy odna ya, odna yak bylynon'ka v poli" ("Ah, woe is me, alone I am but a straw in field") in the periodical "Zhivot" ("Life"), No. 9-10, p. 574, in 1899.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Shevchenko's death he was once more mentioned in Bulgaria. The journal "Prosveta" ("Enlightenment"), No. II-III, 1911, pp. 68-69, published two Shevchenko translations by **S. Drinov**: "Oy hlianu ja, podyvliusia" ("Let me glance, let me look") and "Zapovit" ("The Testament"), as well as a short biography of the poet by "St. M.". In addition, the poet **Chilingirov** published an article entitled "Shevchenko in the Bulgarian Language" in the journal "Slavyanski Glas" ("The Slav Voice"), No. I-II, pp. 37-40.

To mark the same occasion a number of Bulgarian periodicals published commentaries on Shevchenko, but the Bulgarian public showed little interest in commemorating the great poet of the entire Slav world. The growth of Bulgarian culture and of its regeneration had obviously slowed down as a result of the long period of subjugation which the country had undergone.

But it was precisely in the years that followed that interest in the talented poet of Ukraine began to be aroused once more. At first, this interest was somewhat feeble, but later on it grew steadily. It was during this era that Bulgaria began to rid itself of certain foreign influences and of the hypnosis of a foreign power and glory; political trends in Bulgaria underwent an intensification and hence Bulgarian literature began to gain in strength. The Bulgarians now regarded Shevchenko not only as a poet and as the champion of the freedom of his people, as one who had courageously protested against injustice and slavery, in which light he had been regarded in the days of Zhinzifov and Karavelov, but also and above all as a Slav genius, as the great poet not only of the Ukrainian people but also of the entire Slav world, as a champion and pioneer of the ideals of understanding and brotherhood between peoples and of humanity.

In 1912 **S. Drinov** published three translations of Shevchenko's poems — "Oy hlianu ya, podyvliusia", "Dumy moyi, dumy moyi",

and "Mynayut' dni, mynayut' nochi", in the journal "Bulgarska Sbirka", Vol. XIX, Nos. 8-9 and 10, pp. 535-537. A fourth poem was also published in the journal as a translation from Shevchenko — "We live in the world without knowing for what purpose we have all been born", but there was obviously some doubt as to whether this poem really was authentic.

By the 100th anniversary in 1914 of Shevchenko's birth considerable interest was being manifested in this great poet, even though political conditions in Bulgaria at that time — the aftermath of the Balkan wars and the Treaty of Bucharest, by which the territory of Bulgaria was reduced very considerably, — were not exactly favourable for such interest.

The first Bulgarian scholar to refer to the Shevchenko centenary was **Prof. Iv. Shishmanov** (the son-in-law of the Ukrainian scholar and politician **M. Drahomanov**), who published an article on this subject in the journal "Svobodno Mneniye" ("Free Thought"), Vol. II, No. 10, pp. 153-155 (of March 8th). An article on Shevchenko by the Russian emigrant K. Musteykis was published in the journal "Listopad" ("November"), No. 26, pp. 188-189, and No. 28, pp. 203-205. The journal "Bulgarska Sbirka", Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 272-275, published an article on Shevchenko by **M. Moskov**. The journal "Listopad", Vol. I, No. 28, p. 201, and No. 20, p. 209, published two translations by **S. Drinov**: "Sestri" ("To my sister") and "V nevoli, v samoti nemaye..." ("In slavery, in loneliness..."). The first poem appears to be a free version by Drinov.

A translation of Shevchenko's "Testament" by **St. Chilingirov** appeared in the journal "Svobodno Mneniye", Vol. II, No. 18, p. 285.

On March 9, 1914, a Shevchenko celebration (the so-called Shevchenko Utro) was held at the salon "Slavyanska Beseda". On this occasion two lectures were given: one by **St. Stanimirov** on "Biographical data on Shevchenko", the other by **Prof. Iv. Shishmanov** on "Taras Shevchenko, his work and his influence on Bulgarian writers prior to the liberation". Both these lectures were published in the form of a pamphlet as No. XVI of the "Library of the Slavyanska Beseda". This pamphlet also contained Shevchenko's "Testament" in the original as well as a translation of passages from it by **St. Chilingirov**.

To mark the 500th anniversary of the death of Jan Hus a translation of Shevchenko's poem "Jan Hus or the Heretic" was made by **St. Chilingirov**. It was published in the journal "Svobodno Mneniye", Vol. III, No. 28, p. 446, on June 8, 1915.

The poet St. Chilingirov, one of the most outstanding and gifted Bulgarian poets of modern times, and a sincere friend of the Ukrainian people, on numerous occasions translated Shevchenko's

poems. And his translations are undoubtedly the best. The numerous poems by Shevchenko which he translated include "The Testament", "Caucasus", "Did you but know, young gentlemen", "Jan Hus" and many others. Not all of these translations however have so far been published.

As was already mentioned, Chilingirov's translations of "The Testament" and "Jan Hus" appeared in the journal "Svobodno Mneniye", whilst "Did you but know, young gentlemen" and "Meni odnakovo" ("It is all the same to me...") were published in the periodical "Ukrainsko-Bulgarski Pregled" ("The Ukrainian-Bulgarian Review"), No. 11, p. 99, and No. 13, p. 115, in 1920. Nothing definite is known about the translation of "Caucasus".

A poem by St. Chilingirov entitled "Taras Shevchenko" was also published in No. 11 of the above-mentioned "Ukrainian-Bulgarian Review".

In 1919 a translation of Shevchenko's "Kobzar" by **P. Slaveikov** appeared in the journal "Detska Radost" ("Children's Joy"), Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 96.

*

The unhappy issue of the war of 1914-1918 for Bulgaria had serious repercussions on the entire life of Bulgaria, including its literature. Political confusion, which had again and again in the course of time undermined the cultural forces of the Balkan peoples, had increasingly assumed unbearable proportions; the prosperity of the country now rapidly decreased and life was completely taken up with everyday cares. In spite of this fact, however, a lively interest was taken in Ukrainian literature and above all in Shevchenko in Bulgaria during the years 1919-1921, thanks to the close political ties between Ukraine and Bulgaria and also as a result of the common fate of these two countries. A whole series of centenary celebrations and reports, numerous articles in the press and essays which were published in the "Ukrainian-Bulgarian Review", in the periodical "Ukrainsko Slovo" and in the "Compilation in honour of Iv. D. Shishmanov" (1920), as well as the very considerable activity of the professors **Shishmanov**, **Theodor Balan**, **St. Mladenov** and **Nikola Balabanov**, of the poet **Chilingirov** and of other prominent persons in Bulgaria's cultural life helped to create new and more solid foundations for the further development of Ukrainian-Bulgarian cultural relations and friendship as well as for a mutual getting to know each other on the basis of literature.

A further objective account of the progress of these relations is extremely difficult as a result of the Red Russian enslavement of the two countries, Ukraine and Bulgaria, and for this reason a study of this subject must for the time being be deferred.

Z. P.

JANUARY 22nd — A MEMORABLE DATE IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE

By way of introduction I should briefly like to remind readers of the significance of "January 22nd". It is a date of double significance — politically and historically — in the history of Ukraine, and in this respect it marks two occasions.

First of all, there is the date of January 22nd, 1918. On this occasion, 46 years ago, the "Ukrainska Tsentralna Rada", or "Ukrainian Central Council", proclaimed the independence of the restored Ukrainian state in Kyïv.

The Central Council or Rada was a representative council of the Ukrainian people, which had been voted in free democratic elections on the broadest possible social basis. It was a National Assembly, a kind of Ukrainian constitutional government. The "Rada" possessed the absolute and undisputed right to speak in the name of the entire Ukrainian people and for the whole people.

This right was stipulated in the first proclamation issued by the "Rada" on the date in question. "From today onwards the Ukrainian National Republic will be an independent, free and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people, dependent on no one".

Thus the "Rada" availed itself of its undisputed right to self-determination and proclaimed the complete independence of the Ukrainian state. This free Ukrainian national proclamation holds good for us for all time. And no subsequent Bolshevik so-called "people's decision" can ever distort or falsify this first free national proclamation.

The second occasion on which "January 22nd" played an important part in the history of Ukraine was one year later, in 1919. In the course of its historical development Ukraine for centuries was divided into two parts, — an eastern and a western part. The western part, with Lviv as its centre, belonged to Poland and, from 1772 onwards, to Austria. The eastern part from 1709 onwards, that is to say after the Ukrainians lost the battle of Poltava, became part of the Russian imperium.

But the years from 1917 to 1921 brought a great revolution in East Europe. The old empire of Russia and Austria collapsed. The Ukrainian people, who had been divided for hundreds of years, seized this revolutionary opportunity not only to proclaim state independence in both parts of Ukraine after a fierce struggle, but also to unite the people in one All-Ukrainian State.

And this act of reunification was proclaimed on January 22nd, 1919, again in Kyiv. The legal basis for this re-unification was established by the unanimous resolutions of the "Tsentralna Rada" and of the parliament of the West Ukrainian Republic, as the successor-state of that part of Austria which included Galicia and Bukovina.

This second date, that is the date of Ukraine's reunification, is also one that is unforgettable in the feelings and thoughts of every Ukrainian. And this second act of state, too, is a free, democratic and genuine people's decision in keeping with the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

As a result of historical circumstances and forces, which I do not intend to mention in detail at this point, Ukraine was then deprived of the national sovereignty which she had but recently gained. In spite of this fact, however, the ideological and political significance and purport of these two acts of state of January 22nd continue to be valid for us free Ukrainians for all time. We adhere to and defend the principles on which they were based.

But historical reminiscences alone do not suffice. Life goes on in the meantime, and it creates new realities and situations, and demands new solutions. To us Ukrainians the fundamental question is: how, by what means, by what measures and manner of conduct, can we realize the ideological and political principles contained in the acts of state of "January 22nd", in view of prevailing realities and situations? In other words, how can we Ukrainians regain our freedom and independence?

This question incidentally does not concern the Ukrainians alone. All the other peoples, who in the course of the past 46 years have likewise become the victims of Russian Bolshevik imperialism and expansionism, are also confronted by this problem.

This brings me to the first fundamental conclusion to be drawn from the present international political situation. There can be no doubt about the fact that nowadays freedom and liberation are indivisible. And the statement that Russian imperialism hardly ever renounces anything that it has managed to secure, unless it is forced to do so, can certainly be accepted as true from the historical point of view. I do not think it is necessary to produce evidence to this effect, for the experience of centuries is clearly proof enough. The case of Austria in modern history, to which reference is sometimes made, in no way refutes my theory, and the Berlin Wall corroborates this theory even more.

Hence this means that nowadays no people, whether completely or only partly subjugated by Bolshevik imperialism, can separately, that is to say individually, attain its freedom. And however much intelligence and perseverance one applies to the task of trying to prove that some case or other is in some way "a special unprecedented case" and "cannot be compared with other cases", such efforts are merely wishful thinking, but certainly not reality.

Reality is quite different: we stand and fall together. I do not think I am exaggerating when I affirm that there can be no liberation of Berlin without a simultaneous liberation of Kyïv, and vice versa.

I have just said that Russian Bolshevik imperialism hardly ever renounces anything that it has managed to secure, unless it is forced to do so. This sentence must not, however, be taken to mean that I advocate international war as a factor of liberation. In the 19th century and, in fact, almost until the middle of the 20th century international war was regarded as an entirely legal means, as the famous "extension of politics", to achieve the desired liberation aims. And the cause of the last two world wars is for the most part to be sought in this way of thinking.

The atomic and rocket age has, however, forced us to change our way of thinking completely in this respect. I know of no Ukrainian, no Ukrainian party, and of no political sect, however fanatical it might be, that would wish the liberation of Ukraine to be achieved at the price of a Ukraine devastated and destroyed by atomic bombs and radioactivity. Both for moral and technical reasons, war is not a solution to the present problem.

What remains is not a vague irrational hope, but, rather, a positive expectation, a knowledge, based on sociological, technical and economic facts, of the inevitable weakening, superficiality, and moral and ideological, internal impoverishment of the entire system of Bolshevik imperialistic despotism. Indeed, certain inner fissures and chasms of the ideological and organisational disintegration of world Bolshevism are already so apparent that they need not be discussed in detail here.

I should, however, in conclusion like to mention a force which contributes considerably — and will to an increasing extent continue to do so — to the acceleration and intensification of this disintegration process.

I am referring to the revolutionary force of liberation nationalism, or, to be more correct, to national patriotism. It is obvious to all of us that this force, step by step and deed by deed, is systematically gaining more and more freedom of movement and chance of activity, both in the satellite states and amongst the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union. It is a hard, grim and relentless fight. It assumes countless aspects and forms. But step by step, imperialism is being forced to retreat before this internal pressure.

It is of course extremely deplorable that the countries of the West fail to observe, to understand and to support morally this fight for freedom of the peoples in the Bolshevik sphere of influence. Incidentally we do not want any irredentists, stimulated, financed and directed by foreign powers. But this fight certainly deserves the greatest moral and political support in every way. The solution of the problem lies in the synchronized and co-ordinated national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples, which the West must support.

In conclusion, I should like to stress once more that in this indivisible world freedom is and will continue to be indivisible. No one will be able to preserve their own freedom permanently if they are not prepared to understand and support the freedom of others.

The ideas, the legal, social, moral and state principles, on which the two Ukrainian acts of state of "January 22nd" were based, aimed to create a democratic, liberal, national state, in which the freedom, dignity, security and protection of every individual and of every people are proclaimed and guaranteed. We believe in this aim; we are fighting for it and we are confident that we shall eventually achieve it.

A Historical Document

Outline of Tentative Report and Recommendations Prepared by the Intelligence Section of the U.S. Government, in accordance with instructions, for the President and the Plenipotentiaries January 21, 1919.

THE UKRAINE

It is recommended:

- 1) That there be established a Ukrainian state, provided Ukrainian nationalism is strong enough to justify that decision. See maps 4-7.
- 2) That Eastern Galicia be included in the Ukrainian state, if the state is strong; otherwise in Poland as a self-governing province, guaranteed the right to determine its allegiance at a later date.
- 3) That the Crimea be given to the Ukraine.

Discussion

- 1) It is recommended that there be established a Ukrainian state, provided Ukrainian nationalism is strong enough to justify that decision.

The Ukraine to-day is in a state of chaos, and it is still uncertain which will gain the upper hand, the Russian sympathies of the upper classes or the Bolshevik or anarchist tendencies of the masses.

If the population can be pulled together and a state established as outlined on maps 4 and 7, the Ukraine would have an area of nearly 600,000 square kilometers, or somewhat larger than the German Empire, and a population of nearly 37,000,000.

- 2) It is recommended that Eastern Galicia be included in the Ukrainian state, if the state is strong; otherwise, in Poland as a self-governing province, guaranteed the right to determine its allegiance at a later date.

The boundaries of the proposed Polish state might include on the south-east the hotly disputed and very puzzling territory and population of Eastern Galicia, included between the solid and the dotted lines on the map. The region should be assigned to Poland only if the Ukraine is in its present state of chaos, and then only as a self-governing province, guaranteed by the League of Nations the right to decide its own allegiance at a later date.

If at the time of decision by the peace conference the Ukraine should give evidence of vitality, the disputed belt should be assigned to it, because in that region the Ukrainians (although very backward in culture) outnumber the Poles two to one.

- 3) It is recommended that the Crimea be given to the Ukraine.

The population of the Crimea is predominantly Tatar and Great Russian. It seems best, however, to attach the Crimea to the Ukraine, since: a) it is cut off from Russia proper by a belt of unmistakably Ukrainian territory; b) the creation of a small Crimean state seems inexpedient; and c) the Ukraine has at best but a restricted outlet upon the Black Sea.

Stephan M. Horak, Ph.D.
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

Lenin's Policy of Non-Intervention and of World Revolution

The title of this article itself indicates a basic divergence: the idea of "world revolution" is the direct antithesis of the principle of "non-interference". Contradictions between Soviet declarations on the one hand and their activity in the international forum on the other hand, divergencies between theory and practice, were an integral part of Soviet reality from the very beginning of their existence.

Consequently the idea of "non-interference" arose from the "Declaration of Rights of the People of Russia" of 1917, which, among other things, proclaimed:

1. The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia;
2. The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state.

There is no limitation on the right to self-determination, whether in regard to individual nations or the social and state forms which the nations in question may chose.

It is of great importance to point to this fact in view of Soviet Russia's subsequent interference in the internal affairs of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and many other newly formed states. Russia, as will be shown, understood the word "interference" one way in the case of states which were formed on the territories of the former Tsarist Empire, and another way in the case of other states in the world. The difference, however, is limited to the practical side of the problem rather than to the theoretical. Interference with the internal affairs of the first group of states was realized directly by the Red Army and by other members of the Russian Communist party. In

the case of the second group of states, similar aims were to be accomplished in an indirect way — through the activity of the Third Communist International. The determining factor in the changing attitude towards different states was the presence of a national force and the degree of its effectiveness. In other words the degree of effectiveness of non-interference was measured and determined not by the original statement but by physical strength.

The most classic example in the first form of Soviet violation of the non-interference principle may be found in the case of Russian-Ukrainian relations after 1917. One may substitute Belorussia for the example of the Ukraine or even Georgia without noticing any difference in Soviet political strategy. Events were simply repeated and sometimes in the form of re-writing the same story. There was no "copyright" in this matter as in many other aspects. The Ukraine, occupied with internal difficulties of the sort which usually plague young states, was never dangerous for Russia and especially during the regimes of Kerenski and Lenin. Ukrainian national independence was after all in accordance with Lenin's thesis on the right to self-determination and assurances of non-interference on the part of the Russian Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, it was the Ukraine which had to make all the experiments with Soviet theory and reality from the very beginning.¹ It was Lenin who wrote on the eve of his revolution: "Not a single democrat can deny the right of the Ukraine to independence and separation from Russia".² At that time Lenin did not realize that a few months later he would have the chance himself to put this highly objective statement into effect. It now appears evident that Lenin at that time used this and many similar declarative statements for propagandistic reasons. His goal was to weaken the Kerenski Government and to secure sympathy among non-Russian people for the Bolshevik party. The situation changed with the Bolsheviks' rise to power. Lenin soon abandoned his "democraticism" and began to revise his declarations and to fill out the framework of his previous statements with Communist content. He also reserved for himself the privilege of interpreting Marxist teaching, including the national question.

The attempt of a handful of local Bolsheviks to seize power in the Ukraine was put aside in a few hours. At this point it became evident to Lenin that the great majority of Ukrainians sympathized with and supported the national government. As a result, in Moscow a decision was made to look for other ways and means to bring the Ukraine under Russian control again. On December 17, 1917 the Council of People's Commissars cabled to Kiev an ultimatum signed by Lenin. In addition to official recognition of the Ukrainian National Republic, demands were expressed in this document contradicting the right of self-determination and violating the principle of non-interference:

...We accuse the Central *Rada* of exploiting national phrases and at the same time of pursuing the policy of the bourgeoisie which resulted in non-recognition of the Soviets and of Soviet power in the Ukraine. Among other things, the *Rada* refuses to accept the request of the Ukrainian Soviets to summon a Congress of the Ukrainian Soviets without delay.³

The Ukrainian Central *Rada* was actually the product of a revolutionary movement organized by the major Ukrainian political parties, the Social-Democrats and the Social-Revolutionaries. Soon, however, this group became a central body by joining many other groups and organizations and by excluding right-wing groups and representatives of the big landowners. The political make-up of the *Rada* was inclined to be rather leftist. National minorities such as Jews, Russians and Poles were represented as well, and a liberal policy of autonomy for minorities was achieved. It was not up to Lenin to teach the Ukrainians democracy. Lenin evidently ignored the established facts and in his first ultimatum categorically demanded:

1. Will the Central *Rada* stop with the disorganization of the common front?

2. Will the Central *Rada* refuse to grant permission for any military units to cross the Ukraine in the direction of the Don, the Ural and some other places without the order of the Russian Chief Command?

3. Will the Central *Rada* grant support to the revolutionary army in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary Kadet-Kaledin uprising?

4. Will the Central *Rada* stop its attempts to disarm Soviet units and the Workers' Red Guard in the Ukraine and return confiscated arms?

Non-acceptance of these demands in the next 24 hours will be viewed by the Council of People's Commissars as a state of open war against the Soviet regime in Russia and in the Ukraine.

The General Secretariat — Ukrainian Government, which was the first in history to gain experience with the Russian Communists, in immediate response gave an extraordinary characterization of Soviet policy and propaganda:

The General Secretariat considers the People's Commissars' declaration of recognition of the Ukrainian National Republic as insincere and in contradiction to itself. It is impossible to recognize the right for self-determination "even to separation" and at the same time to make a rough blow by the same right, forcing your own political form, as it is done by the Council of People's Commissars of Great Russia upon the Ukrainian National Republic. The General Secretariat decidedly rejects all attempts of the People's Commissars to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic...⁴

Independently of the ultimatum Lenin ordered Antonov-Ovseyenko to move into the Ukraine. On December 25, 1917 the Thirteenth Red Russian Army, formed into four groups of Leningrad sailors and Moscow workers, invaded the Ukraine. The group marched toward Kiev under the command of the former tsarist gendarme M. Muraviev. This aggressive action of the Russian Communists is confirmed in

"Order No. 14" of the aforementioned Muraviev: "We are carrying Soviet Power from the far North on the edges of our bayonets and where we bring it in, we support it by the force of bayonets".⁵ On February 9, 1918, Muraviev informed Lenin: "The Government in Kiev is established with the help of bayonets and is handed over to the Soviets of the Ukraine". Together with the Red Army Lenin delegated Ordzhonikidze to the Ukraine with the rank of Extraordinary Commissar of the Ukraine for "unification of the existing Soviet organizations in all kinds of activities (military, food, banks and others)".⁶ Of "the right of the Ukraine to separate from Russia" (June 14, 1917) there remained in January, 1918 only a "Commissar of the Ukraine". Lenin's metamorphosis was simply enormous. In this situation it was more than symbolic that the first Chairman of the People's Secretariat of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was the non-Ukrainian G. L. Pyatakov.

The treaty of the Ukrainian National Republic on February 9, 1918, in Brest-Litovsk and the military help of Germany and Austria-Hungary once more saved the young Ukrainian State. The uprising against Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi, the capitulation of the Central Powers and the general disorder in the Ukraine caused the second attack of the Russian Bolsheviks upon the Ukraine. Even while negotiating with the Ukrainian State on the signing of a peace treaty, the Soviets never ceased preparations for a new attack upon the Ukraine. On August 26, 1918, the Ukrainian Telegraph Agency reported: "The Bolsheviks have prepared in Moscow 18 million pamphlets to spread hostile propaganda among the Ukrainian people. These leaflets are of a provocative character".⁷

When at the end of 1918 the Soviet Russian troops again launched an offensive against the Ukraine in the area of Kharkov, the Government of the UNR in the person of Yuriy Mazurenko sent a strong protest to Moscow. In a direct talk with the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, the latter assured him:

Your statement about the presence of Soviet Russian troops in Ukraine is simply not true. There are no Soviet troops on Ukrainian territory or anywhere in the border regions. Military operations in the Ukraine involved the troops of the Directory and the so-called troops of Pyatakov. Between the Ukraine and Soviet Russia there are no military hostilities.

The Government of the Ukrainian National Republic ought to know that the RSFSR Government declared itself in favour of Ukrainian independence. In the spring of this year we sent you the warmest greetings on the formation of the Ukrainian National Republic. Concerning the renewal of peace negotiations, we would be glad to see the UNR delegation in Moscow.⁸

After the first satellite — the Ukrainian SSR — had been created, Soviet Russia retreated behind the phrase "non-interference" and pointed to the presence of two Ukrainian governments involved in

a regular civil war. Ignoring all the facts the RSFSR considered itself in a neutral position. Existing documents, however, reveal a different development in those years. Lenin's telegram of November 29, 1918 to the Supreme Commander of Red Army contains:

With the advancement of our troops to the West and to the Ukraine, District Provisional Soviet Governments are formed in order to strengthen Soviets on the spot. This development is to be considered a positive one since it takes from the nationalists of the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia the possibility of accusing the movement of our military units as a process of occupation and creates a favourable atmosphere for the further advancement of our troops. Without such a situation our troops would be placed in an impossible situation in the occupied districts, and the population would not meet them as their liberators. Considering these facts, you are asked to issue directives to the Commanding Staff of corresponding military units to support in every possible way the provisional Soviet governments of Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania, but certainly the Soviet Governments only.⁹

In 1920 Lenin had to recognize the difference in development in the Ukraine and to admit Russia's direct aggression in the Ukraine:

The farther we occupied Siberia, Kuban and the Ukraine, the more difficult became the task, the slower the administration worked because there is a very limited number of the proletariat in Siberia, and in the Ukraine it is even weaker... There is no doubt that the proletariat in the Ukraine is quite different than in Petrograd, Moscow or Ivanovo-Voznesensk and not only because it is poor. It did not happen to them to be hardened in famine, cold and struggle as was the case in Moscow and Petrograd.¹⁰

The well-known Ukrainian Communist, V. Zatonskyi describes the occupation of Kiev by the Muraviev troops in January, 1918:

I have also been before the execution squad. I escaped accidentally. A mandate signed by Lenin was found in my pocket. It saved me. Skrypnyk was recognized and he was saved too. The happy accident occurred when I was arrested in the street and had the Ukrainian mandate of the "All-Ukrainian Central Committee of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies in Kharkov." Because of that "Ukrainization" I had to lose my life. At that time everyone who had the slightest connection to the Central Rada and for a single Ukrainian word had been executed.¹¹

Under such circumstances there was no other choice for the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic than to send an ultimatum to the RSFSR to stop sending Soviet Russian troops into the Ukraine. Otherwise, the Ukraine would consider herself to be in a state of war with the RSFSR.¹² Thus the war took an official form and after a year long struggle ended with the occupation of all the Ukraine (UNR territory) by the Red Army. The Western Ukraine, including West Volhynia, according to the Polish-Soviet Riga Treaty became a part of newly created Poland. Lenin, however, did not underrate the importance of the national question in the Ukraine, and, after occupation by Soviet troops, he twice warned Antonov-Ovseyenko to deal very carefully with the Government of the Ukrainian SSR and to respect the national feeling of the

Ukrainians. On December 6, 1919 the Ukrainian SSR was officially recognized by the RSFSR. The corresponding declaration included the statement:

Remaining on the basis of self-determination of nations, the Central Committee considers it important to confirm once more that the Russian Communist Party is remaining on the position of recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian SSR.¹³

This document, besides the official recognition, also revealed that the goal of the RSFSR was to establish the federation with the Ukraine. An historian from the Stalin era, Likholat, who in the last years was criticized several times for his interpretation of Soviet history (not unjustly from the Communist point of view), says that the

The Resolution of the Soviet government on the Ukraine had a very great significance for the Communist Parties of all Soviet republics and for the course of future party policy regarding the national problem.¹⁴

In other words, the Ukraine became a model for the future in dealing with other non-Russian nations and with national questions on the whole. The "Ukrainian pattern" was, without major changes, applied in the case of Belorussia and other Caucasian and Asian nations.¹⁵

This tested method began to take different forms especially in the relations with other states that had never been a part of the Russian Empire. At that time the probability of direct Russian military intervention in such countries as Germany, Hungary or Turkey was very limited and, therefore, other methods were considered and applied. The means used were both propaganda and subversive activities by the various national Communist parties. "World revolution" was not only a propagandistic slogan but also a set program. In this regard Lenin thought that the development of events in Germany was of extraordinary importance. Knowledge of German theoreticians of Marxism, the experience and battles of the German proletariat and the geographical importance of Germany itself stimulated Lenin's thoughts. In his articles and speeches in 1917-1921, Lenin often alluded to the possibility of an outbreak of revolution in Germany and by these allusions gave moral support to the Russian Communists in critical moments of the Civil War. In January, 1918, Lenin was very optimistic about the possibility of a German revolution:

There is no doubt that the Socialist revolution in Europe must come and will come. All our hopes for the final victory of Socialism are based on this conviction and on this scientific foresight. Our propagandistic activity in general and the organization of fraternization in particular must be further strengthened and developed.¹⁶

Lenin did not recommend waiting for a European revolution with folded arms but desired the strengthening and preservation of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia which had to become a center for

the further spread of Communism. News was received in Moscow about the beginning of riots in Kiel on November 3, 1919, with an enormous enthusiasm. As a result of this revolt Soviets, a typical of the Russian pattern, spread all over Germany. Scheidemann proclaimed the German Republic and several days later Karl Liebknecht moved towards Communism by the proclamation of the German Socialist Republic which lasted a very short time. Lenin considered the German revolution the key for "world revolution", but the failure of revolution in Germany forced him to correct his concepts about "world revolution". Disappointed by European Socialism, Lenin turned to domestic affairs and the strengthening of the Soviet Regime in Russia.

The last chance of German Communists to seize power came in March, 1921 (Revolt in Mansfelder Gruben) and ended in complete failure. Lenin took this unhappy occasion to write a special letter to the German Communists instructing them how to organize and lead workers toward victorious revolution. The tone of a teacher is preserved in this letter:

The winning of the majority of the proletariat to our side — such is the 'principal task'.... Such a winning over is possible even if, formally, the proletariat follows bourgeois leaders or leaders who pursue a bourgeois policy... Such a winning over is steadily making progress all over the world. Let us make more thorough and careful preparations for it, let us not allow a single serious opportunity to slip by when the bourgeoisie compels the proletariat to rise for the struggle; let us learn to correctly determine the moment when the masses of the proletariat cannot but rise together with us.¹⁷

At another time Lenin addressed Clara Zetkin:

You in Germany have to pass an examination now on the question of how to influence the masses. Do not disappoint us after you started this task with the partition of your party. Keep to the masses always, and you will one day have your revolution as we did: with the masses, through the masses.¹⁸

And even in his last letter published in **Pravda**, March 4, 1923, Lenin once more turned to the German question. He condemns the occupation of Ruhr by the French troops because here it is a question of the "civilized country in an advanced capitalist development".¹⁹ Lenin realized better than anyone else that the communization of Europe was not possible without a Red Germany, and to no other country did he pay as much attention as he did to Germany. The Rapallo Treaty appeared to be an almost idealistic event in this regard.²⁰

After the first experience of the Western countries with Soviet Russia and with the activities of the Third International as an instrument in the hands of Lenin, those states had their first lesson in diplomatic dealings with the Communists. As a result of Communist activity supported by Soviet Russia, the paragraph about "non-

interference in internal affairs" embodied in some agreements was subjoined. Usually the Bolsheviks did not object to the inclusion of such clauses for two reasons. First it helped them to come into diplomatic contact with other countries and to be recognized by them, and secondly they never took official responsibility for the activity of the Communist International. The Anglo-Soviet trade agreement of March, 1921 is a classical example of such a practice. The corresponding part says:

The present Agreement is subject to the fulfillment of the following conditions, namely:

(a) That each Party refrains from the hostile action or undertakings against the other and from conducting outside of its own borders any official propaganda direct or indirect against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively, and more particularly that the Russian Soviet Government refrains from any attempt by military or diplomatic or any other form of action or propaganda to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire, especially in India and in the Independent State of Afghanistan. The British Government gives a similar guarantee to the Russian Soviet Government in respect to the countries which formed part of the former Russian Empire and which have become independent.

(b) That all British subjects in Russia are immediately permitted to return home, and that all Russian citizens in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia are similarly released.

It is understood that the term 'conducting any official propaganda' includes the giving by either Party of assistance or encouragement to any propaganda conducted outside its own borders.²¹

One cannot overlook a certain naïveté in this paragraph, particularly on the British side. Lenin had at his disposal the Third International, and Great Britain, giving up every interest in the territory of the former Tsarist Russia, did not possess an equivalent body to the International. Moreover, British Communists were members of the International and, as such, were under the direct orders of Lenin, though, of course, in an indirect way. A policy of preserving the Empire at any cost is of questionable value, and yet it is unthinkable that British diplomacy was not then equal to the Soviet dialectic. Such a compromise was the product of the weakness of both partners in competition for influence in Europe and in Asia. The Bolsheviks, at the birth of the Communist state, and Great Britain, at the beginning of the decline of her World Empire, decided that the best solution for the interests of each party would be "political respite" or, using modern terminology, co-existence of the two different states and systems. Struggle for the Turkish heritage, the Bolsheviks' activity in Teheran, the competition in securing access to the oil resources in Arabic countries, turbulence in India, and then the Communist campaign for "liberation of Asiatic nations from colonial exploiters" — all this besides the economic crisis in

England itself — compelled Britain to conclude such an unusual compromise with the Bolsheviks. After the collapse of the policy of intervention with its support for such dead figures as Yudenich, Denikin, and Wrangel, to the disfavour of the national-liberation movement of Georgians, Ukrainians and other nations, this agreement with all its consequences and implications was the logical end of British political failure. In this confrontation the Bolsheviks easily found themselves on the creditors' side, and, moreover, even knew how to use the strength of nationalism and how to profit from this alliance. Contrary to all letters of British-Soviet Trade-political agreement, Communist propaganda went deeper and deeper into all parts of the continent, forcing the British more and more to retreat. In the perspective of time it became evident that this first experience of Britain sharing the rule over these peoples and territories with Soviet Russia did not bring London any of the expected successes, but completely satisfied the hopes and program of the Russian Communists. Since Great Britain was bound by the agreement, she remained passive toward the question of the fate of the non-Russian peoples, and during the next few years did not undertake any action in this regard. At this point the propaganda restrictions became one-sided, and simultaneously one of the first indications after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of the future co-existence policy of the Communists. Rakovsky quite openly expressed the complete satisfaction of the Soviet Government about such a solution, and during his stay in London he praised British diplomacy.²² Soviet Russia, or her part, was fully prepared to meet this new situation.

The existing International Section under the leadership of Radek within the Central Executive Committee had been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Third International, an act which officially relieved the Soviet Government from charges of hostile action against other countries. Now the Russian Communist Party could decide which political actions were to be carried out by the Soviet Government and which were to be transferred to the International for better execution. The situation had been changed in form, but not in content. At Lenin's disposal was the triangle: Party, Soviet Government and Communist International. This assured him more power and possibilities than any other head of government before him had had. The Western countries, with their various political traditions and social system, did not understand at once the working system of the new Soviet state machinery and strategy for it takes time to acquire practical experience in order to understand the nature of this new phenomenon. History seems to prove that the costs for the first experiences were divided very unequally. One may say it was done at the expense of the Western world. The Soviets realized their advantage which had developed from this situation

during and after the First World War, and Trotsky expressed it in very clear terms:

By our international policy we not only did not assist the Hohenzollern to assume a position of world domination; on the contrary, by our November Revolution we did more than anyone else to prepare his overthrow. At the same time we gained a military breathing-space, in the course of which we created a large and strong army, the first army of the proletariat in history, with which today not all the unleashed hounds of the Entente can cope...

We retreated like an army which gives up a town to the enemy (or even a fortress), in order, having retreated to concentrate its forces not only for defence but also for an advance.²³

Lenin, speaking on December 23, 1921, at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets about the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Republic, notes:

Capitalism is dying, but it still can expose millions to suffering. True, there is no force which could save it from death. A new society, which will inevitably be formed on the union of workers with peasants, is unavoidable. Sooner or later, twenty years sooner or twenty years later, it will come and for it, for that society, we will help to establish forms of union between workers and peasants while we are working on the question of a New Economic Policy (NEP).²⁴

Placing this essential credo in the center of Soviet policy, Lenin continued to justify the economic relations with the capitalist states:

There were great difficulties because of the lack of economic relations between the RSFSR and capitalist countries. The events prove that similar conditions were the lot of the capitalist states. But just now we are not so altruistically disposed, and we are now thinking how to continue our existence in the presence of hostile surroundings. They call us criminals, but they nevertheless help us by trade.²⁵

The Bolsheviks' strategy of signing the items about non-interference into the affairs of others and of refraining from propaganda for the "world revolution" appeared justified. They could strengthen their power in Russia, extend the Soviet system to non-Russian republics, and overcome an economic crisis and agricultural shortages without giving up their own principles.

Grottian, the author of an excellent study, **Lenins Anleitung zum Handeln**, in his recent article²⁶ referring to Lenin's tactics of interference in the affairs of other states draws a parallel to contemporary Soviet policy. Looking retrospectively at the problem he concludes:

Also in this regard in the case of the Soviet foreign policy since Lenin nothing has been changed. Only the forms, especially from the thirties, experienced some changes. In Lenin's time, the head of the Soviet government did not shy, in the letters to the Communists of the foreign countries, from instructing them in the political and subversive struggles in their countries. The cautious preparations for the uprising played a decisive role therein.

FOOTNOTES

1. On the subject about the Ukrainian-Russian relations during and after the Soviet revolution, an already numerous literature is available. Some more important titles: John Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism*, Princeton University Press, 1952; Jurij Borys, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of the Ukraine: A Study in the Communist Doctrine of the Self-Determination of Nations*, Stockholm, 1960. Arthur E. Adams, *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine; The Second Campaign, 1918-1919*, Yale University Press, 1963. Robert S. Sullivan, *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine, 1917-1957*, Columbia University Press, 1962.

2. *Pravda*, June 15, 1917.

3. *Sobraniye uzakonenyi i rasporyazheniy pravitel'stva RSFSR*, No. 5, 1917, p. 90; Doroshenko, *Istoriya Ukraïny*. Vol. I, p. 214.

4. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

5. Pigido, F., *Ukraïna pid bol'shevyt'skoyu okupatsiyeyu*, Munich, 1956, p. 22.

6. Lenin, *Lenin pro Ukraïnu*, Kiev, 1957, p. 446.

7. *Kiyevskaya Mysl'*, August 26, 1918.

8. *Posledniya Novosti*, January 7, 1919, Kiev.

9. Lenin, *Sochineniya*, (4th ed.) Vol. 28, p. 201.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 17 (1923 ed.), p. 91.

11. Zaton'skyi, V., *Natsional'na problema na Ukraïni*, New York, 1926, pp. 38-39.

12. *Posledniya Novosti*, January 10, 1919.

13. Lenin, *Soch.*, Vol. 30, p. 172.

14. Likholat, A. V., *Razgrom natsionalisticheskoy kontrrevolyutsii na Ukraine, 1917-1922 gg.*, Moscow, 1953, p. 413.

15. On the development in the Transcaucasian area during the years 1917-1922 see: Firuz Kezmezadeh, *Struggle for Trans-Caucasia, 1917-1921*, New York, 1951.

16. Lenin, *Soch.*, (3rd ed.) Vol. 22, p. 194.

17. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 299.

18. Zetkin, Clara, *Erinnerungen an Lenin*, Wien, 1929, pp. 43-44.

19. Lenin, *Sobraniye Soch.*, (1957), Vol. 20, p. 127.

20. On this unknown development see: Georg Rauch, "Lenin und die verpasste Revolution in Deutschland", *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. IX, 1961, No. 1-2, pp. 26-40.

21. *Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogovorov, soglasheniy i konventsiy zaklyuchennykh RSFSR s inostrannymi gosudarstvami*, Vol. II, p. 18; *British and Foreign State Papers*, H.M.S.C., Vol. 114, p. 373; Shapiro, Leonhard. *Soviet Treaty Series. A Collection of Bilateral Treaties, Agreements, and Conventions, etc. Concluded between the Soviet Union and Foreign Powers*, Vol. I, p. 102.

22. *Inprekorr*, April 25, 1924, p. 572.

23. Trotsky, *The Defense of Terrorism*, pp. 114-15.

24. Lenin, *Soch.*, (1937) Vol. 27, p. 141.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

26. Grottian, Walter, "Ist Koexistenz mit der Sowjetunion möglich?" *Moderne Welt*, III (1961/62) 2, 115-145.

Charles J. Kersten

The Long Night of Slavery

A short time ago I read a beautiful epitaph: "The Iron Curtain, May It Rust In Peace". Let us hope that before it rusts many thousands of people on both sides will cut it down.

The main Communist purpose of the Iron Curtain is to indoctrinate the people behind it with a hatred of the ideals of the west — a hatred which when finally achieved — would inspire the destruction of everything in the world that opposes the advance of world Communism.

It is significant that Khrushchov will permit no cultural exchanges among students of political science, philosophy, or religion. Such exchanges are limited to science, theatrical productions, artists, athletic teams, etc. The Communists believe they can build up an empire of hate if their philosophy and religion of atheistic materialism can be undefiled by the ideas of the west.

Hatred of America is the basic propaganda of Communist China, as it is of Castro's Cuba.

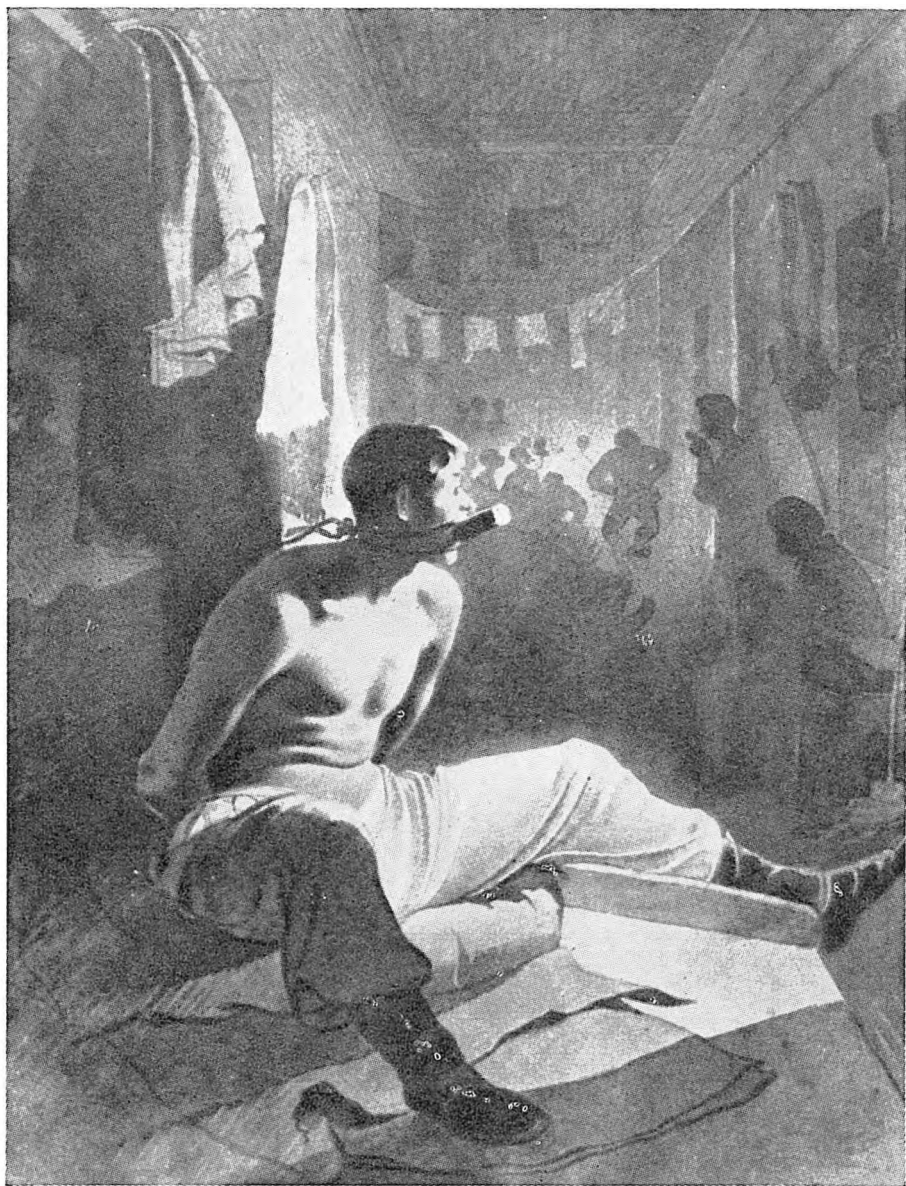
But hatred is more than just the use of words.

One of the greatest acts of hate of all time was Stalin's enforced famine in Ukraine in the years 1932-33 when he removed all the food and seed produced in the country creating a man-made famine that took the lives of over 5 million people. A few years ago even Khrushchov publicly admitted that this enforced famine caused many to go insane and resort to cannibalism in their insanity.

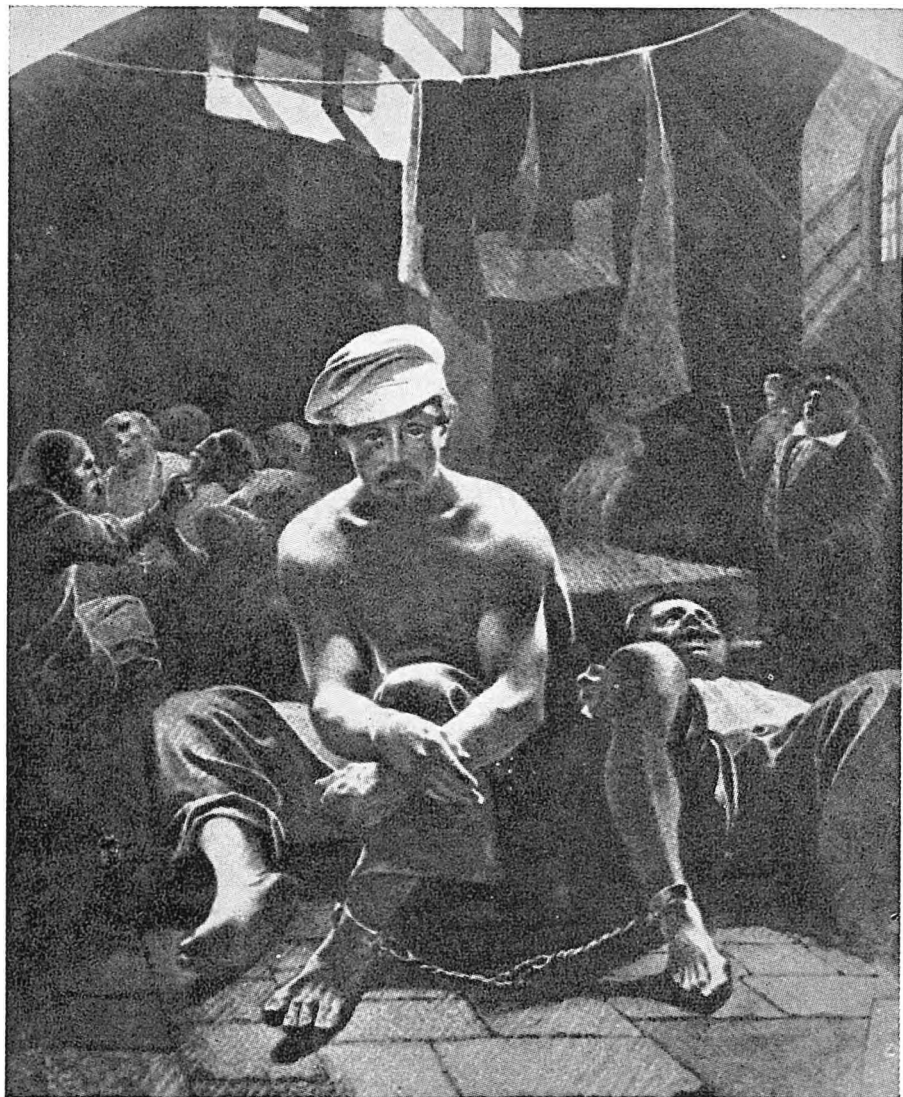
It is the 30th anniversary of this terrible act of hatred against the Ukrainian nation.

Khrushchov — it would appear — always was more sophisticated than Stalin in his murderous acts. In the vicinity of Vinnytsia when Khrushchov was First Secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine, he directed the NKVD, during the years 1938-40, to execute over 10 thousand Ukrainian prisoners and buried them in mass graves. To cover over this mass murder, however, and to show his affable love for children, he made a children's playground over these mass graves in Vinnytsia.

When Khrushchov met with President Eisenhower in Geneva in 1956, his tanks were crushing the bodies of over 500 Ukrainian women — political prisoners — into the ground when to protect them from the NKVD they had formed a ring around their men in a concentration camp in Kingir.



Taras Shevchenko. PUNISHMENT WITH STOCKS.
1856-1857



Taras Shevchenko. IN THE PRISON.
1856-1857

Khrushchov can smile and he can murder while he smiles. But his acts and policies have been those of hate from the beginning.

The real problem of hate in the world today is well symbolized by the statement of the Communist theoretician, Lunacharsky:

"We hate Christianity and Christians. Even the best of them must be looked upon as our worst enemies. They preach the love of our neighbours and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the revolution. Down with the love of our neighbours. What we want is hatred. We must learn to hate and it is only then that we shall conquer the world."

In this struggle must we be purely defensive? Must we co-exist with the expanding Russian Communist slave empire of hate?

They tell us there is only one alternative to nuclear war. (And no one in his right mind would unleash nuclear war). That we will have nuclear war unless we learn to co-exist with Communist imperialism. We must accept the reality of Soviet power. The free world must, as George Kennan says, assume a feminine role and accomodate itself to the masculine Russian Bear. We must put up with the Moscow-based international subversion spreading its atheistic materialist ideas and conceptions into every free world city. We must submit to a flood of false propaganda that tells its fraudulent story of life behind the Iron Curtain as a heaven on earth, only to hide the greatest concentration of human misery the world has seen. They say we must build an international order based upon a half-slave, half-free world! — to avoid atomic war!

Khrushchov, by rigging cultural exchanges, assumes the image of an apostle of peace in contrast to the Chinese tiger, and seeks to make himself more acceptable to the West, so we will not only agree to co-existence, but actually embrace it as our salvation.

What a fraud! What blindness not to see there is civilization's death in the full embrace of the Communist Russian Bear.

The same regime that uses the methods of Pavlov to destroy men's minds so they become breast-beating defendants; that starved 6 millions to death in the Ukraine; that wired the wrists of prisoners and shot them in the base of the skull into mass graves in Katyn Forest and Vinnytsia and also perpetrated the same method of murder upon American P.O.W.'s in North Korea; that crucified priests in the trees of the forests of Rainai; that packed millions into boxcars and sent them into the Siberian wilderness; that rounded up the young daughters of the citizens of Bucharest and had them raped by syphilitics in jails and sent them back to their parents as a warning to further resistance; that crushed freedom in Hungary under the treads of tanks; that perverts its educational system to shape the hearts of its young in the cold doctrine of atheistic materialism in order to break the bonds of loyalty to family and to nation and to poison the wells of truth and make the State their

God; that is in the process of destroying the national cultures and traditions of the nations of Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Belorussia, Georgia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Cossackia, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam, China and Cuba; the same regime that planted missiles in Havana aimed at the heart of the western hemisphere; the same regime is in power today. This is the regime into whose bloody hands many of our advisors would place our fate with a policy of co-existence!

Does anyone believe such a regime would hesitate to unleash atomic war upon us if it could safely do so? If Khrushchov's grave digger's shovel were firmly in his hands, would he hesitate to bury the U.S.? It is not only the defensive arms of the West that are a deterrent to Communist military aggression. The greatest deterrent to Russian Communist nuclear assault is the potential of internal resistance to the Red Regime of the Captive Nations.

The prison warden and his bloodthirsty guards cannot safely attack the adjoining village because that would give a great opportunity to the prisoners to rise in rebellion and overwhelm their jailers!

A deliberate Western policy of co-existence with Russian Communist Imperialism recognizes the status quo and helps put the Captive Nations out of existence. It helps to remove the pressures and resistance of millions of people who yearn for freedom. It destroys the greatest deterrent to Communist nuclear attack upon the West. Co-existence with the Russian Communist conspiracy is the surest path to atomic war.

There is a clear alternative to the false dilemma of co-existence or atomic war. Such an alternative is a political offensive aimed at the political defeat of the Russian Communist conspiracy at its Moscow base. We should develop a policy of co-existence with the **Captive Nations**, not with their jailers. The political power of the people of the Captive Nations — which is the vast majority of the people of the Communist orbit — if co-ordinated and given support — would overwhelm the Communist leadership and bureaucracy like a tidal wave.

But there is great difficulty in implementing the clearly indicated alternative of political victory of freedom and the defeat of Russia's Marxist way of life. Many good men in and out of government, in the legislative and executive branches of our government, have proposed sound alternatives to the false dilemma of co-existence or atomic war. A considerable number of anti-Communist action plans have been formulated, publicly announced and ordered by top government officials, including by the President and Secretary of State, during the past 15 years.

But something nearly always happens to U.S. government action projects aimed at the diminishing or defeat of Communist aggression,

no matter how urgently, even the President, may desire their being put into successful action. Probably one of the most dramatic examples was the disastrous invasion of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. And recently when the government of South Vietnam seemed to be defeating the Communists in that area, suddenly our policy changed. Diem was overthrown. And the Communists appear to be on the march again.

Why cannot any effective political offensive against Communist aggression be mounted and brought to successful conclusion by our government? The American people would heartily support it. Our martyred President would have been all for it as were the immediate past presidents before him.

I remember when young Congressman Jack Kennedy from Massachusetts came with me to Milwaukee in 1947 and together we exposed the Communist leadership of Local 248 of the Allis Chalmers union and procured the evidence in our Congressional hearings that sent Harold Christoffel, the Communist president of the union, to a federal penitentiary for 7 years for perjury. I believe that was the first successful Congressional investigation that produced substantial results against the Communists. Congressman Jack Kennedy took strong and effective action on that occasion to defeat Communist control of the labour union. He had the same motivation as President to cause the political defeat of Communist control over nations.

Four days before he was assassinated in Dallas, President Kennedy spoke in Miami on Monday, last November 18th, calling for the overthrow of the Castro government in Cuba. Here are his words, probably his last important public utterance:

"The genuine Cuban revolution, because it was against the tyranny and corruption of the past, had the support of many whose aims and concepts were democratic. But that hope for freedom and progress was destroyed.

It is a fact that a small band of conspirators has stripped the Cuban people of their freedom and banded over the independence and sovereignty of the Cuban nation to forces beyond the hemisphere. They have made Cuba a victim of foreign imperialism, an instrument of the policies of others, a weapon in an effort to subvert the other American republics.

This and this alone divides us.

As long as this is true, nothing is possible. Without it, everything is possible.

Once this barrier is removed, we will be ready and anxious to work with the Cuban people in pursuit of those progressive goals which a few short years ago stirred the hopes and the sympathy of the many people throughout the hemisphere.

No Cuban need feel trapped by the dependence on the broken promises of foreign Communism and the hostility of the rest of the hemisphere. For, once Cuban sovereignty has been restored, we will extend the hand of friendship and assistance to a Cuba whose political and economic institutions have been shaped by the will of the Cuban people".

But, just as President Truman and President Eisenhower were curbed, thwarted and sometimes even sabotaged in many of their anti-Communist efforts, and as was also, it would seem, our late President Kennedy, so President Johnson is faced with the same problem today.

There are seeded throughout our vast organization of government, just under the surface, particularly in those areas having to do with implementing policy into action, a considerable number of policy experts of a certain and definite stripe.

Many of them believe that Marxism is the wave of the future and we should not defeat it. Many of them have been touched by the idea of Russian Messianism and believe that Russian imperialist expansion can be made less bloody, and that we should woo it into more civilized paths.

A number of these experts come from our big universities. They have read a great deal about the theories of Communism and Marxism and, I fear, are attracted by these theories. Such experts are in sharp contrast to those Americans — particularly to American soldiers and officers — who have seen and experienced Communist action, not just theory — at the line of the Iron Curtain. These experts are also particularly in contrast to the hundreds of thousands of victims of the Communist way of life who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain and who know the facts about Communism as distinguished from theory.

Before we will be able to cause the political defeat of the Communists, curb their power, and bring about their eventual political extinction at their Moscow base — before there can be victory of freedom over slavery — before we can set the course of the U.S. and the free world toward a policy that will assist in the liberation of Cuba, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Belorussia, Georgia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Cossackia, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam and China, before we can do this, the soft, white appeasing hands of these experts must be taken from the control of the policies of our government.

For the liberation of the Captive Nations is the key to peace with justice. The surrender of the Captive Nations to the slavery of Muscovite Communism is almost certain to bring upon our heads a nuclear attack with which they mean to preface our enslavement.

But I believe the voice and the heart of the American people will eventually make themselves heard and felt by the policy action of our government.

When the foreign policy of the U.S. toward the Soviet Union reflects the true mind and courage of the American people, there will come the dawn of freedom and justice behind the Iron Curtain and the end of the long night of slavery in Ukraine.

Jaroslav Stetko

The Light of Freedom From the Forests of Ukraine

The guiding idea and principle of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) — the disintegration of the Russian imperium, whatever its political colour and form, into national independent states of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow, namely by means of national liberation revolutions, is also the liberation idea of the Ukrainian nation. Its genesis dates from the days of the Hetmans Mazepa and Orlyk. Hetman Orlyk formed an anti-Russian coalition, headed by Turkey, and in this way continued the noble work of one of the most famous figures in the history of Ukraine, Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Hetman Orlyk left us a valuable legacy in the form of an unparalleled example of an untiring and consistent campaign abroad on behalf of the liberation of his people by revolutionary methods. Both in his life of suffering and hardship and in his works, in particular in his profoundly stirring poem "The Caucasus", Taras Shevchenko, the great Ukrainian poet, laid the further ideological foundations for a common front of all the peoples enslaved by the Russian tyrants. "Fight and you will be victorious, for God will help you" — this is the appeal which Shevchenko addresses to all the peoples who are languishing in the Russian peoples' prison.

The freedom aims of the Ukrainian national hero and head of the Ukrainian state, S. Petlura, who also continued his fight for the liberation of his country abroad, the campaign of the founder and organizer of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Colonel Evhen Konovalets, the freedom manifesto of the OUN in 1940, and, lastly, the formation of the **Committee of Subjugated Peoples**, which thanks

to the initiative of the OUN and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and in particular of General Taras Chuprynka, was realized at the conference held in the forest of Zhitomir, Ukraine, on November 21st to 22nd, 1943, — all these events are stages in the organic and political development of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which during the past twenty years has become an anti-Russian and anti-Communist force of global dimensions.

In the midst of dreadful chaos and a tyranny hitherto unheard of in the world, and in their two-front war against the most powerful war-machines in the world at that time — the German and the Russian one, the revolutionary nationalists of the peoples subjugated by both forms of tyranny, in the forests of Zhitomir, defined and established the ideological, political and military principles and methods for the liberation of these enslaved peoples from the tyrants. From the technical and material point of view these revolutionary nationalist forces were much weaker than those of the German and Russian tyrants, but they were spurred on and inspired by the idea of freedom, by a vision of the future, by their moral strength and their belief in eternal ethical values to such an extent that they could have removed mountains. In their manifesto these revolutionary nationalists appealed to the subjugated peoples of East and Central Europe to form a joint front against Russia and Germany and to initiate and conduct a co-ordinated revolutionary liberation war and insurgent movements against the imperialistic major powers. It was stressed that one should beware of "liberating" the countries occupied by Germany by resorting to the help of the new Russian occupants. The Allies were exhorted to assist the subjugated peoples in their fight against Nazi Germany and not to join forces with the foul fiend Moscow. Former soldiers of the Soviet Army who had deserted and gone over to the side of the insurgents also attended the secret conference in Zhitomir, — a fact which incidentally clearly showed the vulnerable spot of the Russian imperium which is composed of the subjugated peoples, and also emphasized that the USSR (that is to say the Russian imperium) would merely be a colossus with feet of clay if the West adopted the political principles of the subjugated peoples and actively supported the latter. The conference warned the Western world of the grave danger which would threaten the whole world if Russia were to win the war, for by 1943 it was already perfectly obvious that the Germans had lost the war.

The fact that the German Nazis designated the Ukrainian and other insurgents who opposed the German invasion as "Stalin's lackeys" and that the Red Russians, on the other hand, designated them as "Hitler's lackeys" is clear proof that these insurgents were fighting against both forms of tyranny and that in doing so they were obliged to rely entirely on their own forces. It therefore seems appropriate at this point to mention the fact that the Polish insurgents

in Warsaw were sadly mistaken in believing that the advancing Red Russian armies would help them to repulse the Germans. **Ukraine and the peoples allied with it at that time did not count on any help from either Berlin or Moscow.** What was more, the splendid fight which was put up by the 200,000 men of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was ignored and passed over in silence by the Western allies out of "loyalty to Moscow". Even their fight against the Germans was passed over in silence by the Western allies so as not to "offend" Stalin, since the UPA together with its allied insurgents of other subjugated peoples was also fighting against Stalin. In this connection we should like to point out that there were also various other national units of the subjugated peoples, under their own commanders, in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The secret conference in Zhitomir in November 1943, for instance, was guarded by Georgian units under the command of a Georgian major. Even though the hostile major powers directed their attacks against **Ukraine, this country was not obliged to rely entirely on its own strength.** A large-scale front of the enslaved peoples against the tyrants was being set up. It was the front of the struggle for the **national idea**, a symbol of our day which promises to be victorious in all continents.

In the forests of Ukraine in November 1943 the spark of a great fire, the inextinguishable conflagration of co-ordinated national liberation revolutions, which can destroy the Russian imperium from within, was kindled. This is the first front of freedom-loving mankind against the world menace of Russian imperialism and of Communism, which is the instrument of this imperialism.

The arrogant forecasts of Hitler, according to which a few German bombers would be able to crush all resistance on the part of the subjugated peoples, did not by any means come true. The national insurgents of these peoples played an active and decisive part in bringing about the collapse of Hitler's hitherto invincible armies.

The fundamental idea of ABN as a reality of our day and the armed fight which was put up twenty years ago may serve as a two-fold pointer for freedom-loving mankind, that is to say as both a **political and a military, strategical guide.**

In **political respect:** that the **national liberation idea** and the nationalism which aims to achieve national liberation must be regarded as the driving force in the fight against the Russian imperium and prison of peoples. And this implies the acceleration of the **disintegration of the Russian imperium**, its complete annihilation, as well as the support, furtherance and recognition of the **national peculiarities** of the individual peoples, of their traditions and of their intellectual and spiritual life, whose inherent qualities are **religious idealism and faith in God.** Hence the watchwords of every nation in its fight against militant Russian atheism and the enslavement of peoples are: **God and the fatherland.**

In **military respect**: that the national wars of liberation, that is to say a series of insurrections, can bring about the destruction of the USSR from within, and that it is imperative that such insurrections be given active and wholehearted support by the free world, since the Russian danger is not confined solely to the peoples who are already subjugated but also threatens the entire free world. As long as Bolshevism, as the modern form of Russian imperialism, is not annihilated by the disintegration of the Russian imperium, the free world will be constantly threatened by the Russians.

And since the West by helping the subjugated peoples is helping itself, we take the occasion of the 20th anniversary of ABN as an opportunity to appeal to the West to give the insurgent peoples its **military aid** if it wishes to prevent a thermo-nuclear war.

The West should proclaim the aims of ABN as the aims of an anti-Russian and anti-Communist crusade on the part of all freedom-loving mankind. The destruction of the Russian imperium should be inscribed as a watchword on the banners of all free individuals and peoples.

Russia is at present more or less in a state of war with the West, a tension which is being aggravated by various ways and means but which the leaders of the free world, strange to say, refuse to realize. This state of war must be countered by warlike means and methods. The subjugated peoples are also in a state of war, directly or indirectly, with Russia, and this fact cannot be concealed. War in this atomic age can assume various forms, especially as Russia, by means of its extremely powerful Fifth Columns, Communist parties, diversions manoeuvres, subversive campaigns and warlike operations on the peripheries, is constantly extending the boundaries of its imperium and is worming its way further and further into the territories of the free world. The Communist parties and their subsidiary organizations must be proscribed as parties of traitors, as parties of the enemy in the heart of every nation. The policy of coexistence must be ended for all time, since it is only of advantage to the tyrants. The Russian prison of peoples must be isolated and blockaded. An offensive policy must be adopted. The morale of the free world must be strengthened by the severance of all relations with Russia, and the subjugated peoples must be encouraged by the support given to them by a world-front of freedom-loving individuals and peoples, for the cause of the subjugated peoples is the cause of all mankind. One should above all appeal to the subjugated peoples and not to the tyrants. The Russian despots would certainly be alarmed if, instead of the endless tirades in the Russian language in the broadcast programmes of the world, the free countries were to speak solely in the languages and in the spirit of the subjugated peoples!

The watchword of ABN — "Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!" — should become the guiding principle of the psychological war of the free world, but in its true interpretation, however, — that is to say in the meaning of a state and national independence of the subjugated peoples and not in the sense of a non-predetermination or a plebiscite. The precondition of the freedom of the individual is the sovereignty of the nation.

Five years ago Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), said at the grave of Colonel Konovalets, who was murdered by a Russian agent in 1938: "Ukraine will have to fulfil an important and great mission which concerns other peoples too, inasmuch as it will realize and defend the universal watchword: Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!"

On page 11 of his work "Russia Is Not Invincible" General J. F. C. Fuller, the famous British military theoretician, says of ABN:

"Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective it may be — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world. From the value of the ABN as a disruptive instrument, I will next turn to its ability economically to strangle the USSR in another way".

This is General Fuller's opinion of ABN. It is thus erroneous to assume that ABN is solely an emigrants' organization or an instrument of foreign policy. The main emphasis of the ideas and the liberation policy of ABN is concentrated behind the Iron Curtain. Without a common front of the subjugated peoples and without co-ordinated revolutionary insurrections which pursue the same aims, the liberation of Ukraine is impossible. For the question of Ukraine is a revolutionary world problem, and the restoration of Ukraine's state independence will fundamentally change the present distribution of power in the world, since in that case what is today the largest imperium in the world will cease to exist. The activity of ABN in the free world is solely **one** sector of the fight. Because of its uncompromising attitude in the fight against all trends and forces which seek to preserve the Russian empire and because of its refusal to reach any compromise with the enemy, ABN in the free world has become the symbol of national, freedom-loving, anti-imperialist and anti-Communist, that is anti-Russian revolutionary forces, which will never reach any kind of agreement or unity with the forces of the Russian Communist evil. This applies to the entire international sector, to all the subjugated peoples. Similarly, in national respect,

the revolutionary OUN — these three letters — have become the symbol of courage and fearlessness in the fight against the enemy. Individual persons may weaken or fail, but the ideas and the organization of the OUN remain constant and unswerving; hence the three letters OUN have become legendary in Ukrainian reality. The organization which co-ordinates the national revolutionary forces of the individual subjugated peoples (who are fighting for the disintegration of the Russian empire and the victory of the national idea) — ABN — and which has mobilized, on a global scale, all those elements and forces that support the same idea and are akin in their revolutionary attitude, is becoming a deadly danger to the Russian tyrants. It is the foremost task of ABN to give an impetus to the co-ordination of the actions of those forces of the various nations which think alike in political and ideological respect, to create a new class of leaders in the free world, who will reject all compromises and agreements with the Russian Antichrist and oppressor of peoples and individuals, and to form a new order of national fighters and crusaders (an order which should play a decisive part in organizing a crusade against tyranny and atheism). ABN constantly, systematically and uncompromisingly endeavours to set up such a world-front, wherever and whenever it has an opportunity. Numerous international conferences in Taipei, Saigon, Bangkok, Manila, Tokyo, Mexico, Guatemala, New York, Rome, Malta, Frankfurt on Main, Edinburgh, Escorial, Bolzano, Guatemala, Toronto, and Sydney, and campaigns in various capitals of the world — this is the sphere of the struggle and of the political victories of the representatives of ABN. The U.S. Congress Resolution on "Captive Nations Week", which supports the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium, and the historical speech of the former Canadian Premier F. Diefenbaker before the forum of the United Nations are both of them measures which are in keeping with the fundamental ideas and principles of ABN. The task which was begun twenty years ago in the forests of Zhitomir has in the meantime become a symbol of a new world order which is diametrically opposed to present reality. The noble idea of this new order, which was initiated by the unforgettable Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Taras Chuprynka, and by the revolutionaries of other subjugated peoples who took part in the conference of Zhitomir, whose names in many cases are unknown and who laid down their lives for their nations and for one common idea, is gaining more and more advocates in the whole world.

ABN is not the creation of an individual, of a group, or of an organization, but of the entire nation. What is more, it is the common property of all the peoples subjugated by the Russian tyrants.

From the Ukrainian point of view ABN is an historical conception of the liberation of the Ukrainian nation, a conception which has

developed out of the geopolitical and other demands of the Ukrainian nation. For this reason substitute organizations of ABN are set up here and there as a conception of the common front. The imitators of ABN are however forced to adapt themselves to the opportunist means and methods of action demanded by the policy of the governments of certain Major Powers. This is indeed proof that one cannot get away from the truth of this conception even though one may try to falsify it (as for instance the Paris Bloc, ACEN, etc.).

On the eve of the conference of Zhitomir in 1943 the insurgents of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and Byelorussia were engaged in a fierce combat against the Nazi invaders. The freedom fighters of these nations defended a forest which was to become of historical and decisive significance. This anniversary is hallowed by the sacrifice of countless of our fellow-countrymen who laid down their lives on this occasion.

The greatest revolutionary insurgent strategist of our day, General Taras Chuprynka, who initiated the conference of Zhitomir, was killed in action in Ukraine in March 1950 whilst fighting against the Russian occupants. He gave his life for the realization of a noble and patriotic ideal. In venerating his memory we see in him the symbol of all the heroes and martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for our ideals of the nation and the individual, for the ideals of God. Whatever may be decided in the palaces on Fifth Avenue, New York, it will most certainly be eliminated by the swords of our freedom fighters if it is not compatible with the ideas and resolutions of the revolutionaries in the forests of Zhitomir twenty years ago.

And however much the Russian tyrants may endeavour to eradicate the longing for freedom and national independence in the hearts and souls of the subjugated peoples, they will never succeed in doing so. For our truth and our idea will in the end be victorious, thanks to our faith and our indomitable will and as a result of our fight, which will never accept any compromises. The idea of freedom has always been stronger than the power of tyrants. In this fight for Christ and the fatherland, God is on our side and will help us.

*"MAKE MY GRAVE THERE — AND ARISE,
SUNDERING YOUR CHAINS,
BLESS YOUR FREEDOM WITH THE BLOOD
OF FOEMEN'S EVIL VEINS!"*

*From the "Testament" by Taras Shevchenko,
translated by Vera Rich.*

Important Events in Ukraine and in the Life of the Ukrainian Emigrés in 1963

I. The Political Situation in 1963

The Ukrainian Soviet Republic remained in the sphere of influence of the USSR as a "sovereign" and "independent state" — but only in the Constitution. The state government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic had no independent rights. Its most important task continued to be, as hitherto, to carry out all Moscow's orders. Some of the privileges which were conceded to the Republics of the Soviet Union in economic respect during the early years after Stalin's death were now revoked. In connection with the new economic reform in 1963 Moscow is now endeavouring to bring about the complete Russification of the Ukrainians and of other non-Russian peoples, and is trying to assimilate them on the basis of a uniform language, a uniform culture and an economic system which is entirely dependent on the central authority in Moscow. The Ukrainians are putting up a passive resistance. At the same time, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has now adopted a policy of "drawing together and complete fusion" of the non-Russian nations, which in practice is equivalent to Russification. This national policy is encountering considerable opposition among the intelligentsia of all the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, who are opposing Russification with all the means at their disposal.

The opposition on the part of the Ukrainians against this policy, especially in culture and education, can be seen from numerous articles in the Soviet press.

In the course of the past year Moscow has continued to exploit Ukraine economically and to deport Ukrainian youth to Kazakhstan and southern Siberia.

In order to cover up the colonial position of the Ukrainian people in the USSR, the foreign political activity of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was activated by Moscow's permission. It is an established fact that Ukraine has no independent rights whatever as far as foreign political matters are concerned.

Ukraine, for example, has no diplomatic representatives in other states, nor has it any representatives of other states in its capital. Ukraine is only represented in the United Nations Organization.

Thus the Soviet Ukrainian representative made a speech on disarmament questions at the 18th General Assembly of the UNO.

In 1963 the Ukrainian Soviet Republic intensified its cultural relations with other people's democracies of the East bloc.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of the Ukrainian poetess Lesya Kosach-Ukrainka many memorial services were held in Ukraine. At the same time, preparations were also made for the celebrations to be held in connection with the 150th anniversary of the birth of the greatest Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

Religious persecution continues in Ukraine. Many churches were closed down.

On the last day of the December plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the candidate of the presidium of the Central Committee, V. V. Shcherbytsky, was removed from office. The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. J. Shelest, who has been in office since July 1963, was appointed in his stead. From February 1961 until July 1963 Shcherbytsky was Chairman of the Soviet Ukrainian Ministerial Council. He was then transferred to the unimportant post of a Party secretary in Dnipropetrovsk.

II. Moscow's Russification Policy in Ukraine

Moscow's national policy in Ukraine shows little change. The policy designated as "Leninist national policy" differs very little from the policy pursued by Stalin. The Communist leaders adhere strictly to the directives which were issued in 1913. In historiography the Russian people and their achievements are emphasized to an ever-increasing degree, whereas the past of the Ukrainian people and of other non-Russian peoples of the USSR is represented as unimportant. The history of these peoples is falsified, and their cultural achievements are disparaged. In the new Party programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (adopted at the 22nd Party Congress on October 31, 1961) the trend of Moscow's present national policy is clearly recognizable.

III. Economy as a Weapon in the National Policy

The economic independence of the Union Republics is definitely rejected in the new Party programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. On this point the Party programme states: "The closer the co-operation between the individual nations amongst themselves and the more the economic aims and tasks of the entire Soviet Union are comprehended by the individual Republics of the Union, the easier will it be to nip all indications of local patriotism and egoism in the bud". At the end of 1962 a special committee for economic co-ordination was founded; its activity is not confined to

one or other of the Union Republics, but, in keeping with the circumstances, can extend to the territory of several Union Republics or autonomous regions. It is also the task of this special committee, which co-ordinates and controls the economy of the Union Republics, to "further the friendship between the peoples and to combat all signs of local patriotism". Every attempt on the part of the Union Republics to pursue an economic and cultural policy which furthers their own interests and concerns their own needs, is designated and branded as local patriotism by the central Party leaders in Moscow.

IV. Events in the Life of the Ukrainian Emigrants

After 18 years' imprisonment in the USSR the Ukrainian Metropolitan, Archbishop Joseph Slipyj, was released on February 9, 1963, and went to Rome. The release of the Metropolitan can be regarded as one of the most important events in the life of the Ukrainian people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. On December 29, 1963, Pope Paul VI appointed the Metropolitan a member of the Congregation of the Eastern Church. The President of this Congregation is the Pope himself. Its members are cardinals and patriarchs.

*

3 Ukrainian Metropolitans, 2 Archbishops and 12 bishops took part in the 2nd session of the Vatican Council.

*

Archbishop Mstyslav also attended this session as an official observer of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

*

The square on which the monument to the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko is to be erected in Washington was consecrated in September 1963.

*

The first volume of the Encyclopedia on Ukraine in the English language was published by the University press, Toronto.

*

The Ukrainians retained their 4 deputy seats in the parliamentary elections in Canada.

*

Professor Pavlo Yuzyk was elected a senator in Canada.

The Ukrainians now have 2 senators in Canada's parliament.

*

Professor Jaroslaw Rudnyckyj was nominated a member of the Royal Commission for Linguistic and Cultural Studies in Canada.

*

In May 1963 the official departments of the Federal Government, of the Bavarian State Government and of the municipal administration of Munich handed over the "House of Ukrainian Learning" in Munich to the Ukrainian scholars.

*

In November 1963 a congress was held in Munich to mark the 45th anniversary of the German-Ukrainian Society.

STARVING UKRAINE

The Western press has recently brought many reports about the shortage of foodstuffs caused by the poor harvest in the USSR. True, the harvest was poor in Ukraine, in Volga regions and in Kazakhstan; but in Ukraine it was certainly not so poor as to cause a famine. In the meantime the state has however seized the greater part of the crops harvested, and a serious famine has started in this fertile country.

The letters which reach us from Ukraine contain alarming news. "The people are starving — says one letter — and they are obliged to beg foreign sailors in the Black Sea ports for bread for their children". Rains and also the drought have destroyed part of the harvest, and the remainder has been seized by Moscow. The rural population is starving. Many of them go begging. "For there is no food, and we have not even proper clothes... We went to Podillia (a province which has always been very fertile, — Editor's note) in order to visit a relative. We were given permission to stay there for four weeks, but at the end of a fortnight we decided to return home... There, too, misery prevails; the people are short of food; it is impossible to obtain white bread at any price, and for a long time now it has been quite impossible to get either flour or fat. People make bread of maize flour, of peas and of potatoes..." In Lviv, a large town in Western Ukraine, one has to queue up from 6 o'clock in the morning onwards in order to buy milk; they have had no white bread there since September, with the exception of the days immediately preceding the celebrations of the October Revolution. (Quoted from letter published in the weekly "Shlyach Peremohy", No. 50, December 1963.)

Another profoundly moving letter comes from the kolkhoz "The Path of Ilyich" (Lenin) in the village of Irzhavets Malyyi, in the region of Kyiv, and bears witness to the dire need of the Ukrainian peasants. "My dear son — writes a mother to her son, who is living in Chicago, USA, — you cannot imagine what a great day it was for us when V. went to Kaniv to pick up your parcel! I kissed every one of the things which it contained and wept tears over them. I hugged the little shoes which you sent for V.'s children. The poor little mites would never even have dared dream of possessing such shoes, for V. could never buy any like them with what she earns in the kolkhoz. Even H. K., who works in Kyiv on the building site of an electricity station, was amazed. H. works in the section employed on reinforced concrete construction and she earns a lot, — I think she gets 100 roubles a month (according to the official rate of exchange, 110 am. dollars, but the actual value of the rouble is much less than the official rate of exchange value; — Editor's note), but she could never afford to buy such shoes for her children, and V. who works in the kolkhoz could certainly not do so!" (Quoted from the weekly "Postup" of November 3, 1963.)

"All the members of our family — writes another Ukrainian who recently visited his country and his family — work as labourers on the railway. They can live a little better than those who work in the kolkhozes, for their wages are higher... The people are disheartened and despondent and are waiting for war to liberate them from the Russian yoke... A person who works in a kolkhoz receives two pounds of wheat, at least in theory, for a day's work. But this is not enough to live on; and people are therefore obliged to steal the grain that belongs to the state. On the whole, people are not interested in the product of their labours; all they think about is how to survive and not die of starvation. And this fact is proof of the economic crisis in the Soviet Union.

"The large towns of Ukraine — Kyiv, Lviv, and others — are tolerably tidy and clean. The inhabitants are on the whole well-dressed, but the people in the rural areas are attired in rags. All the signboards and posters in the towns are in two languages, Russian and Ukrainian... I think that in Lviv about 30 per cent of the population (Russians, Poles, Jews) speak Russian, as compared to Kyiv, where about 70 per cent speak this language... As regards national consciousness, I had an opportunity to talk to my family about this question and I ascertained that everyone, even the young people, is profoundly conscious of their nationality; they are even well-informed about our activity abroad for the cause of the liberation of Ukraine. They know all about the murder of Stepan Bandera and other matters. But no one wanted to tell me how they come to know all these things...

"Russia is trying to transform all the nations (of the USSR) into one 'Soviet' nation with a single language — Russian. This would be an ideal solution for Russia, but I am convinced that it will never materialize!

"Before my visit to Ukraine I had to make a list of all the places that I wanted to see, for one has to have a permit to this effect. I did not, however, mention the grave of Taras Shevchenko, because I thought it would be quite easy to go there. But I had to wait a long time in Kyiv for a permit to visit this spot... These permits are sent to Kyiv from Moscow. Such is the 'independence' enjoyed by our brothers in Ukraine! Lies and Russian insolence prevail throughout the country..." ("Shlyach Peremohy" of January 7, 1964.)

* * *

West European special correspondents report from Moscow that the food problem in the Soviet Union has once more become acute since the big parades and ceremonies held to mark the anniversary of the October Revolution. In Moscow people are queueing up in front of the food shops, but it is quite impossible to obtain such things as eggs, flour, noodles and rice. Sugar, which the Russian Bolshevik occupant exports in large quantities from Ukraine, is also scarce; so, too, are milk and dairy produce, since the collectives are obliged to slaughter the cattle as there is not enough fodder for them.

The population is hit very badly by the big shortage of potatoes, for under the circumstances this food would be the only means of alleviating the famine threat somewhat. But immediately after the potato harvest the price for 1 cwt of this "daily bread for the impoverished people" shot up to the equivalent of about 40 dollars. If one takes into account the fact that the average unskilled worker and also working women earn 30 to 35 roubles a month, one realizes that one month's wage is not even enough to buy a cwt of potatoes.

Khrushchov's empty twaddle about the increase in the amount of fertilizers, which are to be obtained from mineral products for the next harvest (which is still a long way off!), resulting in a good yield, cannot conceal the serious economic crisis in the Russian imperium and above all in subjugated Ukraine. Thus Khrushchov is fighting on three fronts: against the Red Chinese, against the Western world, which he is endeavouring to lull by so-called peaceful co-existence, and also against the population of the Soviet Union.

The population of the USSR makes no secret of its discontent with the "policy" of the Russian cattle-driver from Kalinovka and opposes it fairly obviously and sharply. Khrushchov's assurances with regard to the next harvest are not likely to appease the subjugated people of Ukraine. And it is therefore not surprising that the Ukrainian workers are threatening to reply with strikes to Khrushchov's measures to appease the starving population of Ukraine.

How serious Khrushchov's dilemma has become as regards the economic crisis can be seen from the following fact: Moscow recently sent telegrams to some of the big American, German and other distilleries in the world asking them to sell alcohol to the value of 50 million dollars to the Soviet Union. Western observers are firmly convinced that Moscow only undertook the purchase of this huge quantity of alcohol, which would make 170 million litres of vodka, in order to save the corresponding quantity of grain and potatoes, which would be needed to make vodka.

Austrian businessmen and industrialists who recently visited not only the Soviet Russian capital, Moscow, and Kyiv and Leningrad, but also numerous other regions of the USSR, report unanimously that the shortage of food supplies for the Soviet population has increased very noticeably in the last few weeks and is now assuming alarming proportions. This has resulted in a panic in some places, and protest strikes have been organized in some factories.

This information was published by the West German paper "Badische Neueste Nachrichten" (Karlsruhe) on December 28, 1963. The paper adds that large areas of the USSR dread a "famine this winter".

The "Badische Neueste Nachrichten" also reports as follows. Even in Moscow and Leningrad, which are supplied with food-stuffs before other towns, long queues of people from the collectives can be seen in front of the shops, waiting for bread, potatoes or vegetables (tomatoes, cabbage, etc.), or for meagre rations of sugar and oil. Meat supplies have improved somewhat, but only because the farmers have been obliged to slaughter most of their cattle as a result of the shortage of fodder.

The food shortage is making itself felt to an ever-increasing extent in the small provincial towns and in the farmers' collectives. The fact that supplies of staple foodstuffs are so irregular has led to a marked increase in the number of journeys taken by train and other means of transport. The trains are crowded with farmers who travel hundreds of miles to Odessa, Rostov or Krasnodar in order to buy in vegetables, sugar, matches and other vital commodities which they cannot obtain at any price in their own district.

In the town of Chernyhiv in northern Ukraine the Austrian businessmen and industrialists saw long queues of people who had been standing outside the shops for hours on end in the hope of obtaining food and other staple goods.

According to the reports of these Austrian visitors, the food situation has become extremely critical in Kazakhstan. In some districts the government has begun sending its employees round to private houses, offices and restaurants in order that they may "explain" the reason for the food shortage to the discontented

population. In one factory the workers greeted one of these Party liars with catcalls when he tried to explain the food shortage with the fairytale that demand and purchasing power on the part of the population had increased very rapidly, whereas the stocks of goods had decreased since people had begun to hoard supplies.

It is obvious, however, from all the above facts that the economic crisis in the Soviet Russian imperium is extremely grave.

*

The weekly "Shlyakh Peremohy" (Munich) of December 1, 1963, published a letter from a Ukrainian in Kharkov, which is worded as follows:

"My dear brother, if you could see what is going on here at present, you would hardly believe your eyes. After 10 o'clock at night there is not a person to be seen in the streets. And even during the daytime it is extremely dangerous to go to the market here, for gangs of thieves attack the persons who deliver vegetables to the market. These persons are beaten until they drop down unconscious, or else their noses or ears are cut off. They are then robbed of their produce. Starvation is spreading more and more from day to day. May God protect us from a famine like the one we had to endure in Ukraine in 1933".

*

The German periodical "East Prussian Gazette" of November 2, 1963, published a report by its special correspondent in Moscow which gives further details about the disastrously poor harvest in the USSR.

This report states as follows: "The Soviet press has recently ceased to mention the harvest. In past years all information and reports on the harvest were always published round about October 20. This year, however, about 50 per cent of these reports are missing. And practically no statistics on the area cultivated in Ukraine this year have been published. Apart from two reports all data on Kazakhstan are also missing".

Apart from the official statements about a "poorer harvest", the Bolsheviks have no doubt also suffered heavy losses as a result of inadequate storage of grain and careless transportation.

For this reason the paper "Pravda" sharply criticized the Deputy Minister of Railway Transport, Gundorin, who was responsible for organizing the transport of agricultural produce. It was ascertained that the grain was conveyed in open trucks and that it began to rot as a result of the rainy weather.

THE SHARE OF UKRAINE IN THE INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF THE USSR IN 1963

The sign (*) signifies that data are not available.

<i>P r o d u c t</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>% of USSR output</i>
Mineral fertilisers (million tons)	19.9	5.4	27.1
Synthetic resins and plastics (thousand tons)	589	54.8	9.3
Artificial and synthetic fibre (thousand tons)	308	27.7	9.0
Caustic soda (thousand tons)	1049	145	13.8
Calcinated soda (thousand tons)	2500	839	33.6
Sulphuric acid (thousand tons)	6887	1715	24.6
Car tyres (millions)	22.6	1.8	8.0
Pig iron (million tons)	58.7	29.6	50.4
Steel (million tons)	80.2	32.6	40.6
Rolled metal (million tons)	62.4	26.1	41.8
Steel tubes (million metres)	1240	276.3	22.3
(million tons)	*	2.45	*
Iron ore (million tons)	137	75.3	55.0
Coke (million tons)	*	33.5	*
Petroleum (million tons)	206	4.7	2.3
Gas (billion cu. m.)	91.5	31.6	34.5
Coal (million tons)	532	179.7	33.8
including coking coal	127	71.7	56.5
Electric power (billion kw/h)	412	78.5	19.0
Turbines (million kw)	11.9	*	*
Generators to the turbines (million kw)	11.9	*	*
Electric motors (A.C.) (million kw)	27.5	4.8	17.4
Large electric machines (thousands)	*	4.8	*
Metal-cutting machines (thousands)	183	22.9	12.5
Automatic and semi-automatic lines for the engineering industry (sets)	209	*	*
Forge and press machines (thousands)	33.8	6.2	12.4
Apparatus (million roubles)	1700	261.2	15.4
Metallurgical plant (thousand tons)	236	111.8	47.3
Petroleum plant (thousand tons)	115	14.1	12.3
Chemical equipment (million roubles)	287	93.9	32.7
Weaving machines (thousands)	24.1	*	*
Diesel railway engines (sections)	1517	1416	93.3
Electric railway engines (units)	643	*	*
Railway goods wagons (thousands)	*	15.2	*
Motor vehicles (thousands)	587	37.3	6.3
Tractors (thousands)	325	114	35.1
Agricultural machines (mln. roubles)	1371	274	20.0
Tractor ploughs (thousands)	178	95.9	53.8
Tractor drills (thousands)	200	96	48.0
Cultivators (thousands)	155	*	*
Reaping machines (thousands)	103	*	*
Harvester combines (thousands)			
grain harvesters	82.9	*	*
maize harvesters	29	20.7	71.3
sugar-beet harvesters	15.9	12.1	76.1
silage harvesters	58.1	*	*

<i>P r o d u c t</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>% of USSR output</i>
Row reaping machines (thousands)	89.7	25	27.7
Milking installations (thousands)	49.5	9.5	19.2
Excavators (thousands)	17.9	5.2	29.0
Paper (thousands tons)	2900	163.4	5.6
Cement (million tons)	61	10.3	16.9
Sectional reinforced concrete (million cu. m.)	45	7.2	16.0
Window glass (million sq. m.)	169	44	26.0
Tiles (millions of standard tiles)	3800	423.0	11.1
Soft roofing (million sq. m.)	912	281.5	30.9
Fabrics (million sq. m.)			
cotton	5069	152.5	3.0
wool	471	30.2	6.4
linen	509	13.1	2.6
silk	801	44.3	5.5
Garments (billion roubles)	9.5	1.7	17.9
Knitted underwear (million units)	554	118	21.1
Upper knitwear (million units)	133	24.9	18.7
Hosiery (million pairs)	*	242.6	*
Leather footwear (million pairs)	463	87.6	19.0
Felt footwear (million pairs)	34.2	*	*
Watches (millions)	27.1	*	*
Radio sets and radiograms (thousands)	4800	359.1	7.5
TV sets (thousands)	2500	329.2	13.2
Refrigerators (thousands)	911	164.8	18.1
Washing machines (thousands)	2300	204.7	8.8
Sewing machines (millions)	2.6	*	*
Motorcycles and scooters (thousands)	647	21.6	3.3
Bicycles and mopeds (thousands)	3400	716.3	21.1
Furniture (billion roubles)	1.6	0.323	20.2
Pianos (thousands)	*	23.6	*
Meat (without the slaughter by collective farms and population) (million tons)	5.4	1.2	22.2
All meat (slaughter weight)	10.2	*	*
Sausage products (thousand tons)	1500	273.9	18.2
Fish and sea animal catches (m. tons)	4.7	*	*
Butter — total (thousand tons)	874	*	*
excluding production by collective farms and population	772	182.2	23.6
Whole milk products, calculated in milk (million tons)	9.5	1.7	17.9
Cheese (without production by collective farms and population) (thousand tons)	222	*	*
Granulated sugar from sugar beet (million tons)	5.5	3.3	60.0
Vegetable oils (thousand tons)	2100	636.4	30.3
(excluding collective farm production and produc- tion by population)			
Confectionery products (thousand tons)	2100	387.2	18.4
Canned food (billion cans)	6.4	1.5	23.4
Soap (thousand tons)	1800	285.7	15.9

(Source: Soviet official statistical reports published in *Pravda Ukrainy*, 24th and 26th January, 1964.)

AN UNDERGROUND CONVENT IN LVIV

The Moscow weekly "Ogonyok", No. 46, of November 1963 published a report by its woman-correspondent Alla Trubnikova, entitled "A Suitcase with a Double Bottom", which described how an underground convent belonging to the Sisters of St. Mary was discovered in Lviv (Lemberg).

According to this report, a man by the name of Aleksandrov, whose job it was to check the passengers on an international express train, discovered more than 3,000 small crosses and medallions in the possession of a woman-passenger, Leontyna Teofilivna Domonasevych. Some of these crosses were concealed in confectionery, the rest were hidden in the garments worn by the passenger in question. The religious pamphlets which were also found in her possession included a list of the nuns of the underground convent. In this way the Russian Bolshevik KGB murderers were able to track them down.

The nuns worked as ordinary ward sisters in one of the hospitals in Lviv (Lemberg). In their quarters at No. 43, Muchna St., however, they observed the rules of their religious order. It was in this house, according to the Moscow weekly, that "little blue and yellow flags of the bandit Bandera, which had been sprinkled with naphtalene, as well as anti-Soviet forged documents and foreign passports" were found. In the chapel, which had been set up in one of the rooms of the house, divine service was held by the priests Borys, Roman, Hotra and others, who "had been sentenced in the past for their anti-Soviet activity".

The head of the underground convent, where ten nuns lived, was Mother Valeria-Maria Stepanivna Dubyk.

The Russian paper does not mention what happened to the nuns and their convent, but one can easily imagine what their fate was; if the Soviet Russian secret police, the KGB, gives permission for such a report to be published, then it is obvious that it most probably liquidated all the persons who were responsible for smuggling

crosses and founding the convent. It is extremely regrettable that the Western press, which obtained the news about the discovery of the underground convent in Lviv (Lemberg) from the English news agency Reuter or from its Moscow correspondents, defamed and insulted the memory of the Ukrainian nationalist leader Stepan Bandera, who was murdered at Moscow's order in Munich in 1959. The intellectual satellites of Moscow and of the world mafia on the staff of the Paris editorial office of the "New York Herald Tribune" and the London "Times" in the editions of November 12, 1963, maliciously added, after having referred to the "flags of Stepan Bandera" which were found in the cupboard at the convent, that the late Stepan Bandera "collaborated with the Nazis during the war". The Dutch daily "De Volkskrant" of November 12, 1963, very rightly wrote as follows in this connection: "...the Ukrainian leader, of whom the Russians affirm that he collaborated with the German Nazis during the war, in reality fought for the freedom of Ukraine". At this point we should like to refer to some of the interesting details of the discovery of the underground convent in Lviv by the Soviet Russian secret police, the KGB, as related by the "special woman-correspondent" of the paper "Ogonyok" (or, to be more correct, a co-worker of the KGB).

According to her report, Sister Domonasevych had more than 3,000 small crosses concealed in her clothes.

The correspondent of the "Ogonyok" adds that the house No. 43 Muchna Street looks exactly like any other house in Lviv. It is three storeys high, and there is no indication whatever of the religious purpose which it serves, as far as its outward appearance is concerned. But in the interior, that is to say in the rooms, there are crosses and icons on the walls. One of the rooms has been turned into a chapel, and it was here that divine service was held. The women who lived in this house went by their secular and also their nun's names. These "so-called" nurses lived the life of nuns in this house and handed over all the money that they earned at the hospital to the Mother Superior Valeria. A large number of flags, which had been sprinkled with naphthalene to protect them against moths, as well as numerous anti-Soviet leaflets were found in the cupboards at the convent.

The details about the life of the nuns and about their divine service indicate that the "woman-correspondent" of the "Ogonyok" must have received detailed information from the secret police, the KGB.

Alla Trubnikova, who is no doubt not merely a woman-correspondent but also a KGB agent, then relates how she "by chance" found herself in a room in the house which resembled a museum for costumes and various (religious) utensils. She goes on to describe the divine service held in secret, which she calls an

interesting performance with little bells, wine, and candles, etc. According to her description, a man in priest's robes uninterruptedly recited something about God and the Divine Power in a mumbling voice, whilst the nuns kept silent; eventually they knelt down and also began to recite all the same "nonsense" for about an hour.

Holy Communion is described by the said Russian KGB agent as a senseless drinking of wine. Naturally all those present enjoyed the wine, so she adds, and after this performance they left all the sumptuous vestments, rosaries and empty bottles behind.

In conclusion, the "correspondent" of the "Ogonyok" ridicules the sale of crosses and icons.

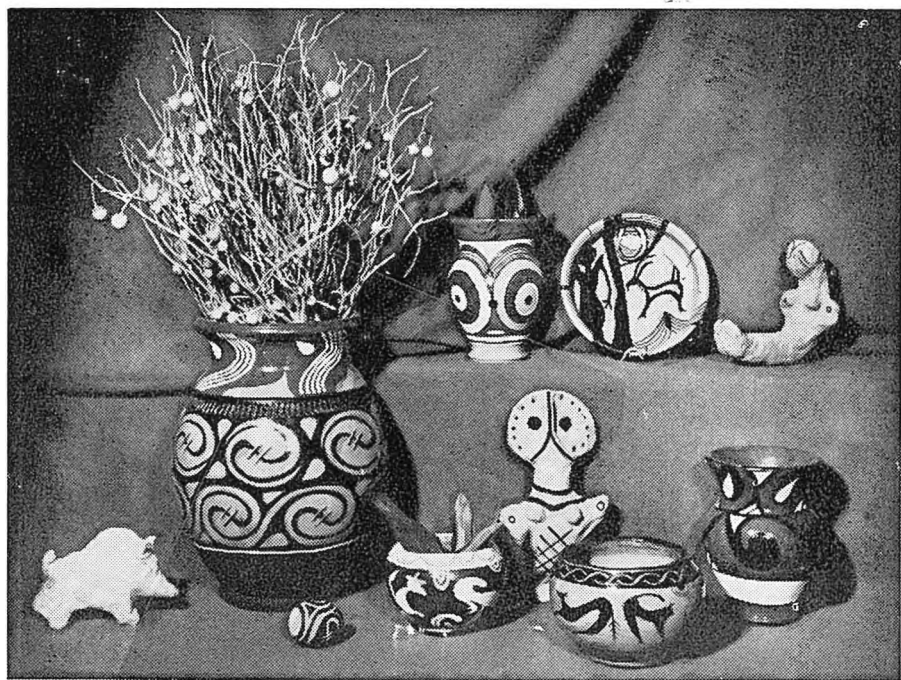
In another paragraph she refers to the circulation of religious literature and talks about how one can obtain a "passport to Paradise". She also mentions the mysterious postmen who, when darkness falls, go round to the various addresses known to them and deliver the "post" there.

Trubnikova points out that this "criminal" religious activity continues unabated. Smuggling is carried on from abroad by means of the international trains and planes. The "two-faced" individuals engaged in this activity refuse to give it up. Contraband goods, which not only include religious literature and icons but also narcotics and foreign bank-notes, are, allegedly, smuggled into the Soviet Union from abroad in suitcases with double bottoms. Trubnikova stresses that all this activity leads to much evil.

In the rural districts, so she adds, one often comes across young girls who have crosses tattooed all over their arms, which then bleed profusely. The initiator of this practice was a Greek Catholic priest called Soltys in the village of Seredne. This religious sadist, according to Trubnikova's statements, even went so far as to maim young people after having led them on to a religious ecstasy.

She then advances the following argument: "It is precisely this religion which one intends to import into our country by means of contraband goods and to spread amongst us. For this reason this religion is as dangerous as contraband goods such as opium, foreign currency and firearms".

Since the nationalism of the peoples enslaved by Moscow — a nationalism which is directed against the Russian occupation — is inseparably bound up with the religious feelings of these peoples, one can well imagine how great the fear of the Russian Bolsheviks must be lest religious activity should assert itself in the non-Russian countries of the so-called Soviet Union; and it is therefore not surprising that they resort to every possible means to combat religion in the non-Russian "socialist" republics. In the Baltic countries and in West Ukraine religious activity is particularly strong and the Russian occupants are finding it impossible to exterminate it.



L. Kryukiv. STUDIES IN UKRAINIAN FOLK POTTERY.



L. Kryukiv. STUDIES IN TRYPILLIAN CULTURE.

D. Horniatkevych

Ukrainian Folk Arts and Crafts

Ukrainian folk art, based upon very ancient traditions, traces its beginning to the Neolithic period (ceramics), the Bronze Age (metal work) and examples of carving on bone known from the Paleolithic (excavations in Mizyn).

The ethnographic ceramics and brass works in Western Ukraine and Volhynia in their prototypes date from the first centuries A.D. Glass-blowing and kylym (tapestry) manufacture are associated with the Princely period, however it is possible that these art forms could have developed still earlier in Ukraine. The excavations of V. Khvoyka confirm the existence of glassware and enamel workshops on the territory of Kiev in the time of Volodymyr the Great. Examples of Ukrainian wood-carving, which have been preserved, do not extend prior to the seventeenth century. Less important Ukrainian folk art — such as items made of straw and paper — are the work of still more modern times.

Geometric patterns play an important role in Ukrainian folk art. Next to geometric motives in ornamentation are plant designs which developed out of the geometric forms and similarly had a symbolic significance (especially the ornamentation of Easter eggs). It was only later that they acquired a more naturalistic character. The Scythian finds with animal ornamentation did not have a direct influence upon Ukrainian folk art and were only partially accepted in their Hellenized forms through the Greek colonies. The representation of entire animals (especially on Easter eggs) is of a realistic rather than of a decorative character, and it is only in embroideries that their appearance, conditioned by technical means, assumes definite decorative features.

Ukrainian folk art can best be evaluated by a comparison with the art of other European peoples. The Ukrainian Easter eggs in their artistic attributes occupy an exceptional place in contrast to those of Czechs, the Russians, and the still more primitive Easter eggs of the Poles and Serbs.

Hutsul metalware is marked by an originality of form, and in decoration applied to other material (especially to horn and wood), reveals a great wealth of decorative expression. Only the Estonian filigrees, with their unusual carvings adorned with silver inlays, stand higher. Among European peoples, only the Spaniards and Basques have developed the wood-carving art more highly than the Hutsuls. In the older example of ceramics, embroideries, and tapestries (kylym), a marked similarity can be observed between Ukrainian articles and those from the territory of Sweden and

Norway, resulting from cultural and political relations between Scandinavia and Ukraine during the Princely period. In the field of folk needlework only Greece with its extraordinary wealth of ornamentation and diversity of technique surpasses Ukraine.

The development of Ukrainian folk art was severely hindered by the 150-years enslavement of the Ukrainian peasants (serfdom); yet even under such conditions, the peasants developed their culture. Capitalism — with its proletarianization of the village and introduction of mass factory production — created still more unfavourable conditions.

Folk art cannot be separated from fine (professional) art. During the centuries, these two branches have constantly enriched each other. In modern times there is almost no branch of folk art to which professional artists have not brought advice, organization, projects, and ideas.

(From "Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia", 1963)

Ivan Kovaliv

ASPECTS OF UKRAINIAN MUSIC

For centuries Ukrainian folk songs and folk instruments have captivated listeners in all parts of the world, and remain to this day as a chronicle of a nation that has seen much gaiety, but also much sadness.

It was only natural, therefore, that all Ukrainian composers of symphonic and operatic music be linked somehow with these most melodious of folksongs among the nations of continental Europe. It is also a fact that Ukrainian composers of symphonic works are less known in the musical world than the shining lights of Ukrainian musical folklore.

It is the intention of articles such as these to bring the works of Ukrainian composers closer to the Western audience, and to cultivate further the appreciation of their distinctive merits.

There are many Ukrainian musicians who compose only in the spirit of Ukrainian folksong, using a great variety of techniques.

All have, or had, their own decisive notions about the distinctive nature of Ukrainian folksong. Lysenko, the father of Ukrainian music, saw the Ukrainian folksong as a distinctive entity in the Slav world, different from Russian or other influences, and recognized this chiefly in the structure of modes, chromaticism and freedom of rhythm in Ukrainian songs as opposed to the rigidity of the Russian folksong.

From the outset, Ukrainian composers sought a connection with Greek and Byzantine tradition and they tried to enrich their music with western techniques. They were conversant with continental musical influences, and this is noticeable in the music of Lysenko

and Lyudkevych (they studied in Leipzig and Vienna, respectively), while Kosenko and Revutsky and early Liatoshynsky recognize East European influences but still their work bears more of a western stamp than anything else. The native element creeps in and makes their work entirely different from Russian, or that of other Slav neighbours.

Two works illustrate the dramatic struggle of Ukrainian composers not to lose contact with the west: Revutsky's Second Symphony and Liatoshynsky's opera "The Golden Hoop".

The drama lies in revision.

If the first version of either work had been preserved, a comparison of the first and second (revised) editions would serve as a document for all the frustrations the Ukrainian artist underwent during Stalin's regime. Many great, inspired modern compositions became mutilated, tradition-bound commonplace works in the artificial transition dictated by the oppressive regime.

Another example of the spiritual enslavement and the pressures of regime on Ukrainian composers is evident in a study of Liatoshynsky's string quartets and symphonies. Although his string quartets were acclaimed in Berlin after World War II, they were never performed at that time in Ukraine. As for his symphonies, they were not even published because of their brooding, mystical, Mahler-ish qualities.

Nevertheless there are possibilities for escape from the enforced realism and traditional romanticism. One such escape has been French impressionism. The colour and admirable orchestration in the works of the younger generation and some of its sonorous chamber music (Filipenko) is, however, small compensation for all the harmonic, structural and textural richness of the western music of which the Ukrainian composer has been aware — but has not been allowed to employ to the full.

Tragic chapters in the history of modern Ukrainian music have been also written. Vasyl Barvinsky, who died recently, was a distinguished composer with a subtle sense for harmonic colour in the most modern concept. He was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in a concentration camp in the years after World War II. Finally rehabilitated, he returned to his home town to find that all his treasured manuscripts had been used by an undiscerning tenant during his absence as fuel for his stove during the cold winters. Barvinsky tried to retrace his musical steps on manuscript from memory, but died before the task was completed.

There are at least two hundred composers listed in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Only a handful now live and work abroad in a free artistic atmosphere.

UKRAINIAN ART EXHIBITION IN TORONTO

Ukrainian pictorial art in its first and oldest manifestation is not individualistic. Ikons in Byzantine culture are most frequently the work of anonymous artists. Principally, the reason is that they were created by monks in the service of God and fame did not fit into the philosophical outlook of these ascetic servants of God.

The Renaissance (1400-1550) and also the Baroque era (1550-1780) not only individualized the expression of the artist, but also permitted him (as it was long before in the Classical period) to reap the laurels of his fame. The artist Andrew, "Giotto of the north" left his name on the holy frescoes of Lublin in Poland, as Rublyov and others did in Moscow, even before the appearance of the Renaissance in Ukraine.

Later, new genres in art appeared more frequently. The frame of ikon art was broadened by the taking of subjects from secular life. In this process there was the influence of such patrons as the Cossack (Kozak) elders, wealthy landowners and individual families of the Ukrainian nobility.

Portraiture developed. The genre of portrait art grew, as well as such popular portrayals as "Cossack Mamay", which continued and developed national traditions in painting. On this rich foundation grew great talent in Ukraine, which gave Russian art its beginning after Ukraine was annexed by Moscow. The Tragic Battle of Poltava (1709) ended one of the finest periods in the development of Ukrainian culture.

In building the new center of the Russian Empire, St. Petersburg, Tsar Peter endeavoured to open a window on Europe. The foreign elements of European culture could be grafted onto Russian society only by Europeans. The most significant role in this direction was played by Ukrainian artists such as Losenko, Borovykovsky, Levytsky and Martos.

But the Russian Empire could not find for itself a solid foundation to develop along the path of European culture. The Russian nation was too distant culturally to be able to develop mutually with European nations a basis for a new contemporary art.

The October revolution which took place in the formerly tsarist Russian Empire, enforced ideas and a form of life in Ukraine foreign to the Ukrainian people. Socialist realism officially regulates the cultural process in the USSR. At the same time it levels the national and individual forms of development of the captive nations, their ancient traditions and cuts off cultural ties with the West. Soviet critics called these cultural processes "formalism" and "abstractionism". All the art currents of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, starting with impressionism, they count as the same phenomenon "subjectivism" and "bourgeois" art.

As a result of this policy Ukrainian art in Soviet Ukraine suffers under the cruel note of persecution, even to the physical liquidation of its most prominent members.

The task of Ukrainian art in the Free World is to preserve a permanent tie with the artistic development of the West and to treasure the traditions of Ukrainian culture, whose roots stretch back thousands of years.

In such European centers as Paris and Munich there are creative Ukrainian artists. However, the greatest number have settled in the United States and Canada, although some are also in Argentina, Venezuela and Great Britain.

In North America there are continually Ukrainian art exhibitions in New York and Toronto. Two organizations are particularly active: The Federation of Ukrainian Artists of America which is in the United States and the Ukrainian Association of Fine Art of Canada.

On November 16th to 23rd, 1963 there was held the Ukrainian Art Exhibition in Toronto in the Toronto Public Library, St. George & College St. In this Exhibition, held in conjunction with the Ukrainian Week of Toronto, artists from Europe and the United States have contributed works. Severyn Boraczok (Germany), Sviatoslav Hordynsky (USA), Oleksa Hryshchenko (France), Luboslav Hutsaliuk (USA), Mychaylo Dmytrenko (USA), Daria Zarycka (France), Borys Kriukov (USA), Myron Levycky (Canada), Halyna Mazepa (Venezuela), Petro Mehyk (USA), Mychaylo Moroz (USA), and Andriy Solohub (France) contributed oil-paintings; Mykola Butovych (USA), Edward Kozak (USA), and Mychaylo Osinchuk their tempera works; Yakiv Hnizdovsky (USA) woodcuts; Ivan Keywan (Canada) engravings; Mykola Krychevsky (France) water colours; Hryhor Kruk (Germany) bronzes; and Mychaylo Chereshnyovsky (USA) plasters.

The exhibition thus gave a broad picture of the work of the leading Ukrainian artists in the Free World.

Bohdan Stebelsky

André Weber

THE ARTIST HUTSALIUK

On entering the studio of the painter Lubo Hutsaliuk in the Rue de Vaugirard 103 in Paris, one is immediately struck by the pleasant and tranquil atmosphere which pervades this comfortably furnished, light and airy room. The artist, a tall, powerfully built man, whose appearance radiates health and optimism, is standing in front of his easel. Born in Ukraine 39 years ago, he learnt the rudiments of painting in Kyiv and then studied in Munich, and later in New York.

"For the past eight years I have seriously been trying to improve my art," he told me. "For four years I tried to forget what had been instilled into me," he added. "Although I am an American citizen, I am very happy here in Paris... I am married and have a son. He is two years old and also paints, but his style is very abstract... You ask me which are my favourite painters, — I would say, Buffet, Carzou, Clavé, Bezombes, Vénard, Brandi... To me a canvas is always an exciting adventure... What interests me most in a landscape, is the atmosphere. I try above all to capture the light and the play of colours..."

Hutsaliuk held his first exhibition in the Galerie Ror Volmar in 1956; a year later his works were on display in the Galerie Creuze and in the Boissevain Gallery in New York. In 1959 he held an exhibition in the Galerie Norval, which was an enormous success, for he sold all his pictures! That same year the Lorenzelli Gallery in Milan also held an exhibition of his paintings. He took part in an exhibition of the works of various painters, which had as its theme "A Certain Smile" and was held at the Galerie Louis Gérau. A gallery in Toronto, Canada, showed works of his, and in 1960 and 1962 he exhibited at the Juster Gallery in New York. In the meantime he also took part in exhibitions in the Salon La Boétie, in the Galerie Reccio in 1961, and in the Autumn Salon in Paris.

At present he is making preparations for a big exhibition which is to be held in May in the Galerie "Ange du Faubourg" in the Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré, Paris.

Let us take a look at some of his recent pictures: landscapes of the Côte d'Azur, landscapes around Paris, a child's portrait, and olive-trees. He himself is sometimes astonished at the effects which he creates in some of his pictures. An olive-tree is an accessory for a composition in which there is a wonderful symmetry of lines and space. By the bold application of colour and a dynamic artistic style he brings out all the nuances of expression in a child's face. Hutsaliuk, the landscape artist who lives in the town, creates an entire world with the aid of verticals and small squares, which give the structure of his pictures the appearance of a chess-board. But this artist of powerful effects is never systematic in style. He derives the themes of his works from memory, from an inner ferment, or from a profound emotion which he has felt on beholding a landscape of Provence or a mountain panorama.

His style reflects the constructive art of a painter who has a preference for a strict and unusual symmetry, as well as a fondness for the decorative element. His graphic art, which is influenced by the Gothic style, is of unusual clarity. It is the expression of his impulsive, bold and meditative temperament.

The profound originality of his works is proof of the high demands which he makes on himself. There is nothing frivolous or unfathomable in his works. Everything fulfils a purpose, — to portray character, an emotion, or actual reality. And this is clearly reflected in his water-colours and sketches. With an amazing artistry Hutsaliuk endows space with a plastic quality. Nothing is left to chance; everything is carefully thought out, arranged and composed, and expressed on paper with an individual touch.

One is thus pleasantly surprised by this world of his, in which there are many grey hues but also some red ones, which add a note of jovial familiarity. Hutsaliuk is indeed an artist who appreciates the sweetness of life and the magic of Nature. He shows no inclination to occupy himself with trivialities or with metaphysical illusions. He is the master of a world which lies within our grasp, which reassures us as to our purpose and our duty in it.

Hutsaliuk has made an alliance with beauty, rhythm, poetic orchestration and fervour. And for this very reason we are bound to love his works, which are characterized by originality, profound feeling, vitality and a strange radiance. They are indeed a noble expression of sincerity and of creative effort prompted by a deep love of art.

From the "*Journal de l'Amateur D'Art*," December 1962, Paris.

A.B.N. and O.U.N. Leaflets at Innsbruck Winter Olympics

Below we publish a newspaper report about the leaflets distributed in Innsbruck by the A.B.N. and the O.U.N. and the text of the A.B.N. leaflet. — The Editors.

"Tiroler Tageszeitung"

Thursday, the 6th of February, 1964

LEAFLETS AT THE OLYMPICS

On Wednesday morning, anti-Communist leaflets appeared in the Press Centre of the Olympic Winter games. These leaflets appealed to the athletes and functionaries from all parts of the world, but especially from the countries in the East-Bloc, to form a liberation front to overthrow the tyranny of Communism and Russian Colonialism. The leaflets were written in English and in Russian.

While the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations", whose headquarters are located at 67 Zeppelinstrasse, Munich 8, is responsible for two of these leaflets; another, written in Ukrainian, and directed specifically to the Ukrainians, was published by the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists". Because the leaflets were not officially registered, or else contained the required imprint only in part, an official inquiry was opened and the public prosecutor's office was notified of the case.

A.B.N. APPEAL TO WORLD SPORTSMEN

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

Dear Young Friends!

You have come here in order to show your skill in sports in competition with the youth of the whole world. Have you thought about whom you are likely to meet at this contest? Not only the youth of the free world but also young people from the world of slavery.

Have you stopped to consider what the thoughts of these young people are? Or what they long for? Are you aware that there are over 200 million non-Russian people living behind the Iron Curtain and languishing in the Russian colonial imperium? Are you aware that there are about 1 billion people in the Communist sphere of influence?

Do you know that about 30 million Mohammedans are being persecuted in the Soviet Union on account of their religion? Do you know that all Christian Churches which do not recognize the Patriarch of Moscow appointed by the Kremlin are persecuted in a most ruthless way? And that many churches are razed to the ground? And that bishops, priests and faithful believers are arrested and that murder is the order of the day at the command of the government?

Are you aware that Turkestanians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and Armenians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, East Germans, and many other nationalities are leading a miserable existence under the Russian terrorist regime? Are you aware of the constant famines as a result of the Communist regime and of colonialism in our countries? Are you aware of the fact that Russian imperialism has repeatedly conquered peoples with a higher culture and civilization than the Russians, has exploited and subjugated them? In the epoch of the

great historical triumph of the national liberation idea in various continents, where the old western empires are being dissolved, the Russian imperium, which aims to conquer the whole world and subjugate it to the deceptive ideology of Communism, continues to expand more and more. The young people from the countries behind the Iron Curtain expect encouragement from you and courageous support for their fight for the freedom of the individual, for social justice and national independence. They do not want to have anything whatever to do with the Communism forced on us in our countries; they want to shape and live their life in freedom and in their independent national states.

Sports contests are a political means to an end in the opinion of the Russians. The young people behind the Iron Curtain are forced to train professionally and uninterruptedly in order to show their alleged superiority over the youth of the free world. There are no amateur sportsmen in this respect in the Russian-ruled countries, — all training serves a political end and to deceive the free world.

Have you never asked yourselves why the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians and others never appear at sports contests as separate groups but always as a collective group of the USSR? As you see, the Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and also the members of the French Community of States appear at such contests under their own national flags, for the simple reason that Great Britain and France, etc. do not constitute despotic empires but a voluntary commonwealth of independent nations.

Tell your young comrades from the subjugated countries the truth about freedom in your countries; tell them that you and your fathers have a say in determining the foreign and the home policy of your countries.

Youth has always been the vanguard of progress, national independence, social justice and freedom in the world. It is now your mission and your task to play an active part as champions of the freedom of individuals and of the independence of all peoples, including those peoples who are incarcerated in the Russian imperium. A vast world movement of freedom and liberation shall be called into being by the youth of the world in order to ensure the victory of divine justice, of the idea of the independence of nations, of the freedom of the individual and of social justice the world over. It is your mission to join forces with the young peoples behind the Iron Curtain and set up a mighty and invincible liberation front in order to overthrow the tyranny of Russian colonialism and Communism and to help divine truth to be victorious.

The youth of the whole world shall unite in the fight against godlessness, against Communism and Russian imperialism, — in the fight for religious faith, freedom of the individual, social justice and independence of the peoples.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.)

Members: Committee "Free Armenia", Bulgarian National Front, Byelorussian Central Council, Cossack National Liberation Movement, Czech Movement for Freedom ("Za Svobodu"), Czech National Committee, Estonian Liberation Movement, Union of the Estonian Fighters for Freedom, Georgian National Organization, Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Hungarian Mindszenty Movement, Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism, Lithuanian Rebirth Movement, Polish Christian Social Movement, Slovak Liberation Committee, National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Ukrainian Hetman Union, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Organization of Serbian Nationalists, Anti-Communist League of Cuba.

**A.B.N. FIGHTS FOR THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE
INTO NATIONAL INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC STATES
OF ALL SUBJUGATED PEOPLES!**

UKRAINIANS IN CUBA

The Ukrainian paper "Nashe Slovo" ("Our Word"), which appears in Warsaw, has recently published some interesting information about the life of foreign students in Soviet Ukraine. According to this information, there are about 3,000 foreigners studying at colleges and universities in Ukraine. The majority of them are so-called "specialists" from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. On being admitted to Ukrainian educational institutes these students have to prove that they have a certain knowledge of the Russian language. After attending these Ukrainian schools for about a year "the foreign students have an excellent knowledge of the Russian language".

The papers and periodicals which appear in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv frequently publish accounts of the life of these foreign students. It can be seen from these accounts that the majority of these foreigners are Cubans. The reason given for this fact is that the climate in Ukraine agrees with the Cuban students better than the climate of Moscow, Leningrad and of other towns in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.).

From a short notice published in the Warsaw official organ of the Ukrainian social and cultural society in the Polish capital it can be deduced that these foreigners in Ukraine are trained in the Russian language. During the recent visit of the Cuban dictator Fidel Castro in Kyiv a fairly extensive documentary account (pictures, comments) was made of this occasion, on which, incidentally, the Cuban students there welcomed their Premier.

A Cuban student, Gilberto Leiba, who took up his studies at the "Preparatory Faculty for Foreign Students" (which is incorporated in the Shevchenko University of Kyiv) in February 1963, affirmed: "At present we are taking the Russian language in particular 'by storm'," (in the journal "Dnipro", No. 2, 1963). And another student commented: "We have already found many friends amongst the Ukrainian boys and girls, who try to help us".

On the one hand, Moscow's efforts to Russify at least some of the Cubans as far as language is concerned, are perfectly obvious, whilst on the other hand, there can be no doubt about the fact that there is a very large number of Cuban students in Ukraine. Nor can Moscow conceal this fact.

The list of names of persons who have recently received permits to visit Cuba includes many leading men of the Kyiv regime apparatus, of the Komsomol (the Communist Youth Organization), and numerous writers, artists, and sports champions, etc. Only recently the fact was mentioned that a Ukrainian ballet and choir ensemble and also the Kyiv football team "Dynamo" had appeared in Cuba.

It can be assumed that amongst the Soviet soldiers stationed in Cuba there are many who come from Soviet Ukraine, as well as Ukrainians from other parts of the USSR.

It is interesting to note that on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of Fidel Castro's assumption of power in Cuba, Moscow sent a delegation headed by the former governor of Ukraine, Nicholas Podgorny, to Cuba. As regards this visit of a Soviet Russian delegation to Cuba on January 1, 1964, it is also interesting to note that all the names of the persons in question are Russian. The only member of the delegation who came from Soviet Ukraine was the brigadier of the tractor brigade of the Kirovograd region and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, as well as member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, O. V. Gitalov.

These brief facts concerning reality in the Kyiv—Havana—Moscow sector indicate Moscow's far-reaching plans in this connection.

One cannot help but ask oneself: why are Ukrainians being sent to Cuba, and why are Cuban students at colleges and universities in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic learning Russian, that is to say the language of Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchov?

Two factors must, however, be clearly distinguished from each other: the services of the Ukrainians for Moscow in Cuba, and the advantage which the sojourn of Cubans on the territory of the USSR brings for Moscow. The Moscow regime, both in form and in character, is truly imperialistic, and its measures and methods are typical of colonialism. In order to conceal its true character, Moscow in its relations with other peoples and above all with coloured peoples very often makes use of those people who come under the category of national minorities. An example of this method can be seen from the fact that Moscow's way to Cuba was prepared by none other than Anastas Mikoyan, who is an Armenian by birth. On behalf of the Kremlin this same Mikoyan also undertook a special trip to Indonesia, India, and the United Arab Republic, etc.

The Cubans, who are so near to the USA, are only too well aware of what it would mean to be under the direct control of Moscow. In order not to create this impression in Havana and so as to conceal its policy with regard to Cuba, Moscow makes use of Ukrainians. The mere presence of Ukrainians both in Kazakhstan and also in Cuba is intended as a means of disguising the plans of Russian imperialism in these countries. Those Ukrainians who have been to Kazakhstan affirm that the Kazakhs are hostile not only to the Russians but also to the Ukrainians, since they regard the latter as exploiters and intruders, an opinion which is based on the fact that the Russian and the Ukrainian languages sound very similar to the Kazakhs.

The stationing of any military unit in a foreign country always evokes an unpleasant feeling in the hearts of the inhabitants of that country. For this reason it can be assumed that in the event of a new crisis in Cuba the anti-Castro insurgents will fight against the Soviet Russian soldiers stationed there.

The Ukrainians have therefore good reason to be concerned about the fate of their fellow-countrymen in Cuba who are stationed there against their will.

The only solution in this case would be for the Ukrainians who have been sent to Cuba against their will to join forces with the Cuban people in their fight for independence and for the liberation of their country from the odious Communist regime.

Obituaries

Dmytro BUCHYNSKY

(1913—1963)

Dmytro BUCHYNSKY, was born on April 9, 1913, in the village of Trebukhivtsi (in West Ukraine), and studied philosophy and theology at the Papal Oriental Seminary of the Catholic University in Ljubljana (Yugoslavia). In 1948 he graduated as a doctor of philosophy at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. In 1949 he went to Madrid, where he held a post on the academic staff of the "Supreme Council for Academic Research". He subsequently held a post at the "Centre of Oriental Studies". As a publicist he wrote about 1000 articles for the Ukrainian press and about 180 for the Spanish press, as well as more than 1000 reports for the Spanish National Radio. He also compiled two bibliographical catalogues for three Ukrainian book exhibitions which were held in the Spanish National Museum in Madrid. As an announcer on the Spanish National Radio he was responsible for the Ukrainian co-operation, was a contributor to our journal. He died in Madrid on November 4, 1963.

Ivan BAHRYANY

(1907—1963)

Ivan Bahryany was born on October 2, 1907, in Okhtyrka near Kharkiv, as the son of a bricklayer. The most impressive experience of his youth was undoubtedly the national revolt in 1918, which he later used as a theme in his works again and again. His first poem was published in 1925 and soon afterwards he became a member of the "Mars" literary society. In his literary contributions to the periodicals "Hlobus", "Zhyttia i revolyutsiya", "Chervonnyy shlyakh", "Hart", "Vsesvit" and other journals he early showed an aversion to hackneyed phrases and to narrow-mindedness, and his poems reflected his disillusionment in the October Revolution.

This attitude on his part had, however, unfortunate results, inasmuch as he was expelled from the school of art, where he had been studying painting.

In 1929 he published his book "Ave Maria" privately. It was an open protest against Russia on account of the Russification of Ukraine and was promptly confiscated by the government.

He got into more and more trouble with the Russian government and refused to bow to its literary dictatorship. During the next few years he sometimes kept silent, but on various occasions, as in his historical novel "Skelka", he attacked the regime more violently than ever.

In 1932 Ivan Bahryany was arrested and sentenced to 5 years hard labour. He managed to escape from captivity, but in the course of his dramatic flight through the Siberian taiga he developed pneumonia, which then turned into tuberculosis. The experiences he had on this flight are the subject of his novel "Zvirolovy" ("The Hunters"). In 1936 he secretly returned home, but he was later betrayed and arrested once more.

In a masterly way he describes the torture of the constant interrogations to which he was subjected from 1938 until the outbreak of the German-Russian war, in his novel "Sad hetsymans'kyy" ("The Garden of Getsemane"). In 1943 the Germans approached numerous prominent Ukrainians, including Bahryany, in order to get them to sign a petition appealing to all Ukrainians to co-operate with the German authorities. Bahryany refused to comply with this request. He was thereupon arrested, but during the chaos and confusion of the German retreat he managed to flee into the territory occupied by the Ukrainian insurgents.

He promptly began his activity in the information sector, and it was during this period that he also commenced writing his novel "Zvirolovy". Immediately after the collapse of Germany all the former refugees from Ukraine were in grave danger, for the terms of the Yalta agreement demanded that they should be forcibly repatriated. It was during this period that Bahryany wrote his well-known pamphlet "Chomu ya ne khochu povertatysia do SSSR" (Why do I not wish to return to the USSR?), which was translated into several languages. When it became obvious that the Allies had changed their attitude with regard to the refugee problem, Bahryany devoted himself to the creation of a literature of Free Ukraine and propagated new methods of the ideological struggle against the Kremlin. In this respect he upheld the view that the main strength of the Ukrainian movement lay in the Communist Party and that the latter must be severed from Moscow and must be used in the service of Ukraine's own interests. This idea became one of the fundamental principles of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, whose leader Ivan Bahryany remained until his death.

On August 25, 1963, Bahryany suffered a stroke and died in the sanatorium at St. Ottilien. He was buried in Neu-Ulm on August 30th.

Book Review

RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE, Ukrainian Publishers Limited, 200 Liverpool Road, London, N.1., England, 1962. 576 pp. + 24 pp. of illustrations. Price: in U.K. 36/-, in U.S.A. & Canada \$8.00.

There is very little which is known by Western peoples about the nation called the Ukraine which, for hundreds of years, has withstood the onslaughts from the conquering peoples of East Europe and Asia. After being taken over by the Soviet Union in the early 1920's it became what is known today as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Except for a brief period during World War II when the independence of the Ukraine was declared, the Communists have since run the country. So begins in a nutshell the story of the Ukraine.

Russian Oppression in Ukraine records the history of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence from about the 10th century up to 1962 in the first part of the book. For centuries, from the Byzantine era into the Renaissance period, the cultural traditions and life of the people of the Ukraine has made its mark in history. The main section, however, deals primarily with the methods of oppression used by the Bolsheviks and is taken from a report smuggled to the West by the national underground movement entitled "The Shame of the 20th Century". At the beginning there is a verbatim report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression (Kersten Committee) of the U.S. Congress, House of Representatives (83rd Cong., 2nd Sess.). Several pictures of Ukraine rulers from about the 10th century ca. up to and including Ukraine Soviet leaders today vividly portray the text along with illustrations of the heinous crimes of the Communists throughout the forty odd years they have ruled the Ukraine. Reports are included which record the day by day takeover of the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian underground movements efforts to maintain independence and keep their 1,000 year old culture, history, and state tradition. For centuries Russia has been the greatest enemy of the Ukraine.

Through testimonies of Ukrainians held prisoners by the Soviets a vivid recollection is told of the methods of oppression used by the Communists in their attempts to subdue the people and break down their resistance. A common method of liquidating what the Communists referred to as "class enemies" was to shoot them or introduce an artificial starvation period wherein, during 1930-33 over 6 million Ukrainian people died. A short survey of the oppression of the church and persecution of religion by the NKVD organization, methods of colonial subjugation, and the mass executions of political prisoners in 1941 by the then Communist Ukraine boss Nikita Khrushchov is mentioned along with the sufferings endured for so long by the people of this Communist satellite.

No other publication has covered so completely the recent history of the Ukraine. The opposition was centered in the Ukraine peasants and farmers who had a long-standing tradition of ownership of land and property inherent in Ukrainian tradition. Here is contained the heart of Ukraine society that the Communists tried to change. To understand better the cultural and traditional structure that is so reminiscent of the Ukrainians, one has to read for himself the story of their life and struggles, so deeply explained in this book. The reports and documents contained therein are written and presented with great precision and detail so that one can almost feel he is there himself with the national underground, in the courtroom during the trials of peasants and government leaders, etc.

At the end there is a 16-page bibliographic listing of select books and pamphlets to which one can refer for more specific information.

Thomas W. King

PUBLICATION OF FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST

Congressional Record. Proceedings and Debates of the 88th Congress, First Session. 45th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE. A special House Committee on Captive Nations. A select bibliography on Ukraine and other captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. Speeches of Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania and Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois, et al. in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1963. Ser. No. 676923-87660. 98 p.

The facts about the Soviet-Russian imperio-colonial system of totalitarian rule, focused on the plight of the non-Russian captive nations within the USSR, primarily that of Ukraine, the largest imprisoned nation in Eastern Europe, have perhaps never been keener brought to light than during the observance of the 45th anniversary of Ukraine's independence which took place in January, 1963, both in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

The ghastly reality of survival in the 20th century of the world's most oppressive imperio-colonial tyranny that ever existed is, strange enough, in spite of all historic data and contemporary evidence, not yet generally recognized. Ironically, it took ceaseless Soviet tirades on the address of the Western powers, with all kinds of abusive accusations on account of their alleged colonialism, to finally open the eyes of the Western world to the fact that the real colonial empire so far in existence is the accuser itself, the USSR, although it shrewdly disguised its true nature under demagogic slogan of being embodiment of people's democracy. No wonder the imaginary "democratic" structure of the Soviet Union has been characteristically referred to by captive peoples of Eastern Europe who know it better as "prison house of nations".

The worldwide exposure of the imminent Soviet imperio-colonialism would make it much harder for Russians to impose as champions of anticolonialism and, moreover, it would considerably impair their predominant position in the USSR. On the world scale this means that the potential aggressiveness of the USSR might be essentially lessened. The well known fact is that particularly Ukraine among all the captive nations is being looked upon as Achilles heel of the USSR.

The growing awareness on our part of the tremendous strategic importance for the security of our country of the nations behind the Iron Curtain that have been swallowed by the Soviet imperialism at various times, is certainly a good omen. The process of enlightenment, however slow, is steady. This is evident too from the encouraging stand taken recently in that delicate matter by the representatives of the 88th Congress at its first Session. On this significant occasion, Ukraine being not only the first victim of the Russian aggression, but at the same time becoming a factor of no mean force in the forefront of the movement to restore freedom and independence to the nations submerged by Russian communism, a valuable brochure was published under the auspices of the Congress of the United States.

The entire project in connection with this issue of *Congressional Record* is, as Hon. Daniel J. Flood asserts, "in the fundamental interest of our nation". The speeches of 75 members of U.S. House of Representatives and 9 U.S. Senators on the subject not to be underestimated while we are in the cold war with the menacing world power, constitute the body and lend the authority to this unique publication. There are additional utterances to the vital problem of captive nations by U.S. Chief Executive and an illuminating article under the title "Ukraine and you" by Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate to be found in the brochure under review that makes it desirable source of information for the schools and libraries of this country. Of particular

interest are the articles by such an authority in the field of captive nations as prof. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University which are included here too. Another feature of this extremely meaningful publication is the attached "Select Bibliography on Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union" compiled by Dr. Alexander Sokolyshyn, of which a few words later.

To better visualize the brochure's manifold contents let it be allowed to quote some of the characteristic passages:

"Expressing the will of the American people, the U.S. Government strongly supports just aspirations and rights of all peoples to national independence, governments of their own choosing and the enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedom. The eventual fulfilment of these just aspirations and the achievement of these rights are and will remain a basic goal of U.S. world policy". (p. 8, *Pres. John F. Kennedy*)

"The importance of Ukrainian Independence Day is related to the struggle of the Ukrainian people and other captive nations of communism to escape the Red Yoke and restore freedom to their land. I place special emphasis on this 45th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day on the efforts of many Members of the House on both sides of the aisle in obtaining approval for a special House Committee on the Captive Nations" (p. 13, *Hon. Edward J. Derwinski*).

"Beneath the surface of this imperial power and strength lies the most profound weakness of the Soviet Union and of the entire structure of Moscow's imperial rule and power. This weakness is the immense latent power of the genuine patriotic nationalism of the captive peoples both within and outside the Soviet Union" (p. 12, *Prof. Lew E. Dobriansky, Guest Editor*).

"The observance of the 45th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, both in the Congress and throughout the Nation, was so impressive and reassuring that our American interest in the eventual liberation of Ukraine must by all means be deepened further. Needless to say, this keen interest in the largest captive non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe serves our primary interest, the security and freedom of our own Nation" (p. 84, *Hon. Daniel J. Flood*).

"The Ukrainian nation members over 42 million people and is most important ally of the free world in the struggle against communism" (p. 30, *Hon. R. Walter Richlman, New York*).

"Our continued neglect of Ukraine and the other captive non-Russian nations in the USSR only perpetuates the errors of our past. We have a whole new horizon before us. I am certain you will assist in cultivating it for our own national interest" (p. 33, *L. E. Dobriansky, Chairman, Georgetown University*).

"A Captive Nations Committee would be invaluable in the cold war in drawing attention to what has been described as our foremost nonmilitary weapon — the captive nations, Russia's colonial empire" (p. 43, *Hon. Glenn Cunningham, Nebraska*).

"This convention is a sobering reminder to all the world that the cold war at many times and places is not cold at all — it costs the lives of men like Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet, two Soviet-murdered Ukrainian underground leaders... Now what is the truth regarding Ukraine — a territory a little larger than Texas? This fair land, with its face always toward the West, richly endowed with natural resources, with a favourable climate conducive to the raising of various crops, has long been called the granary of Europe. It is now the breadbasket and the sugar bowl of the USSR. But the salient historic fact is that the Ukrainian people are not Russian and their country has never belonged to Russia except by physical force" (p. 56, *from the article "The Ukraine and You" by Dr. Frederiek Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate*).

"There is considerable confusion with respect to communism, Russian imperialism, and national revolution which we read and hear so much about in these changing times. National revolutions have been in conflict with the aims of Russian imperialism for more than a century. Today the Russian communists call out for peaceful coexistence while at the same time they are plotting and working to destroy the national independence of all free nations" (p. 67, *Hon. Michael A. Feighan, Ohio*).

"I described how the Ukrainians became the tragic victims of Soviet colonialism and expressed the hope that "the freedom we enjoy in the United States can become a way of life for all the lands now controlled by communism". My desire to see a free Ukraine has provoked the ire of her dictatorial masters. In an article entitled "Answer to the Do-Gooders" in the January 25, 1963, issue of the Soviet magazine "Literaturna Ukraina" two mouthpieces for the Soviet dictatorship inveighed against my speech for a free and independent Ukraine. The article claims that the government shaping the life of Ukrainians is already "in their hands" and that statements to the contrary "darken the clear day and foul the spring beauty of Ukraine, blooming in the garden of the Soviet Socialist Republics". Mr. President, all the horticultural metaphors in the world cannot erase these harsh and saddening facts: Ukraine's people have no real say in their government, their future is in the calculating hands of Moscow, and this slavery over Ukraine and the rest of once-independent East European States was imposed through one of the most horrible exercises of force in modern history" (p. 83, *Hon. Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania*).

Out of these revealing speeches and articles that the publication contains the reader will receive a concise sketch of the glorious history of Ukraine and her freedom loving people up to the time when it fell victim of the Russian aggression, but rose to the arms again after centuries of slavery. In 1918 Ukraine achieved statehood during the war for independence that Ukrainian people waged against the Russian empire. It was a short-lived independence though mainly because of the lack of understanding and support on the part of the Western world. Accordingly, overpowered by the Red and White Russian armies on one side and the newly created Polish state on the other, Ukraine, after years of fighting, succumbed to several aggressors and became the first victim of the communist takeover.

To this valuable collection of political literature in the field of captive nations, so badly needed in present times of co-existence and confusing issues by widest circles of the free world, a "Select Bibliography on Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union" is appended. It constitutes a special project aimed at the "enlightenment of American public and knowledgeable directions of freedom". Concise as it is, this bibliography of bibliographies covers an ample area and is the first of its kind on this vital subject. The reader will find in this compact and essential reference tool listing of the major works written in English on Ukraine as well as other nations enslaved by Russian communist empire. The American reader in particular will be referred to some of the important U.S. Government publications in the field, such as "Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine" (83rd Congress, 1954), U.S. Congressional Record (86th Congress, 1959), and the like. The bibliography was compiled by Dr. Alexander Sokolyshyn, professional librarian in the New York City Library system, a known scholar and bibliographer. It was edited by Mr. Walter Dushnyck, managing editor of the "Ukrainian Quarterly", and its final presentation was arranged by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor at Georgetown University and national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. The value of this select bibliography was emphasized at different occasions. Here is the quotation from the introductory note to the Congressional Record, vol. 108, no. 111 (87th Congress, dated Monday, July 2, 1962) where the bibliography appeared for the first time; the

author of the appraisal is Minority Floor Leader of the Senate, Hon. Everett M. Dirksen. We quote: "Its value and usefulness to our libraries, educational institutions, and public agencies will be enormous. Its value to the interests of our Nation is immeasurable".

Dr. Roman V. Kuchar,
Fort Hays Kansas State College

John Gunther: INSIDE RUSSIA TODAY. Revised edition 1962. Hamish Hamilton, London, 604 pp.

The author gives an interesting account of the present political situation in the Soviet Union, where he has travelled extensively and has studied the everyday life of the population. He has published the conclusions which he drew from his visit there in this book, which is, incidentally, prohibited in the Soviet Union on account of the criticism voiced by the author with regard to the Soviet Russian policy towards the non-Russian peoples.

Mr. Gunther refers to the subjugation of Ukraine and stresses that the Ukrainian people should be completely independent of Russian rule. We consider it appropriate at this point to quote some of the most interesting passages on Ukraine in this book. In the chapter entitled "The Great World of Ukraine" the author says on page 453: "...Ukraine was called in old days Little Russia. Actually it is not little, but quite big, the sixth country in Europe in population. The Dnieper is the third largest river in Europe (after the Volga and Danube)... Ukraine contains one-fifth of the total cultivated area of the entire Soviet Union; it has 10,700 collective farms. One out of every five men in the Soviet Army is Ukrainian. Ukraine has its own flag, in red and blue, and is a member of the United Nations.

"Ukrainian history goes way back; this was the first Slav state... It was taken in turn by the Tatars, the fiercely marauding Lithuanians, and the Poles. Kiev was the first Christian city... Through centuries the Ukrainians have suffered much".

On page 454 Mr. Gunther mentions the fact that half the dwellings in Ukraine were destroyed by the Germans during World War II.

"In the Stalin purges in 1936-38 all nine members of the Ukrainian Politbureau were shot or disappeared, all twelve members of the cabinet, and forty-five out of fifty-seven members of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

"But these are unquenchable, indomitable people. They have a lively Polish substratum, and a pronounced tradition of revolutionary romanticism. Sometimes they are called "Dnieper-Italians" because they are such volatile, emotional, singing folk. Gogol was a Ukrainian, and so was the painter Repin. Dostoevsky was part Ukrainian. The works of Tchaikovsky and Moussorgsky are packed with Ukrainian melodies...

"Ukrainians love good food and drink, and have a hearty zest for life. Their special variety of borshch is famous, and chicken à la Kiev is known in good kitchens almost everywhere in Europe — breast of chicken formed into a pouch and filled with melted butter. Ukraine has a superb beer, called Zhigalovsky, and the horilka, the Ukrainian name for vodka, is very good. The caviar in Kiev was superior to any we found elsewhere in Russia; moreover, it was served nicely, even daintily, with slices of lemon and little bowls of ice. Nowhere else in the USSR did I ever see ice on the table.

"Industrial development is prodigious; so is the intellectual development. More than one hundred million books have been distributed in Ukraine in one year.

"The country is full of literary magazines, and its newspapers are perhaps not quite so stifelingly dull as most others in the USSR; readers are not totally dependent upon "Pravda" and "Izvestia". Ukraine has seven universities, 150 colleges and institutes, its own Academy of Sciences, and 34,000 schools. Today illiteracy is unknown in Ukraine".

On page 455 Mr. Gunther writes as follows: "Though it is Slavic, Ukrainian is, as I have already indicated, a quite different language from Russian. Our Moscow interpreter could not understand Ukrainian. We had to have a second interpreter if the person we saw chose to speak Ukrainian instead of Russian, as several did... Nowadays all children are taught in Ukrainian, but it is compulsory to learn Russian too. Of approximately 1,050 newspapers now published in Ukraine, more than nine hundred appear in Ukrainian. There are seventy-four theatres, of which sixty play in Ukrainian. On the other hand, so far as things that count are concerned — government, politics, agriculture, industry — Ukraine is thoroughly Russianized today as it was under the Czars.

"Does Ukrainian nationalism exist? Of course. There must be millions of Ukrainians who would like to have a country of their own, to be independent...

"Ukraine extends all the way from the Carpathians in Central Europe to the Crimea, and is full of important cities. Twenty-three have a population of more than 100,000, forty-three have more than 50,000. Kharkov, with a population of 976,000, is the second biggest city, and what some people think, is the best university in the Soviet Union, as well as a big tractor plant. Donetsk (formerly Stalino) (population 749,000) is the chief city of the Donets coal basin (Donbas). There is a cluster of other formidably industrial towns, like Luhansk (formerly Voroshilovgrad) which makes Diesel locomotives, and Zaporozhye, important for pig iron and aluminium. Along the Dnieper are gigantic dams and hydro-electric installations, including Dnieproges, formerly called Dnieprostroi, which produces twice as much electricity as all of pre-war 1917 Russia... The booming city of Dnepropetrovsk, population 707,000, is a centre of steel production and metal-working industries. At Kryvyi Rih (Krivoi Rog in Russian — reviewer's note), about eighty miles away, an ambitious new steel centre has been built. Then one must mention Nikolayev, on the junction of the Dnieper and the Southern Bug, which is well known for shipbuilding: Kerch in the Crimea which has iron ore, Kramatorsk, a machine tool centre; and Kherson on the Black Sea, a textile focus, and in the old days the seat of much British capital. Nor should one forget the steel mills of Zhdanov on the Sea of Azov, the manganese deposits near Nikopol, and the "Salt City" of Slavyansk.

"The fourth city of Ukraine is Odessa — its population is largely Ukrainian, with strong Russian and Jewish communities. Odessa is a big tourist centre and the most important port of Ukraine. Most street signs in Odessa exist only in Ukrainian — not in both Ukrainian and Russian, as is the case in Kharkov and Kiev". (p. 463)

"In Western Ukraine, near the Polish border, is the ancient and splendid city of Lviv (Lvov). This, more familiarly known as Lemberg, was Polish until the end of World War II, and the Poles, even if they don't say so, still think of it not only as being Polish, but as a precious incubator of Polish history and culture second only to Cracow. They would like to have it back... Further west is Uzhorod, the capital of what is now called Transcarpathia..."

KIEV, A PLEASANT CITY

But what really matters in Ukraine is Kiev. This ancient city is built on flowering hills overlooking the Dnipro river, and bulges with pretty parks and gardens; hence one of its names, the "Green City". The atmosphere is totally different from that of Moscow, and the visitor feels here little of the coldness, the spoiled arrogance of Leningrad. Kiev exudes sophistication, stability and charm. During summer the city is half-deserted, and thousands of citizens play on the sandy Dnieper beaches. But Kiev has important industry, including the Gorki Tool Plant, although most of the industry has been moved into Siberia...

Kiev has about 1,200,000 inhabitants, and is the third biggest Soviet city.

The Kiev university, named after the Ukrainian poet and patriot Taras Shevchenko, is one of the foremost in the Union and has about 700 teachers and more than 10,000 students. Most students are Ukrainians, but there are some Czechs, Poles, North Koreans, and Chinese — also one Canadian, and recently an American went there as an exchange student..." (p. 455)

"But the outstanding spectacles of Kiev are the churches. This is Rome... Also the tomb of Yaroslav, one of the earliest and greatest of Kievan princes, is here; the marble coffin, on an iron floor, weighs six tons. Not many people recall that this ancient Ukrainian potentate had power enough, in the eleventh century A.D., to marry off one of his daughters to Harald, King of Norway, another to Andreas, King of Hungary, and a third to Henry I, King of France.

"The supreme sight of Kiev is the Pechersk Monastery, sometimes called the Lavra. The oldest church in this ancient compound dates from 1051, and the campanile, which rises three hundred feet, was the tallest structure until the TV tower was built. The Nazis, when they evacuated Kiev, did their best to destroy the Lavra out of sheer wantonness..." (p. 460)

The author states on page 5 that the population of Ukraine has decreased rather than increased, for a number of reasons. The forced collectivization of agriculture dealt Ukraine a brutal blow, and millions of kulaks (rich peasants) either starved to death or were deported. In addition, the Nazis exterminated several hundred thousand Ukrainian Jews.

In Gunther's opinion, Ukraine is self-sufficient and should be an independent state in Europe, but, as he points out, this was brutally prevented by the Russians in 1917-1921 (Ukrainian-Russian war) and during World War II.

True, this book contains certain errors, but it must nevertheless be regarded as an excellent contribution to the study of the recent history of Eastern Europe.

V. O.

CONVERSATION WITH STALIN by Milovan Djilas. Rupert Hart-Davies, Soho Square, London, 1962.

MILOVAN DJILAS ON UKRAINE, RUSSIA AND STALINISM OF KHRUSHCHOV

"Indeed, it was not possible to conceal the passive attitude of the Ukrainians toward the war and toward Soviet victories. The people seemed to me sombre and reserved, and they paid no attention to us. Although the officers with whom we were in contact concealed the Ukrainians' behaviour, or pretended it was better than it was, our Russian chauffeur cursed the Ukrainians' mothers because their sons had not fought better, so that now the Russians had to liberate them". (p. 48)

"Khrushchov came to leadership in the Ukraine after the purges of the mid-thirties, but I am not acquainted with — nor was I then interested in — his part in them. But it is well known how one rose in Stalin's Russia: certainly by dint of determination and dexterity during the bloody "anti-kulak" and "anti-Party" campaigns. This would have had to be especially true for the Ukraine, where in addition to the aforementioned "deadly sins" there was "nationalism" as well". (p. 109)

"We had heard somewhere that he was not a Ukrainian by birth, but a Russian. Though nothing was said about this, he himself avoided mentioning it, for it would have been embarrassing if not even the Premier of the Ukrainian Government was a Ukrainian! It was indeed unusual even for us Communists, who were able to justify and explain away everything that might cast a shadow over our ideal picture of ourselves, that among the Ukrainians, a nation as numerous as the French and in some ways more cultured than the Russians, there was not a single person capable of being premier of the Government.

Nor could it be concealed from us that the Ukrainians had deserted en masse from the Red Army as the Germans advanced into their regions. After the expulsion of the Germans, some two and a half million Ukrainians were drafted into the Red Army. Although minor operations were still being carried out against Ukrainian nationalists (one of their victims was the gifted Soviet General Vatutin), we still could not quite accept the explanation that this state of affairs in the Ukraine was caused entirely by stubborn Ukrainian nationalism. A question remained to be answered: Where did this nationalism come from if the people of the USSR were really equal?

We were bewildered and astonished at the marked Russification of public life. Russian was spoken in the theatre, and there were even daily newspapers in Russian". (p. 110)

"(At that time I could not detect in Khrushchov any disapproval of Stalin or Molotov. Whenever there was talk of Stalin, he spoke of him with respect and stressed their closeness)". (p. 113)

"Nevertheless, in Kiev one felt a certain freshness — thanks to the beauty of the city itself, which, with its unobstructed horizons and with its hills overlooking a vast muddy river, was reminiscent of Belgrade. Though Kiev left the impression of conscious and cultivated beauty, the Ukraine has remained associated in my memory with a loss of personality, with weariness and hopelessness". (p. 114)

"It is indeed true that no one can destroy another's freedom without losing his own". (p. 120)

"The Ukraine and Russia, buried in snow up to the caves, still bore the marks of the devastation and horrors of war — burned-down stations, barracks, and the sight of women wrapped in shawls and living on hot water (kipyatok) and a piece of rye bread, who were busy clearing the tracks.

This time, too, only Kiev left an impression of discreet beauty and cleanliness, culture and a feeling for style and taste, despite its poverty and isolation. Because it was night, there was no view of the Dnieper and the plains merging with the sky. Still it all remained one of Belgrade — the future Belgrade, with a million people and so well planned and built. We stopped in Kiev only briefly, to be switched to the train for Moscow. Not one Ukrainian official met us. Soon we were on our way into a night white with snow and dark with sorrow. Only our car sparkled with the brilliance of comfort and abundance in this limitless desolation and poverty". (p. 128)

"It is easy to get to Moscow but hard to get out again". (p. 129)

"At any rate, this allocation of glasses of vodka according to the temperature reading suddenly made me clearly aware of the confinement, the inanity and senselessness of the life these Soviet leaders were living gathered about their superannuated chief even as they played a role that was decisive for the human race. I recalled that the Russian tsar, Peter the Great, likewise held such suppers with his assistants at which they gorged and drank themselves into a stupor while ordaining the fate of Russia and the Russian people.

This impression of the vacuity of such a life did not recede but kept recurring during the course of the dinner despite my attempts to suppress it. It was especially strengthened by Stalin's age, by conspicuous signs of his senility". (p. 137)

"To begin with", I added, "The only prominent Communist Jew is Pijade, and he regards himself as being more of a Serb than a Jew".

Stalin began to recall: "Pijade, short, with glasses? Yes, I remember, he visited me. And what is his position?"

"He is a member of the Central Committee, a veteran Communist, the translator of *Das Kapital*", I explained.

"In our Central Committee there are no Jews!" he broke in, and began to laugh tauntingly". (p. 139)

"In the Kremlin, when we visited the imperial tombs, the girl who showed us round spoke of "our tsars" with sentimental national pride. The superiority of the Russians was vaunted everywhere and assumed grotesque forms.

And so on down the line... At every step we discovered hitherto unnoticed aspects of the Soviet reality: it was backward, primitive, chauvinistic, and suffered from a big-power complex, although it had made heroic and super-human efforts to outgrow the past and to overtake the natural course of events". (p. 149)

"Lesakov boasted of how "Comrade Zhdanov purged all the Jews from the Central Committee machine!" — and yet at the same time he sung the praises of the Hungarian Politburo, which then consisted almost entirely of Jewish émigrés, which made me think, that, despite its covert anti-Semitism, the Soviet Government found it convenient to have Jews at the top in Hungary because they were rootless and thus all the more dependent upon its will.

Lesakov told me about the Assistant Chief of the General Staff, General Antonov: "Imagine, he was exposed as being of Jewish origin!" (p. 153/4)

"Stalin did not develop this question of federation further. He did repeat later, in the form of a directive, that a federation between Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania should immediately be formed. But from his stated position and from vague allusions by Soviet diplomats at the time, it seemed that the Soviet leaders were also toying with the thought of reorganizing the Soviet Union by joining to it the "people's democracies" — the Ukraine with Hungary and Rumania, and Byelorussia with Poland and Czechoslovakia, while the Balkan states were to be joined with Russia. However vague and hypothetical all these plans may have been, one thing is certain: Stalin sought an arrangement of the East European countries that would strengthen and secure Moscow's domination and hegemony for a long time to come". (p. 160)

"Every crime was possible for Stalin, and there was not one he had not committed. Whatever standards we use to take this measures, he has the glory of being the greatest criminal in history — and, let us hope, for all time to come. For in him was joined the criminal senselessness of a Caligula with the refinement of a Borgia and the brutality of a Tsar Ivan the Terrible.

I was more interested, and am still more interested, in how such a dark, cunning, and cruel man could ever have led one of the greatest and most powerful states, not just for a day or a year, but for thirty years. This is what Stalin's present critics — I mean his successors — must explain; and until they do so they will only confirm that in the main they are continuing his work and that they are made up of the same elements and are governed by the same ideas, patterns and methods as he was". (p. 169/170)

"Despite the curses against his name, Stalin still lives in the social and spiritual foundations of Soviet society".

"If we take the point of view of humanity and freedom, history does not know a despot as brutal and as cynical as Stalin was. He was methodical, all-embracing, and total as a criminal. He was one of those rare and terrible dogmatists capable of destroying nine-tenths of the human race to "make happy" the remaining tenth". (p. 171)

"He did not construct an ideal society — this is impossible in the very nature of man and human society, but he transformed backward Russia into an industrial power and an empire that is more and more resolutely and implacably aspiring to world mastery". (p. 172)

"Although unsurpassed in violence and crime, Stalin was still the leader and organizer of a certain social system. Today he rates very low, pilloried for his "errors", through which the leaders of that same system intend to redeem both the system and themselves".

"Unfortunately, even now, after the so-called de-Stalinization, the same conclusion can be reached as before: Those who wish to live and to survive in a world different from the one Stalin created and which still exists and is still as strong as ever, must fight for their lives". (p. 173)

Maurice Hindus: HAUS OHNE DACH. Russland nach viereinhalb Jahrzehnten Revolution ("THE HOUSE WITHOUT A ROOF". Russia after 45 years of revolution). F. A. Brockhaus, Wiesbaden, 1962. 419 pp.

The author can certainly be said to have an intimate knowledge of the present Red Russian imperium. He was born in Byelorussia in 1891 but emigrated to the USA in 1905, where he then studied at Harvard University. In 1923, however, he returned to the Soviet Union as a newspaper special correspondent. He subsequently made many trips to the Soviet Union, was eventually evicted from the Soviet Union, but returned there three times after Stalin's death.

He designates the Red Russia of today as a "house without a roof" because he has the feeling of going from room to room in a large house without, however, having a roof over his head: the walls are constantly being pulled down, set up again, or being drawn anew. And one cannot put a roof on a substructure that is constantly changing. The author points out that experiments are constantly being carried out in all spheres of life and even in the educational sector, and stresses that the national problem in the USSR has by no means been solved (p. 7).

It is a long way from socialism to Communism in the USSR and, according to the author, Russian propaganda in this connection merely hints vaguely at a possible development in future (p. 9). The author, however, hardly seems to believe in the possibility of such a development in the USSR, for he affirms that the Russian revolution was neither international nor proletarian but solely national in character and concerned the peasantry (p. 7).

In his opinion it would therefore not have been surprising if the old Russia had been revived in 1944, with its countless uniforms and its eulogies on the old Russian history, etc., which the author sums up in one phrase, namely "Russia, Russia above all"! The International was not accepted as valid by the rural population, nor did it gain any supporters there (p. 178).

It was Stalin himself, however, who started Great Russian chauvinism when he drank a toast to the Great Russian people in 1945, for they alone had allegedly saved Russia in the so-called "patriotic war". After this toast by Stalin Russian scholars, poets, writers, publishers, journalists and Party secretaries vied with each other in their chauvinistic, patriotic activity. The entire field of education in the USSR was dominated by the Great Russian spirit (pp. 176-177).

This obsession of a Great Russia actually resulted in the enforcement of the Great Russian form of government on all the satellites of the Kremlin regardless of their historical and cultural development (p. 178). Siberia, for example, is only closed to Chinese emigrants for Great Russian nationalist reasons (p. 181).

The author then mentions the fact that officially Moscow condemns nationalism as a "bourgeois reactionary ideology and policy", and in this connection stresses that in no other country in the world, however, are love of the fatherland and patriotism cultivated as carefully and as fervently as in the Soviet Union, where posters, illustrated books, patriotic songs, etc., serve this purpose. The Soviet citizen is constantly reminded that his duty consists in love of his fatherland. The author then quotes the poems of Vladimir Semyonov, which glorify all that is Russian.

During the 1930's millions of Ukrainians were the victims of this Russian chauvinistic obsession and were either starved to death or deported. In the summer of 1932 the author himself witnessed the dreadful famine in the rural areas of Ukraine. In the village of Reshetylivka, for instance, Ukrainian farmers told him that they were faced with a famine and starvation (p. 223). To quote his own words: "One farmer after another told us: 'Winter will come and we shall have nothing to eat and shall starve to death'." And this, as the

author states, was exactly what happened. Stalin complained to Churchill that he had no other alternative but to resort to such measures, since he had been trying in vain for four years to make terms with the 10 million farmers and it was absolutely impossible to reach any agreement with them. The author points out that this statement on Stalin's part was definitely a lie, for the members of the Komsomol destroyed the Ukrainian peasantry at Stalin's explicit orders.

Anti-Semitic propaganda in Ukraine was fanned directly by Moscow. The reason for this propaganda against the Jews on the part of the Kremlin was the collapse of Soviet Russian internationalism and the sudden flaring up of Russian nationalism (p. 319). Khrushchov himself does not like the Jews and applies Caesar's attitude to Cassius — "He thinks too much: such men are dangerous" — in this connection. In Khrushchov's opinion the Jews are unsatisfactory collectivists and they should not be allowed to enjoy higher education in order to prevent them from doing even more damage in the USSR (p. 320).

On the other hand, however, permission for the Jews to emigrate from the USSR, in particular to Israel, is constantly refused on various pretexts.

On page 39 the author relates a conversation which he had with an Armenian. The latter complained about the arrogance of the Russians and said: "What right has any Russian to think that he is superior to other peoples?... The Russians are the only people in the Soviet Union who are constantly referred to as a 'great people'. Why are the Ukrainians never called a 'great people'? It is always the Russians..."

This book certainly merits a careful perusal, for it contains some interesting and valuable information on the USSR of today.

V. L u z h a n s k y

Ivar Spector: AN INTRODUCTION TO RUSSIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE.

D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey. Toronto, New York, London, 1961. 506 pp.

This edition was intended by the author as a revision and expansion of his previous editions. But this third edition (1961) does not satisfy us Ukrainians, for it contains several misrepresentations of Ukrainian history.

The great leader of the Ukrainian people, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, for instance, is merely designated by Mr. Spector as "a Ukrainian Cossack" (p. 61).

Whilst on page 176 Mr. Spector writes as follows:

"... Austria sedulously fostered Ukrainian 'culture' in her territory of Galicia, from whence it spread to Russian territory and exerted a subversive influence. The purpose of this was to create among Ukrainians a sentiment of good will toward the Central Powers and a desire to separate themselves from Russia..."

This assertion is not true, for Vienna did not support the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. The minutes of the Austrian parliament

and of the provincial diets of Lviv-Lemberg (Galicia) and Chernivtsi (Bukovina) of pre-war days are surely sufficient proof that the Ukrainian deputies were obliged to defend the rights of the Ukrainian people against oppression.

We agree with Mr. Spector that Moscow wished "the annexation of the Carpathian Ukraine to do away with a possible centre of Ukrainian irredentist propaganda abroad...", but we should like to stress that it was not a case of "irredentist" propaganda but the grim struggle of the Ukrainian people for their liberation from foreign oppression.

Mr. Spector has obviously written this book with considerable anti-Ukrainian feeling, and this fact, together with the various distortions and falsifications of facts in Ukrainian history, certainly does not add to the scientific value of this publication. Readers will find here a falsified history of Eastern Europe, in particular as regards Ukraine.

D. Donzow: NEZRYMI SKRYZHALI TARASA SHEVCHENKA ("The Invisible Tablets of Taras Shevchenko"), "Homin Ukraïny" (Echo of Ukraine), Toronto, Ont., Canada, 1963.

The epoch-making significance of Taras Shevchenko, the great poet, fighter, martyr, prophet, and mystic, whose 150th anniversary is celebrated by the Ukrainians this year, transcends national boundaries and assumes world-wide dimensions.

It was he who had foretold the coming of our own apocalyptic times during a gloomy period of history, when Tsarist Russia reached the ideals of the French Revolution of 1789, proclaimed its belief in materialistic "progress". It was during the dark epoch which witnessed the birth of Russian nihilism and Marxism, the fountainheads of present-day Bolshevism, that he foretold the great struggle between the forces of good and evil, of idealism and materialism—a struggle which, according to him, was to begin on Ukrainian soil. He foretold the onslaught of a new Moscow, which, in his words, would contrive to "enslave the whole world", "to shackle the living spirit" of man and to extinguish the divine "spark of the great fire" in order to destroy the Christian civilization of the West and to reduce its peoples to a herd of slaves, subject to the will of those who consider themselves the "chosen leaders of the world".

The "Gospel of Truth", which was Shevchenko's main weapon in his struggle against the forces of evil, took its insight, inspiration and power ("the truth, the way and the life") from the Gospel of Christ. It was to beget, with its supernatural power,

a new Promethean generation in the Ukraine, which would awaken mankind from its materialistic stupor and inspire it to a victorious struggle for the triumph of the "Sun of Truth", for the freedom of nations, and for the restoration of the glory of the ancient Christian Kiev, which has always fought in the West's front ranks against the hordes of the East, — the Khazars, the Tatars and the Muscovites.

This gigantic struggle against the forces of hell was to be headed, according to Shevchenko's "invisible tablets of commandments, written with an invisible pen", by the Ukrainian knighthood, miraculously restored to life in the spirits of its descendants and led by its ancient protectors — Virgin Mary and Archangel Michael, patron saint of the city of Kiev and of the knighthood of the West in general. The knighthood will once more, like in the days of yore, go into the battle armed with the sword of spirit and with the sword of chivalry, and will not hesitate to shed their "new, pure, sacred blood" to save the Christian civilization of the West from a mortal danger.

The purpose of the present book by D. Donzow is to disclose the meaning and significance of Shevchenko's prophecies, warnings, appeals and reproaches written down on his invisible tablets of commandments, which appear so timely in our cruel and terrible epoch.

John P. Pauls: PUSHKIN'S "POLTAVA". Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, 1962. xvi, 108 pp., \$2.50.

This book consists of an introductory chapter, *Lights and Shadows of "Poltava"* and three monographs written for different occasions: "*Voy-narovsky*" and "*Poltava*", *Historicity of Pushkin's "Poltava"*, and *Pushkin's Dedication of "Poltava"*. However, each of them represents an integral part of the book, and the repetition that one would expect in such circumstances is almost unnoticeable.

Poltava, probably the best long poem by Pushkin, is treated by Pauls objectively and without bias. The poet, of course, is one of the foremost masters in Russian literature. At the same time, Pushkin is convincingly shown as one who has "utilized his great poetical talent and the artistry of his pen to propagate the Russian imperialistic cause" (p. 25).

Ivan Mazepa, the Hetman of Ukraine, is pictured by Pushkin as a "traitor" and "villain" who has poured out his "personal revenge stemming from an incident that took place during a feast" when the Russian tsar is "supposed to have pulled Mazepa's

moustache in anger" (p. 50). This anecdotic reason for Mazepa's rebellion against Peter I, advanced by Pushkin in his poem, is clearly contradicted by this quotation from the Russian Tsar:

[Mazepa has sworn] to detach Ukraine, to create of it an independent principality under the rule of this traitor by incorporating into it Volhynia, and to put under Mazepa's sovereignty the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks... (p. 50).

Thus, Tsar Peter himself gives authentic reasons for the Ukrainian Hetman's rebellion, while Pushkin distorts the historical truth and labels Mazepa simply as a "villain", greedy for power and wealth. Why does the poet do this? Pauls' answer lies in the fact that Pushkin followed biased historical sources, was influenced by Russian chauvinism, had an uncritical admiration for Peter the Great, creator of the Russian Empire, and was provoked by "Ryleyev's sympathetic treatment of Mazepa in *Voynarovsky*" (p. 49).

As can be seen on almost every page of this scholarly publication, the author has delved deeply into the

study of many published sources pertaining to the subject. He quotes more than a hundred books and articles written by Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, American and other scholars. Pushkin's "*Poltava*" should be in every university library where Slavic studies are offered. The book will greatly help in understanding Russian-Ukrainian relations in the eighteenth century and later, as well as in realizing the artistry of Pushkin's pen which "has conquered not only historical and structural shortcomings, but even truth itself" (p. 30).

Yar Slavutych
University of Alberta

Vera Rich: PORTENTS AND IMAGES. The Mitre Press, 1963. Price 9/6 d.

Vera Rich is a name well known in Ukrainian literary circles both in England and abroad on account of her articles in the press and *The Ukrainian Review* and more prominently for her translations of Ukrainian poetry into English, culminating in the Shevchenko Centenary publication, SONG OUT OF DARKNESS, for which she received an honorary Diploma in Shevchenko Studies by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences.

It will be of interest, then, to Ukrainian and their friends to know that Miss Rich's second book of her own original poetry and translations has recently been published by the Mitre Press at 9/6 d, under the title, PORTENTS AND IMAGES.

An admirer of Vera Rich's work from the earliest days, I had noticed, besides the translations contained therein, a certain Ukrainian influence in the work contained in her first volume to be published, OUTLINES, and I turned to PORTENTS AND IMAGES, anxious to see how far this trend had progressed, if indeed it had progressed at all.

I was not disappointed. Throughout the book there is a definite influence of matters Ukrainian, which I have put into three categories and will deal with in turn.

In the first category, translations from the Ukrainian language into English, the author gives us the beautiful sonnet of Pavlo Fylypovych, "Look on the boundless fields, unploughed, unfarmed...", and a little gem from Taras Shevchenko, "Why weighs the heart heavy". Both of these I found an excellent medium for re-living the anguish and torment of the Ukrainian people through the centuries that, through the work of Vera Rich, we are beginning to understand, sometimes for the first time, lightening, varying her selection with the delightful sonnet of Ivan Franko, "O Heart of Woman".

Then there are poems on specifically Ukrainian themes — "Bandurist, For Volodymyr Luciv", in which she describes the magic, "the ripple impulsive under skilful hands" of the national instrument of Ukraine, "Akademia" in which she recreates the atmosphere of those Sunday afternoons when men and women come together to honour the fallen or to commemorate a date of honour and sometimes glorious failure,

*"Here in the rain and grey, to the City Hall,
The first men come, unfurling bags and bundles
Into a blaze of pride, their voices flowering
Free from the hairy husks of alien words.*

*At half past four, the Chairman...
...stumbles the words to greet the English guests
And welcomes fellow exiles to these hours
That pride has borrowed, credit, from the past".*

and

*"And girls and young men dance, their ribbons swirling
Boots creaking like the thunder of spring tulips".*

reminding us later,

*"When a man dies, his name becomes a whisper
Of bronze leaves on the sweep of a southward wind".*

And "Waldfriedhof", the meditation in an autumn cemetery, on the hard, terrible fight of a nation back to freedom and ancient glory, and the price the Leader must pay for the privilege of Leadership.

She augments this theme of Ukrainian life and the fight for independence with poems of others engaged in the same struggle for survival, the poem "On the Anniversary of the Battle of Slutsk" commemorating the Byelorussian uprising of 1918, and "A Poem for Christopher" in honour of a friend who fought for freedom in another land, in another decade for another people.

In my third category — Ukrainian imagery in her own poems, there is much of this, more than in the first volume, OUTLINES, no doubt the seed setting into her mind from her period of translating SONG OUT OF DARKNESS and from the unconscious assimilation of Ukrainian thoughts and sentiments over a considerable period of time.

This is most manifest in poems such as "Canticle", in which one feels a definite breath from "The Caucasus":

*"Noise is man's canticled assent to life,
His 'Fiat' to creation... you who call
For silence, go, behold the muted lines
Of bread-queues, prisons, the forced labourer's round
Of sullen toil, scan the Siberian wastes,
Mark each mass-grave, count every stifled sob,
Make up the voiceless total..."*

then later:

*"And silence 'quite content in every tongue'
Builds whitened cenotaphs to the murdered soul".*

In "Eclogue" I found echoed thoughts of "Three Pathways" with the young sweetheart, a widow before she was yet a bride, and its poignant lines that

every Ukrainian, indeed every exile, will understand:

*"It is a sacred thing, to see, to point,
And proudly say: Look there where I was born..."*

and

"Where three shrill roads divide into the world":

In "A Mother to Her Dead Child", there is more than a touch of the lovely Shevchenko poem, "Bewitched" with its image of the sorrowing young mother going to her dead baby in the night-time:

*"My daughter, do not call...
Lie quiet in your sunshine, do not walk
At night, between the mist and the moon-tipped leaves..."*

and

*"My child, too young to name,
...Hush your dim weeping in the misted woods.
I shall not come tonight".*

There is one allusion that, possibly, is conscious — "My Love is a small White House" (Song No. 1). In the last stanza of this Song there is a distinct possibility that the four images have been chosen to symbolise the four Ukrainian month names for March — Berezen', The Birchtree month; September — Veresen', the Heather month; January — Sichen', the Snow-storm month and July — Lypen', the Lime Tree Month.

Quite apart from the enchanting quality of this work, PORTENTS AND IMAGES evokes a sympathetic insight into the tragic, yet courageous soul of a nation who have lost their most precious heritage, and I recommend it not only to lovers of fine poetry, but also to those who possess the priceless gift of freedom.

Louise Whitton

* * *

"Portents and Images" by Vera Rich is a collection of verse, some of which has already appeared in periodical publications; some is new; and four poems are translations: three from the Ukrainian, one from the Byelorussian.

Miss Rich follows in the traditional line of English Romantic poetry, choosing her imagery mainly from the sphere of Nature. Her images differ from the Romantics, however, in that they are constructed and personal rather than spontaneous and universal.

In general the mood of her poetry is gloomy and wistful. In the most lyrically convincing of her verse, however, as for example in her "Songs" and in the "Canticle", the mood is joyful and affirmative — a yea-saying which embraces even the noise of diesels and aircrafts, for as Miss Rich asserts: "Noise is man's canticle assent to life".

In "A Mother to her dead child" and in "On the anniversary of the battle of Slutsk", we get a genuine sense of the poignancy of human destiny. Referring to the heroic stand of 10,000 workers and peasants in the Battle of Slutsk, she writes:

*Afterwards, only a history-date of disaster,
A star half-lost in the victor's flaring sunrise.*

In the poem "Bandurist" Miss Rich reveals her understanding of and her sympathy with Ukrainian life. She depicts a folk-singer who evokes in his song: *Wild rivers, ancient cities, wind-wide plains,
And the lost graves of heroes...*

His bandura shakes

*With ecstasies of keening grief, and all
Ukraine pours forth her sorrow in his song.*

Notable among the four translations in the "Sonnet" by Pavlo Fylypovych. In this poem we find a strong sense of self-affirmation. Despite "a threat of frowning clouds" and "the challenge of alarm", the author asserts:

*I feel no passion for a past day's worth,
For from my dreams I never will recoil.*

Taras Shevchenko's "Why weighs the heart heavy?" is characterized by a gentle melancholy and silent resignation. "Slumber, my heart", he begs. "Let hateful people Rage on... O my heart, let your eyes gently close!..."

Another poem from the Ukrainian is the "Sonnet" by Ivan Franko. Its mood is quite different from the others and is concerned with a more fundamental matter, namely woman. The poet, however, frankly admits his bewilderment and asks in dismay:

*Do you give birth, O tell,
To thorns or roses? Angel from the heavens,
Or a fierce demon from the depths of hell?*

"Romance", a poem translated from the Byelorussian of Maksim Bahdanovic is a love-poem in the conventional mode, possessing the quaint naïveté of a folk song.

The volume concludes with a short fiery verse in which Miss Rich addresses her critics, boldly asserting:

*You shun the truth — but winged with light and hope
I shall sweep on — a comet among stars!*

Ursula Carfagno

Theodor Mackiw: "MAZEPA IM LICHTE DER ZEITGENÖSSISCHEN DEUTSCHEN QUELLEN" ("Mazepa in the Light of Contemporary German Sources"). Verlag Ukraine, Munich, 1963. 109 pp.

The author quotes numerous German sources of the 17th and 18th centuries in order to show how unjustly and subjectively the German press of those days, which was for the most part influenced by pressure on the part of Tsar Peter I, judged the heroic Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa after his defeat at Poltava (1709). The "Theatrum Europaeum," "Europäische Fama," "Historische Remarques," "Historischer Bilder-Saal," "Neueröffnete Welt- und Staatsspiegel" and other German periodicals of that time published reports on Mazepa (in particular after his alliance with King Charles XII of Sweden) which were directed by Russian propaganda, inasmuch as they frequently referred to the Ukrainian Hetman most unjustly as a "traitor," an "adventurer," etc. These periodicals cannot therefore be regarded as authentic historical sources which give a reliable account of the events in East and North Europe after the battle of Poltava.

One of the few German historical sources of those days which gives a true and unbiased picture of Mazepa, are the memoirs of the German eyewitness and army chaplain of Prince Maximilian Emanuel of Württemberg, Johann Wendel Bardili, who served in the Swedish army as a

colonel. His "Account of the Journey from Poltava through the Dzikie Pole Desert to Bender, etc.," which appeared in Stuttgart in 1714 and was later published in another volume of his under the title "The Travels and Campaigns of His Late Highness Prince Maximilian Emanuel, Duke of Württemberg, through Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Red and White Russia, Volhynia, Siberia and Ukraine, etc.," in Stuttgart in 1730, gives a fairly objective account of events in Ukraine after 1709.

Another reliable source on Mazepa and Ukraine are the diplomatic reports of the Prussian ambassador in Moscow (1702-1711), Georg Johann Kayserling.

Both Bardili and Kayserling regard Mazepa as a great Ukrainian patriot and hero.

In the book under review the author quotes numerous contemporary reports on Mazepa and Ukraine, including a letter from Mazepa to the Emperor Joseph I, which bears no date and is preserved in the Austrian State Archives in Vienna. This book is particularly valuable on account of the wealth of sources and references which it contains.

V. O.

Ukrainian Cronicle

REDS IN KIEV ASSAULT U.S. UKRAINIANS HONOURING SHEVCHENKO

Mykola Bazhan, one of the outstanding poets of the communist regime in Ukraine, wrote an angry piece in *Literaturna Ukraina* (April 16, 1963) against Ukrainians in the United States for their endeavours to honour Taras Shevchenko on the 150th birthday anniversary of the great and immortal Ukrainian poet.

Bazhan, who barely escaped being "liquidated" by Stalin for his alleged nationalist tendencies, wrote the following:

"The peoples of the Soviet Union, and with them all progressive mankind, are getting ready for a worthy observance of the immortal memory of the genius lover of freedom... But our enemies are not asleep. The American imperialists, relying on those docile servants — the Ukrainian nationalists — are planning to take advantage of the 150th anniversary for the monstrous, disgusting and provocative purpose of slandering the homeland of Shevchenko, Soviet Ukraine, and our people with a flood of anti-Soviet insults, provocations, muck, lies and distortions.

"The nationalist scribes, of the breed of Zaytsev, Dontsov, and Dobriansky, are displaying an extraordinary adroitness in the matter of falsifying Shevchenko, and the blasphemous distortion of his works, attempting to present our great poet as some kind of advocate of the modern "American way of life".

"This is the purpose of the brochure, *Europe's Freedom Fighter: Taras Shevchenko*, published as official matter of the U.S. Congress.

"The peoples of the world will firmly slap the dirty hands of the American politicians and nationalist Judases who are trying to besmirch the bright acme of pure human spirit, the spirit of truth and freedom, the spirit of goodness and anger, the spirit of generosity and eternity, the spirit, image and word of Shevchenko.

A great role in this noble act of defending the temple of mankind from the bourgeois speculators and blasphemers will be played by Soviet writers and literary experts. This is a fight, together with Shevchenko, against the man-hating ideology of imperialism and nationalism. This is a fight which also exposes the deceit and falsehood of all talk of "peaceful coexistence" of two ideologies..."

STRIKES AND UNREST IN UKRAINE

The British daily "*Scotsman*" of November 18, 1963, published a report, received from a reliable source, to the effect that the Ukrainian workers in the town of Kryvyj Rih (Krivoy Rog) (in Southern Ukraine) organized a strike in November as a protest against the famine which threatens Ukraine.

The workers demanded more bread and higher wages, since the wages which they have received so far have not even been enough to buy food.

The "*Scotsman*" also quotes another news item from the same source, according to which the Ukrainian dockers in Odessa refused to load butter intended for Cuba.

In view of these reports it is perfectly obvious why the hangman of Ukraine — Khrushchov — paid a surprise visit to the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv.

The press agency "Associated Press" (which, in connection with the arrest of Ukrainian nuns by the Red Russians in Lviv-Lemberg, recently reported that the banner of the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Bandera, who "collaborated" with the Germans, was found in the possession of these nuns) affirms that "there is no definite proof that Khrushchov's visit to Ukraine was in any way connected with the demonstrations held by Ukrainian workers in Odessa and Kryvyj Rih". In both towns the workers protested against the food shortage which is making itself felt

to an increasing degree amongst the Ukrainian population.

At the same time, the Ukrainian periodical "*Shlyakh Peremohy*" (Munich) published the contents of a letter from the second largest town in Ukraine, Kharkiv, which stated that in consequence of the increasing famine in Ukraine Russian bandits are attacking Ukrainian farmers and robbing them of their produce. The letter adds that these rogues beat and injure the farmers if the latter try to defend themselves.

The alarming reports from Ukraine which manage to seep through from time to time clearly indicate that the Russians are robbing Ukraine of its foodstuffs. These products are then either taken to Muscovy (ethnographical Russia proper), or else exported to foreign countries in order to facilitate Russian infiltration and subversive activities and also Russian propaganda there. On the other hand, however, the demonstrations organized by the Ukrainian workers show that the Ukrainian people are prepared to defend themselves against the Red Russian exploiters of Ukraine with all the means at their disposal. These open demonstrations on the part of the Ukrainian workers are all the more significant and typical of the present political and social conditions in Ukraine, since so far in this land of terrorism and despotism no one except the prisoners in the concentration camps and the workers has ventured to oppose Soviet Russian terrorist measures openly.

RED RUSSIANS CONTINUE TO DEPORT UKRAINIANS

The Russian Bolshevik press reports that a "republican conference", that is to say a mixture of various hirelings and functionaries of the Russian Bolshevik party in Ukraine, was held recently in Nova Kakhivka (in the region of Kherson). This so-called conference discussed the preparation of measures connected with the inclusion of persons who have been resettled, in the collectives in southern Ukraine.

Since an intensive "irrigation of the arable land" is to be carried out in the rayons of the Kherson region, a large number of workers are needed there. The said conference decided that the "erection of dwellings must be increased considerably", and for this reason 15,000 dwellings are to be built there next year. It is obvious from this figure that a huge number of persons are to be settled in this region.

The conference also devoted considerable attention to the methods and forms of an organized recruiting of workers, which, in other words, amounts to the forcible resettlement of Ukrainian farmers. The Russian Bolshevik press does not say how many farmers are to be resettled to the Kherson region in connection with the irrigation project, nor does it mention the areas in Ukraine from which they are to be resettled. It can however be assumed that the majority of persons who are to be resettled are natives of the western regions of Ukraine which never belonged to Russia. In their stead Russians will settle in those Ukrainian territories which Moscow was unable to conquer before World War II broke out. The Soviet Russian assimilation policy with regard to the Ukrainians is thus being pursued as intensively as ever.

MASS SLAUGHTER OF CATTLE IN THE USSR

In the USSR there is at present not only a shortage of foodstuff for the population, but also a shortage of fodder for the cattle. The Red rulers of the Kremlin have instructed the collectives to draw up estimates regarding the extent to which they will be able to keep the cattle in fodder during the winter and until spring this year. These estimates are on the whole very poor. For this reason the mass slaughter of cattle is now being carried out in many districts. The meat obtained in this way is, of course, sent to Moscow. And the Russians are now extremely pleased at being able to buy as much meat as they like.

TRIBUTE PAID TO SHEVCHENKO IN U.S. SENATE

Washington, D.C. — A very fine tribute to Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet and fiery freedom-fighter whose 150th birthday anniversary is marked by the world this year, was paid in the U.S. Senate by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Dem., Minn.) as reported in the Congressional Record on March 14, 1963.

Sen. Humphrey, addressing the Vice-President of the United States, said:

"Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of Ukraine, is a relatively unknown literary figure in the West, but he ranks among the greatest of the Slavic poets — on the level of Pushkin, in the view of some critics. The fact that he wrote almost all of his poetry in the Ukrainian language is at once the reason for his obscurity and one of the chief contributions for which he is remembered today. For he was the first modern writer who was purely and thoroughly Ukrainian, and he gave much impetus to the development of a native Ukrainian language and literature. His poems were intensely patriotic, expressing the trials and the aspirations of the Ukrainian people throughout their history.

"Shevchenko's life itself was filled with suffering. At the age of 24 he was released from serfdom, but 9 years later Tsar Nicholas I, had him arrested because of his liberal, democratic ideas. He was condemned to serve as a common soldier in a remote area of eastern Russia, far from his beloved Ukraine. Even after his release 10 years later, Shevchenko never again enjoyed complete personal freedom, and he died one day after his 47th birthday — in the same year that saw the emancipation of the serfs by Tsar Alexander II of Russia.

"At one point during his imprisonment Shevchenko wrote these despairing lines:

*"I shall not leave the slightest trace
Upon our glorious Ukraine,
Our land, but not as ours known".*

"Time has disproved this prophecy, for his life and writings have played a great role in shaping the Ukrainian national spirit and culture. The ideals to which Shevchenko stubbornly clung — national self-determination and democratic rule — remain a guiding light today for Ukrainians and other oppressed nationalities of Eastern Europe".

TELEGRAM OF CONDOLENCE TO PRESIDENT L. JOHNSON

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) sent a telegram of condolence, signed by President Jaroslaw Stetzko and Secretary-General Prince N. Nakashidze, to the U.S. Ambassador in Bonn, in which A.B.N. expressed its profound sympathy with the government of the U.S.A. and the American people on the assassination of President John Kennedy, who was murdered by a Communist agent. At the same time, A.B.N. also voiced its great indignation at this vile deed and condemned the Communist conspirators responsible for this crime.

Jaroslaw Stetzko also sent a telegram of condolence to President Johnson and signed his name in the condolence book at the U.S. Consulate General in Munich. In addition, he sent a message of condolence to Congressman Michael A. Feighan, who is a loyal friend of Ukraine and of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and who so far has acted as the Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, MacCormack (who has now become Vice-President of the U.S.A.).

THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) SENT MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE ON ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT J. KENNEDY

On behalf of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Units abroad (ZCh OUN), Stepan Lenkavsky, sent a telegram of condolence to the U.S. Ambassador in Bonn, which was worded as follows:

"On the occasion of the vile assassination of President John Kennedy of the United States of America we wish to express our sincere sympathy with the American people on its great loss. The news that the Communists have now begun to apply murder as a means of the political fight, on sovereign American territory, has aroused our great indignation".

For the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Units abroad (ZChOUN)

signed: *Stepan Lenkavsky*

**SENATOR PAUL YUZYK,
A SCHOLAR, SERVED IN
CANADIAN MISSION TO U.N.**

Senator Paul Yuzyk, a Canadian Senator of Ukrainian descent in the Dominion Senate of Canada, has been a member of the Canadian Delegation to the U.N. XVIIIth General Assembly in 1963.

Born of Ukrainian pioneer parents fifty years ago in Saskatchewan, Canada, Senator Yuzyk completed a course in a teachers' college and served as a volunteer in the Canadian army during World War II. Subsequently, he received his B.A. degree in mathematics, a B.A. in history and

finally a doctor of philosophy degree from the University of Minnesota, and joined the staff of the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg as Assistant Professor of Slavic Studies and History. He wrote a book, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*, which was favourably received as a source of ethnic studies.

On February 4, 1963 he was appointed a member of the Canadian Senate for life by the former Prime Minister, John G. Diefenbaker. Senator Yuzyk is a member of many Ukrainian and Canadian scholastic societies and organizations and receives many honours for his work as an educator and leader.

**AN EXHIBITION OF WORKS
BY IVAN KURACH**

An exhibition of works by the well-known Ukrainian painter Ivan Kurach was held at the Bürdecke Gallery in Zürich from November 22 to December 7, 1963. It attracted a large number of visitors.

A collection of poems by the late Mychailo Kurach, a brother of Ivan Kurach, contains some very fine reproductions of some of the works by this Ukrainian artist.

From the Letters to the Editors

UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

*Jackson College of Journalism
15 July, 1963*

The Editors,
The Ukrainian Review
Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
48, Linden Gardens, London, W.2., England.

Dear Sirs,

The Spring, 1963 copy of *The Ukrainian Review* arrived in the offices of the Jackson College of Journalism this week. We are very pleased to receive it and shall retain it along with other publications received in the College Library where it will be available to our staff and students for study and reference.

Although our College does not, as yet, have a budget for publications, should your esteemed organisation be willing to make *The Ukrainian Review* available to Jackson College on a complimentary basis, we would be most happy to be receiving it regularly in our College Library. *The Ukrainian Review* would be a most valuable contribution both to the Library and to the training programme of our College.

Your kindness and thoughtfulness in making this current and previous issues of *The Ukrainian Review* is much appreciated. Please accept our thanks and warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Earl O. Roe
Lecturer in Journalism

Just published:

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

by

Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko
Ukrainian Free University

Published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2.,
1964, 47 pp.+16 pp. of illustrations.

This lucid treatise by Professor Dr. Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko on the little known relations between ancient Ukraine and Western Europe in the Middle Ages provides fascinating insight into close political, dynastic and cultural ties of the Kievan State with the countries of Western Europe.

**LES PROBLÈMES ACTUELS DE
L'EST EUROPEEN**

Prix: 0,75 F

Publication Mensuelle

Directeur: W. KOSYK

Editée par l'Union des Ukrainiens de France

Abonnements:

1 an 8 F

Abonnement de soutien à partir de 10 F

Etranger 15 F

5, rue Cadet, Paris 9 Tél. PRO 70-03 c.c.p. 18 953-44 Paris



The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



II

1 9 6 4

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



Ukrainian ethnographic territory

Boundaries of Soviet republics and states

RECENTLY PUBLISHED!

ORDER NOW!

A book packed with hard facts and revealing unpleasant secrets hidden behind the façade of the USSR

RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE

Reports and Documents.

This voluminous book of 576 pages + 24 pages full of illustrations contains articles, reports and eye-witness accounts drawing aside the curtain on the horrible misdeeds of the Bolshevik Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian Nation.

Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
200, Liverpool Road,
London, N.1.

Price: 36/- net (in USA and Canada \$8.00)

Printed in Great Britain by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
200 Liverpool Road, London, N.1.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XI. No. 2.

Summer, 1964

A Quarterly Magazine

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky, Mrs. Slava Stetzko

and

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk

Price: 5s a single copy

Annual Subscription: £1. 0.0. \$4.00

Six Months 10.0. \$2.00

Cover designed by Robert Lisovsky

**Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2.**

C O N T E N T S

CARPATHO-UKRAINE PROCLAIMED HER INDEPENDENCE 25 YEARS AGO	3
<i>Volodymyr Bohdaniuk</i> : SITUATION IN THE USSR AND UKRAINE ...	6
<i>V. Kosyk</i> : PROPOSALS FOR A SENSIBLE STRATEGY	20
<i>Jaroslav Stetzko</i> : THE OECUMENICAL COUNCIL AND THE EXPECTA- TIONS OF THE FAITHFUL OF THE PERSECUTED CHURCH	27
<i>André François Poncet</i> : SHEVCHENKO, AN APOSTLE OF FREEDOM	36
<i>Evhen Malaniuk</i> : SHEVCHENKO AND UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDEA	38
<i>Dr. Karl Siehs</i> : SHEVCHENKO IN THE EYES OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES	56
<i>Dr. Vasyl Simovych</i> : A BRIEF SURVEY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE	76
<i>Andrew Moskalenko</i> : THE HETMANATE IN 1918 AND BOLSHEVIK AGGRESSION IN UKRAINE	81
OBITUARIES	85
BOOK REVIEW	87
UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE	96

Carpatho-Ukraine Proclaimed Her Independence 25 Years Ago

Twenty-five years ago, the population of Carpatho-Ukraine rose up against two enemies, numerically and in terms of arms by far their superior — namely, the Czechs and the Hungarians — to defend their national and state independence with arms. Cruelly deceived by Hitler, abandoned politically as well as morally by Western democracies, 4,000 Ukrainian youths fought bravely against a Hungarian invasion army of 40,000 men in the trenches outside Teresva, Khust, Yasina, Rakhiv and Bychkiv. Most of the Ukrainian volunteers, with blue-gold arm bands, died heroic deaths. On March 16, 1939, the **New York Times** reported: "In the course of 27 hours Carpatho-Ukraine found itself under 3 colours. In the course of 3 days she fought two wars: one to drive out the Czechs, the other to check the Hungarian offensive".

The Carpatho-Ukrainians' tragedy began long before World War I, when Carpatho-Ukraine groaned under Hungarian foreign rule. In their capital Khust, on the 22nd of January, 1919, delegates from 420 Carpatho-Ukrainian villages and towns proclaimed the accession of Carpatho-Ukraine to the Ukrainian National Republic with its capital in Kyiv (Kiev). The unfortunate end of the Ukrainian liberation war against Poland and Russia was exploited by the Czech imperialists to incorporate Carpatho-Ukraine into their state by cunning and deception. It is true that the peace treaty of Saint Germain conceded autonomous self-government to Carpatho-Ukraine, but in actual fact, this Ukrainian territory was administered and exploited as a colony until 1938. In the course of two decades of Czech foreign rule, not a single metre of railroad tracks was laid in the country!

In the autumn of 1938, the Czech state, which consisted of various nationalities, began to crumble. On the 11th of October 1938, under the pressure of the strivings for liberation on the part of the Ukrainians, Prague conceded an autonomous government to Carpatho-Ukraine. Monsignor Voloshyn, a popular and patriotic politician,

with a great capacity for understanding, was elected Prime Minister and Minister of Education. A national regiment of guards, composed of volunteers, was formed. The people rejoiced. Then the Czechs dealt Carpatho-Ukraine a treacherous blow. In the early morning hours of March 14, 1939, Czech troops laid siege to the capital Khust; Czech tanks and guns opened fire and soon bloody street battles raged in the city. The national guards were equipped with rifles and pistols only.

The news of the cowardly attack on Khust spread quickly throughout the country and in all the villages the population rose up; they drove the Czech soldiers and gendarmes back and equipped themselves with their weapons. In rapid march volunteers moved to Khust quickly; the Czechs were encircled and at 11 o'clock of the same day the Prague troops capitulated. But almost at the same time, Horthy advanced with his troops into Carpatho-Ukraine from the South. He did so with Hitler's and Mussolini's approval. Stalin rubbed his hands: Carpatho-Ukraine, a possible Piedmont for all Ukraine, was being liquidated by his Fascist opponents! The Voloshyn government answered Horthy's aggression with the proclamation of national independence. This took place on March 14, 1939. By the thousands Ukrainian young men and women hurried to the front to defend their country; the technical and numerical superiority of Horthy's troops, however, turned the scales in this unequal battle.

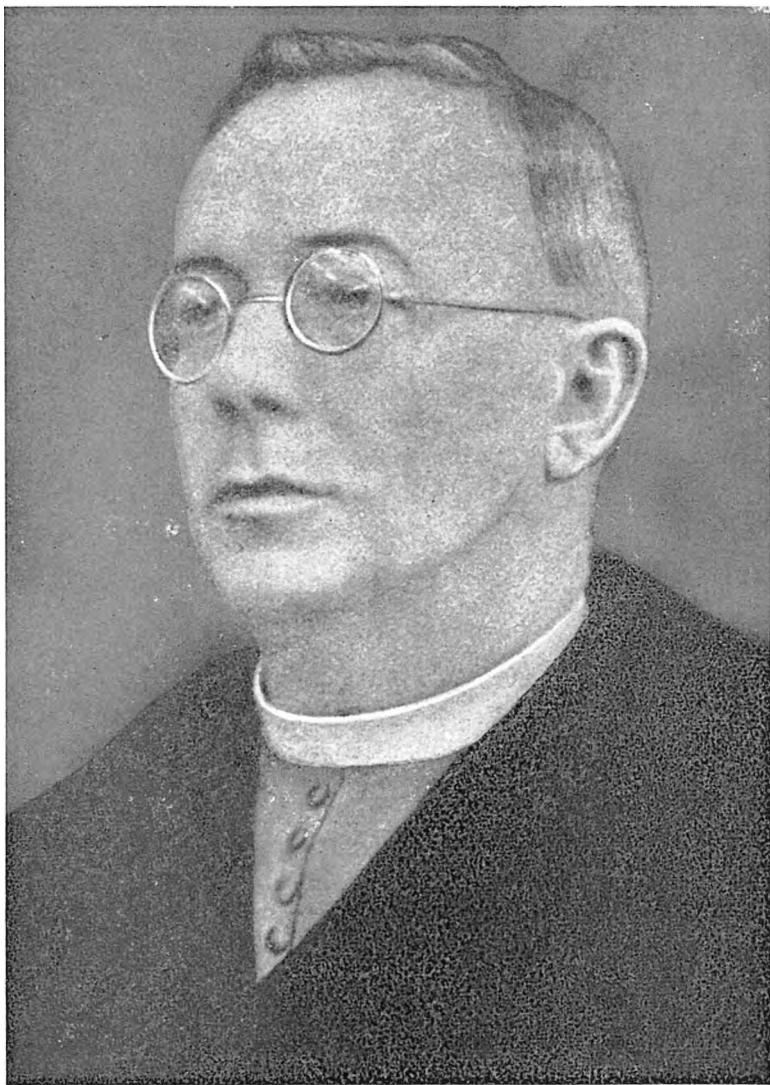
On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Carpatho-Ukraine's fight for liberation, the editor of **Volksbote** interviewed Prof. Stepan Lenkavsky, chairman of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). (This interview appeared in **Volksbote**, No. 10, 1964.)

Volksbote: How was it actually? After their fight with the Horthy regime did the Carpatho-Ukrainians also participate in the liberation war of the entire Ukrainian people that broke out in 1941? I mean the war against the Russian occupation forces and against Hitler.

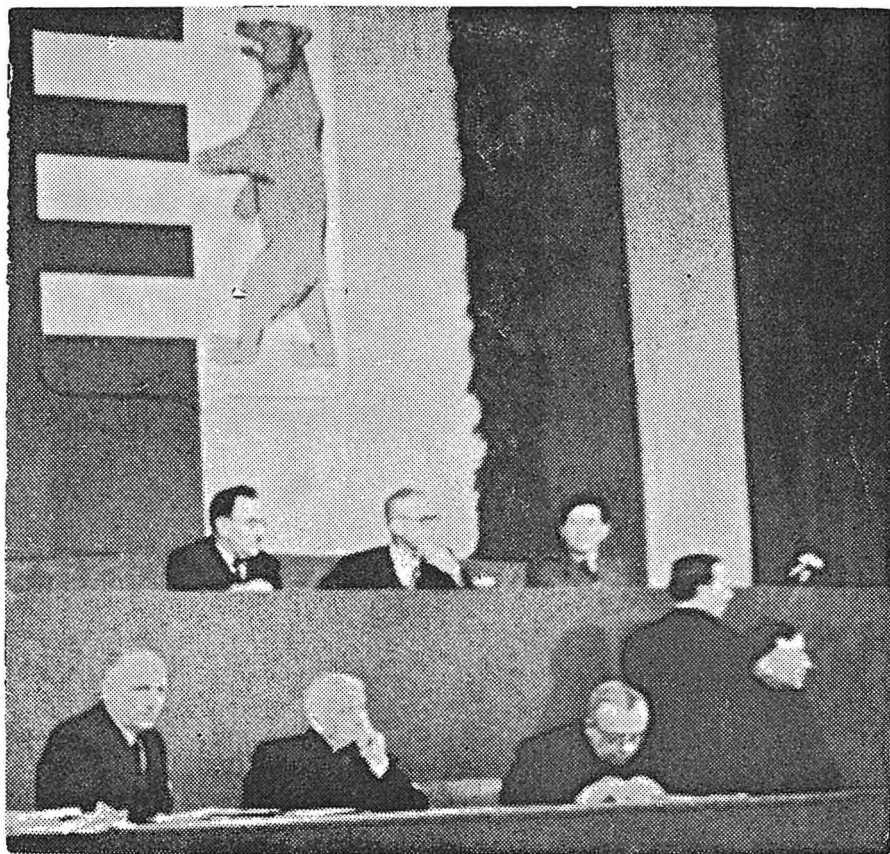
Prof. S. Lenkavsky: In the years 1941 to 1944, Carpatho-Ukraine was not under German but under Hungarian occupation. Therefore, a direct war against Hitler was impossible in this country. The patriotic elements in the country, however, joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the neighbouring North Carpathian mountains, as well as the OUN units in the south. In all parts of Ukraine they fought against Hitler, against the Red partisans, and later against the Russian occupation forces.

Volksbote: Did fighting take place in Carpatho-Ukraine after 1945? What happened to the civilian population?

Prof. S. Lenkavsky: In October 1944, when the Russians occupied Carpatho-Ukraine there were already several Ukrainian insurgent units in existence in the woods and mountain regions. At that time



*Msgr. AUGUSTIN VOLOSHYN (1874-1946).
After the proclamation of Carpatho-Ukraine's independence, he became
President of the new Republic. In 1946, he was murdered
by Soviet Russians in prison.*



Session of the Parliament of Carpatho-Ukraine.

the underground organization had already established military bases in the villages and extended contact lines to the West. These measures constituted the foundation of the entire liberation fight in these regions. The major battles began when the UPA units marched through Carpatho-Ukraine toward Rumania in 1946 and toward Slovakia in 1947. The incessant fights on a local level continued in later years also and served to protect the population from deportation to Siberia, from collectivization, nationalization of property and Sovietization of life in general. After the Soviets had deforested the woods to a large extent and had changed the Carpathian area ever more into a military base, the openly waged fight became less frequent, from 1953 onward. Furthermore, new settlers arrived from Russia to take the place of the deported native population.

Volksbote: Are there any indications that the Carpatho-Ukrainians have reconciled themselves to their lot? Or is it just the other way round?

Prof. S. Lenkavsky: The Russian's manifold methods of suppression have only increased the resistance of the Carpatho-Ukrainians! Most Ukrainian families were or still are today exposed to various persecutions; their relatives were either victims of political terror or of religious persecutions. This deeply antagonized the population against the occupational regime. During the Hungarian revolution in the autumn of 1956, several acts of sabotage, both organized and spontaneous, were carried out against the military railroad transports of the Russian army. In recent years resistance has been constantly on the increase...

Volksbote: The treacherous murder of Bandera, according to the plan of the Moscow instigators of the murder, was also supposed to serve the purpose of weakening the large and influential Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, of spreading distrust, fear and resignation among your exiled fellow-countrymen and to undermine their morale. Did Moscow achieve this?

Prof. S. Lenkavsky: By phrasing your question as you did, you have very aptly summarized the motives that prompted the highest Soviet Russian Party and governmental leaders to have this political murder carried out. The reaction of the Ukrainians abroad was the very opposite of that which the Russians had hoped for! Notwithstanding political differences and contrasting views among the parties, they all indignantly condemned the Russian methods of political murder in a united front. On the occasion of Bandera's death, a two months' mourning period was observed everywhere; 122 protest rallies took place in 11 countries; a fund was raised to support Bandera's family, and the foundation of a fund makes the continuation of Bandera's mission possible.

Volodymyr BOHDANIUK

Situation in the USSR and Ukraine

I. Changes in the USSR after Stalin's Death

Stalin's death was a moment of great psychological shock in the life of the Russian-Bolshevik imperium. Millions of terrorized slaves in the USSR, the population of the satellite countries which had been subjugated by Moscow and even wide circles of the ruling Party apparatus of the USSR had been waiting for this moment. On the one hand, Stalin's cruel reign of terror and a merciless centralization had made the USSR a dangerous military power which was able to achieve extraordinary successes in its aggressive foreign policy. On the other hand, however, the inner contradictions and oppositions in the Bolshevik imperium had come to a head. Under these conditions the people of the USSR endured outrageous moral and material misery. At the moment of Stalin's death, the world power, so successful in its foreign policy, was undergoing a grave crisis internally. Signs of disintegration threatened the Russian imperium with a terrible inner cataclysm, even by the slightest shaking of its foundations. At the end of World War II, the people of the USSR had expected considerable relief. Their expectations, however, were terribly disappointed. All attempts at an open resistance and an armed fight on the part of the subjugated peoples for their liberation were violently suppressed. Millions of fresh *katorga*¹ prisoners filled concentration camps in Siberia. With Stalin's death, the masses expected changes and alleviations; they expected, indeed, a general revolution and dissolution of the Russian-Bolshevik imperium.

With Stalin's sudden death, the Russian-Bolshevik rulers, who were well aware of this mood, found themselves in a rather precarious situation. On the one hand, these Bolsheviks experienced a sense of relief, for the tyrant was dead; on the other hand, they feared that Stalin's death could precipitate a revolution among the enslaved

¹) *Katorga* — forced labour in slave camps.

masses in the USSR. This threat of a revolution was so much the more dangerous for the Bolshevik leaders, as it would have undoubtedly swept away the remaining Bolshevik clique with its privileges from the scene of history. The heads of this parasitic, bureaucratic class were greatly concerned about the destiny of the Russian imperium. They decided to reorganize themselves and to carry through certain reforms to remove the most serious contradictions in the Bolshevik system and to conciliate the mood of the masses to a certain degree. They had no intention, however, of surrendering their "commanding heights". The reorganization of this system was by all means necessary, for it was no longer conducive to an increase of the economic and military power of the USSR; rather it was an obstacle to the strengthening of its military potential. Stalin's centralized and bureaucratic system created a whole series of obstacles between the individual economic branches in certain areas. Of necessity, this resulted in an absurd and unprofitable management of the economy. Even the Bolshevik leaders had to come to the conclusion that, in view of such a state of affairs in the USSR, they would lose their competitive economic battle with the Western World sooner or later. Hence the new "collective" leadership of the Communist Party (at the head of which was the least doctrinary but most pragmatic man, Khrushchov) was able to rise to the top and to reconstruct the system of the USSR for the purpose of consolidating the basis of the Russian-Bolshevik imperium and of creating the possibilities for the realization of its further growth. Moscow's arrogant Russification policies during Stalin's reign contributed rather to a strengthening of the nationalistic tendencies among the non-Russian peoples who had been subjugated by Russia. Under certain conditions this could have led to an inevitable dissolution of the USSR. The Bolshevik leadership after Stalin's death decided to neutralize this mood, if possible. On the one hand they tried to do this by making obvious concessions; on the other hand they continued to combat nationalistic movements. The fear of a revolution of the subjugated non-Russian peoples and the fear of the superior strength of the West, as well as a decision to maintain the Leninist-Stalinist system as a prerequisite for further world-wide expansion resulted in frequent contradictory measures during Khrushchov's rule.

Of the most important changes effected in the USSR during the past 10 years, the following must be mentioned:

a) Terrorism was lessened to a certain degree. This resulted in a relative abatement of the arbitrariness of the terror apparatus of the secret police. There was also a considerable reduction in the number of prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps, as well as a certain mitigation of the hypnotic fear, which paralysed even the smallest initiative during Stalin's reign. The population of

the USSR, especially, however, the younger generation, is gradually liberating itself from the paralysing fear of the alleged invincibility of the Russian-Bolshevik regime, a fear which to a large extent was responsible for the suppression of any kind of free opinion. It must be stated here that this psychological change is, to a large extent, to be attributed to the heroic underground activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) during Stalin's lifetime, as well as to the uprisings in concentration camps, which were organized by the prisoners of the enslaved peoples under the leadership of the Ukrainian underground movement. In later years:

b) In connection with the restriction of the KGB's role, the role of the Party in its control of all phases of life in the USSR increased considerably. Simultaneously, the role of the technical and administrative apparatus increased. The party-administrative bureaucracy lost ever more contact with the masses of the subjugated non-Russian peoples.

c) The control of industry was centrally reorganized according to the territorial principle and not according to the branches of economy. Initially this reform brought about a certain decentralization, which resulted in so-called local tendencies. In more recent times, however, a return to a stricter centralized control, exercised by means of the so-called Council of the National Economy of the USSR, may be observed.

d) Innumerable and mostly unsuccessful efforts are made to increase the productivity of agriculture of the USSR. Organisational reforms and other measures, such as the cultivation of the virgin lands, cultivation of maize and beans, utilization of fertilizers, irrigation, etc. have been introduced. No attempt has been made to liquidate the hated collective farm system, however, for this system enables Moscow to control the peasantry completely and to exploit it totally. The liquidation of the parasitical tractor stations (MTS) and a slight increase of the State prices for farm products, however, did not amount to an adequate incentive to increase the peasantry's output. In general, the peasants have lost any desire to work on the collective farms because they do not receive sufficient wages for their work.

e) In national politics a certain lessening of the open chauvinistic Russification policy could be observed. At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, Stalin's policies aiming at the annihilation of the enslaved peoples were condemned. The national "autonomous" republics which were liquidated at the end of World War II were restored; permission was given to cultivate local patriotism within the framework of general "Soviet" patriotism which, however, cannot at all be distinguished from Russian patriotism. On the other hand, a crass Russification policy is practiced

against which the people are powerless. For this purpose a hypocritical law concerning the instruction of language in the schools was enacted. As a result of this law, wide possibilities for the application of the Russification mechanisms have arisen. A hidden restriction of the national culture development potentialities is carried on behind the scenes by the application of the following measures: reduction in the circulation of non-Russian newspapers, journals and books; strict control of theatre productions and cinema productions, as well as of the programming of wireless and television broadcasts. In addition, those who have the courage to speak up in favour of an independent development of national culture are openly and violently attacked. Following the 20th Party Congress — in the second half of the 1950's — the miserable rights and powers of the various national Republics of the USSR were somewhat extended. These measures, however, were more formal than practical, for the so-called "governments" of the national republics are neither in the position to do anything nor do they have the slightest desire to take their own initiatives. They are nothing but tools in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, or of its various departments, as the case may be. The policy aiming at the creation of one single nation from the peoples of the USSR is continued, not only by means of propaganda which preaches the "amalgamation of peoples in the future Communist society", but also in actual practice by intermingling the population, by deporting it to virgin lands and the new construction sites of Central Asia and Siberia. Under unpropitious conditions this deported element of the population must of necessity become Russified.

f) With respect to ideological matters, the Bolshevik bosses under Khrushchov's leadership have considered it appropriate to "regenerate" the already discredited Communist ideology by attempting to invest it with new dynamics. It was for this purpose that they made the attempt to get rid of Stalin's "personality cult". "Dogmatism" and "Talmudism" were thrown overboard and the "return to Lenin", to "collective leadership" and to "creative Marxism" was proclaimed. By relying on Lenin's authority, a revision of his ideology was carried through for the purpose of justifying the policies dictated by the hard facts of life. Since the Bolshevik leaders are not ready for a forceful conquest of the world and since they respect the superior strength of the West, they have renounced Lenin's doctrine concerning the inevitability of revolutions and of a war against capitalism. Instead, they have begun to preach "coexistence" as well as a "peaceful way to socialism" by the use of parliamentary procedures in the "capitalist" countries. By maintaining that the "socialist" system is already stronger than the capitalist one, the Bolshevik leaders are spreading a completely un-Leninistic programme with respect to the construction of Communism in the USSR by 1980 — even before a world-wide victory of "socialism"

takes place. In order to avert national revolutions in the satellite countries, Moscow renounced the rapid and complete establishment of the Bolshevik system. It liquidated the Cominform and was finally forced to concede a somewhat modified political course to the puppet governments in these countries. As a consequence of the de-Stalinization programme and certain tendencies toward independence on the part of some satellite countries, and also as a consequence of the attempts to win Tito's Yugoslavia for the Soviet camp, a certain insecurity of the ideological monolith is felt. In fact several centres have come into existence in the Communist movement. Serious disagreements are evidenced between the USSR and China. The latter champions adventurous undertakings and has imperialistic plans which clash with those of Moscow. The manifestation of different tendencies in the Bolshevik system and the undermining of the orthodox rigidity and of Moscow's exclusive leadership in the Communist movement have caused an ideological confusion among the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have discredited the Party in the eyes of the masses and have contributed to a sudden awakening of free opinion, which had already been almost lulled to sleep.

g) Due to various practical reasons and for the purpose of simulating a will to "coexistence", Moscow was forced to extend its contacts with the free world. These contacts, along with an obvious ideological insecurity in the inner structure of the Soviet Russian empire, have led to new trends in literature, art, science, the economic and political views, and last but not the least in the way of life. These trends have become so strong and have gained such an irresistible force that Moscow is vainly trying to halt or at least bridle them. The rise in the general level of education is to a large extent responsible for the increase of critical opinion among the population of the USSR. (In 1939, only 83 out of every 1000 persons had received secondary or university education; in 1959, this figure rose to 281 persons.)

h) The Party programme, accepted at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was proclaimed as a "programme of construction of a Communist society", which is to be realized within the next two decades by the achievement of material prosperity, new Communist socio-economic conditions and the education of the Soviet man. So far, however, all attempts to realize these aims have met with rather miserable results. Even in the future, it is hardly to be expected that the Russian Bolsheviks will succeed in tackling these tasks.

The most difficult of these tasks is the education of a Soviet man who is to rid his consciousness of all the "vices of capitalism". Although the so-called exploiting classes were liquidated many years ago and although only one fourth of the population remembers pre-revolutionary times, while more than half of the population

consists of people who were born at the time of the "socialistic" five year plans — notwithstanding these facts, there is absolutely no indication that the "capitalistic remnants" are disappearing from the consciousness of the so-called Soviet man. Indeed, capitalistic tendencies are visibly increasing. Private property mentality is blossoming in various forms; the religious feelings of the younger generation are becoming more pronounced; and the enslaved peoples are steadily gaining a national self-consciousness which has already begun to take concrete forms. Khrushchov's regime resorts to drastic measures to counter these trends. But religious suppression has led to moral corruption among certain strata of the population. In addition, the outrageous exploitation of the workers and peasants by the state forces people to earn their living by illegal means. All this results in pilfering and waste of goods, but even threats of execution and long terms of forced labour cannot put a stop to it. The Moscow regime is compelled to apply new terror methods and to make use of spying and prying by the so-called people's squads together with the inspectors of the State and Party Control. A large scale propaganda campaign in the grand old style of Stakhanov (the so-called socialist competition, the Communist working brigades, the "Ukrainian hour") and the propaganda of the so-called moral code of Communism are nothing more than empty phrases to cover up like a smoke-screen the outrageous exploitation of the workers and Moscow's failure to educate them to be obedient slaves and to create a new Soviet citizen.

II. The Situation in Ukraine

Formally and legally, Ukraine, which has been forcefully incorporated into the USSR, is a state in the federation of the USSR. To be sure, Ukraine is technically a sovereign state, but she certainly does not gain anything by this, for in actuality her administration is in the hands of the federal organs of the USSR. Ukraine's alleged sovereignty is merely a façade behind which imperialistic Moscow masks her total domination over and enslavement of Ukraine. In order to deceive the Ukrainian people and to mislead the free world, Moscow permits the representatives of Ukraine's puppet government to participate in a decorative manner in the sessions of the United Nations and in the various other organs of this world organization. Moscow also permits Ukraine to enjoy a constitution, which, however, does not guarantee anything. Ukraine has been granted a spurious "Ukrainian" Soviet flag and a "Ukrainian" Soviet anthem, these relatively unimportant aspects of a nation's sovereignty which are merely misleading. The so-called government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic cannot solve a single important question independently. Neither its Prime Minister nor its Foreign Secretary

are allowed to negotiate with other sovereign states on any question whatever. This "government" does not send diplomatic representatives abroad. The "Ministry of Defence" of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic does not have a single soldier at its disposal, for the armed forces which are stationed on its territory are not Ukrainian, but occupation forces under the command of Soviet Russian generals. Ukraine has been divided into several military districts, which are directly under Moscow's command. The Ukrainian economy is controlled by Moscow, by the so-called State Planning Committee and the Council of the National Economy of the USSR, as well as by various state committees and ministries of the USSR. Only a minute percentage of the economic enterprises are subordinated to the so-called Republican ministries in Kyiv, but their activities must also be carried out in accordance with Moscow's general instructions. The resolutions of the all-Union ministries must not be essentially changed by the so-called Ukrainian government in Kyiv, for this would "run counter" to the constitution of the USSR. The so-called Ministry of Education is neither in a position to do anything, nor does it have any desire to concern itself with the development of Ukrainian culture. Indeed, it checks all cultural stirrings in Ukraine; it is merely an instrument of Russification policies in Ukraine. The so-called Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is not a freely elected parliament of the Ukrainian people, but solely a meeting place for Soviet Russian lackeys, appointed by the bosses of the Russian Bolshevik Party, which is made up of the most embittered enemies and traitors of the Ukrainian people. The so-called "elections" for the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is nothing but an unfortunate farce, with which the intimidated population must go along, under the watchful eyes of the KGB police and other terror organs. In addition, the powers of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are restricted by the constitution, as well as by the powers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The government and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, however, are not genuine federal organs; rather they are branches of the Russian-Bolshevik Party and of Russian imperialism. Ukraine does not enjoy even a modest autonomy, for there is no sphere in which the government of the Ukrainian SSR is able to make an independent decision, without having to take Moscow into consideration. In actual fact, Ukraine is nothing more than a simple province of the Russian empire today. To be sure, she has the right to use the Ukrainian language in administrative functions, in schools and in cultural life, but she is not always able to exercise even this single right.

b) In all administrative and economic activities in Ukraine, the leading role is played by the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine, which is nothing but an affiliation of the Russian Bolshevik Party,

renamed the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1952. Originally the overwhelming majority of this Party consisted of aliens and partly of Ukrainian traitors. Its undivided dictatorship is founded upon Russian bayonets. In the course of time many careerists and other opportunistic elements joined the Party. These people were either looking for personal gains or a career, or were forced to join the Party due to other factors. At present, the Communist Party of Ukraine numbers approximately one and a half million members. The majority now consists of Ukrainians who have betrayed their people in order to serve Ukraine's most bitter enemy. Naturally, it is by no means impossible that even among these people there are elements who hate to play their servile and subordinate rôle in the Party. So far, however, there is no indication that a serious national Ukrainian opposition against Moscow exists within the ranks of this Communist Party. But the very fact that the Ukrainian element of the Communist Party of Ukraine has been strengthened reveals both negative and positive traits. One of the negative aspects is the false impression that a weakening of the alien rule in Ukraine has occurred, an impression which might make the poisonous Bolshevik ideology appear more acceptable. The possibility of the formation of a strong national opposition within the Communist Party of Ukraine under certain circumstances may be considered a positive aspect.

Through its cells, the Party dictates the policy for all bodies in Ukraine. Until recently, this fact was universally accepted and approved of as an expression of "proletarian dictatorship". Since the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, however, this state of affairs has begun to be played down and to be mildly designated as "socialist democracy". At present the USSR is not referred to as a State of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", but more soothingly as a "State of the whole people", in which the power is allegedly exercised by the entire people. The one-party system in the USSR and in Ukraine precludes the expression of a contrary political opinion. Therefore, this system continues to be dictatorial, regardless of how often Moscow's agents may speak of a "State of the whole people". There is no democracy in Ukraine, either of a socialistic or any other form; there is no free exchange of ideas, no freedom of the press, of meeting, manifestations; there is no freedom of political, cultural, religious or even charitable activity.

Moscow's reluctance to speak of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is again indicative of the fact that the suppressed population of the USSR has long ago become disgusted with this dictatorship. The closest auxiliary organization of the Communist Party is the Komsomol (Communist Youth Organization). More than 3 million Ukrainian youths are members of this organization, but most of them belong to it only because they are forced to join. The actual work is carried on

only by the so-called activists, whose number is fairly small. Most youths usually resign from the Komsomol after the conclusion of their schooling.

c) At present (January 1964), the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic numbers 44.6 million people; approximately 34 million are Ukrainians; 7.5 million Russians; 890,000 Jews; 400,000 Poles. There are also several smaller minority groups. The total number of Ukrainians in the entire USSR is approximately 40 million, according to Soviet Russian statistics. There are sufficient grounds to believe, however, that there are at least another 5 million people who are of Ukrainian descent but who have been grouped with the Russians in the census. Ukrainians make up 76,8% of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and between 18 and 20% of the population of the Soviet Union. According to Soviet Russian statistics there is a majority of Ukrainians in all parts of Ukraine, with the exception of Crimea. The Russians are mainly concentrated in the big cities. There they comprise between one third and one half of the total population. In the Donets Basin and in the Southern parts of Ukraine, Russians comprise approximately one third of the population. The Central and Western parts of Ukraine are, practically speaking, purely Ukrainian areas. It must be mentioned here, that in the census of the USSR in 1959, about 4.5 million Ukrainians gave Russian as their mother tongue. Of these 4.5 million, 3 million lived in the cities, and more than one million lived in rural areas. This figure does not include an estimated 5 million Ukrainians mentioned above, who have declared themselves as Russians. Without hesitation, therefore, it can be assumed, that in the USSR there are approximately 9 million Ukrainians, who have been Russified with respect to their language and who are nationally unconscious or reluctant to declare their nationality. It is worthy of note, however, that there is a continuous increase of national awareness among the young Ukrainians. This is confirmed by the statistical facts. From the statistics it can be concluded that the largest percentage of Russified Ukrainians, approximately 15%, is comprised by those people who are now between the ages of 30 and 44, i.e. who were born between 1920 and 1934. The percentage of the Russified among the younger generation is somewhat lower.

d) During the last few years, the anti-religious campaign has been stepped up in Ukraine. Ukraine plays an important part in the religious life of the USSR. As a result of specific circumstances, namely, a revival of Ukraine's religious life during the German occupation, a tight network of orthodox parishes and eparchies (dioceses) was established. There were 3 seminaries in Ukraine, in Kyïv, Odessa and Lutsk. Frequently, bishops from Ukraine have been sent by the Moscow Patriarch to such eparchies and territories of the USSR, where no qualified incumbents were available and

where the number of priests and bishops was rather scanty. In the last two or three years, the Moscow Government exerted great pressure to close as many churches as possible. In Galicia, for example, all the so-called filial churches and also many parish churches have been shut. Several reasons for this procedure were given: non-payment of taxes, which were excessive, absence of a congregation. In Volhynia alone, 200 churches were closed within the last three years. In Zhytomyr, Rivne and elsewhere, the situation is similar. In Kyiv, the seminary for priests was closed last year under the pretext of restoring the Pecherska Lavra Monastery. The seminary in Odessa was also closed. Only the seminary in Lutsk has remained unmolested. On the other hand, in Moscow and Leningrad there are not only seminaries, but also ecclesiastic academies. In Ukraine no books of a religious nature are printed. In the USSR there are no such publications at all in the Ukrainian language. In Moscow, on the contrary, the "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchy" appears regularly. Moreover, the Bible and other publications are published in Russian. The said Journal propagates Russian chauvinism unreservedly and sedulously ignores the existence of the Ukrainian people and its specific religious needs. The existence of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is strictly forbidden, whereas various officially registered sects (Baptists, Orthodox Old Believers etc.) are allowed to exist. The Ukrainian Catholic Church is also forbidden the right to exist, and her numerous priests are languishing in concentration camps, even at present. The delegates of the Russian Moscow Patriarchy, on the other hand, travel to all parts of the world and even participate as observers in the Oecumenical Council in the Vatican. Ukrainian churches are destroyed, as was the case in the North Ukrainian city of Chernyhiv, for example. A historically important 12th century church building was destroyed there. Whereas in the Kremlin, the churches are restored and preserved, the Soviet regime does not have the slightest intention or reconstructing the Church of Assumption of Our Lady which was destroyed during the War and which is the most important monument of the Pecherska Lavra in Kyiv. Metropolitan Slipyj's release served the purpose of anticipating a condemnation of the Russian Bolshevik regime at the forum of the Vatican Council which was in the focus of world attention.

e) In the post-Stalin period, Bolshevik national policy underwent a certain evolution. Two stages must be distinguished in its manifestation: the time from 1953-1959, and from 1959 to the present moment. The first stage is characterized by a partial abatement of Stalin's ruthless Russification policies, as well as a partial extension of the non-Russian peoples' right to develop their culture — of course only within the rather narrow confines of the "socialistic framework". A considerable number of local Communists were moved to leading positions in the Communist parties of the non-

Russian countries of the USSR. Censorship of publications in the mother tongues of the respective countries was slightly moderated and the rights of the individual republics with respect to economic administration were extended to a certain degree. Much of the economy is now managed by the local Economic Councils. New political policies were formulated at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR. As a result of these formulations, the national character of the non-Russian peoples was resuscitated. To a large extent the cultural heritage, which had been formerly suppressed and many of whose contemporary representatives perished during the persecutions of Stalin's rule, was also resuscitated. Also many non-Russian political prisoners were allowed to return to their native countries. This milder course encouraged the local national cadres of the Communist Party to become more active. Instinctively, they began to stand up for the interests of their peoples. In Ukraine, the cultural elite began to work eagerly for the development of Ukrainian culture and to demand equal rights for their people. Trends of this nature were especially evident from 1956 onward, primarily among the writers of the younger generation. The expression of these tendencies within a specific framework was nothing but a pale and shadowy reflection of the people's general resistance against Moscow. The more defined the outlines of these expressions became, the more evident it was that in reality they were expressions of national resistance.

The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, however, marks a return to centralization and Russification. This Congress, which announced a transition "from Socialism to Communism", decreed a gradual drawing together of the peoples of the USSR, but of course taking the Russian people as their model. The Russian language again became the "language of contact" between the peoples of the USSR and was designated as the "second mother tongue". The new school law which was enacted in the Spring of 1959 made it possible to carry out a Russification policy by the application of a discreet, but continuous pressure. The relentless battle against "nationalistic remnants" and so-called (patriotic) "local tendencies" in economic and party politics was intensified. This new tightened up course was set forth in the programme of the Communist Party of the USSR, which was accepted at the 22nd Congress of the Party in 1961. The said programme proclaims a gradual disappearance of the differences between the peoples of the USSR, a diminution of the importance of the individual boundaries between the non-Russian republics, an amalgamation of the population, as well as an "exchange of cadres" between the republics.

What can be said about Ukrainian culture in the USSR? Ukrainian culture in the USSR finds itself in a pitiable state. Every opportunity is taken to stress the superiority, manifoldness and privileged

position of Russian culture. The development of Russian culture is constantly promoted, whereas the development of Ukrainian culture is always checked. In the secondary schools (5-11 forms) in the USSR, for example, there are 198,000 teachers of the Russian language and literature, to which 63,000 in non-Russian schools must be added. At the same time, there are only 82,000 teachers for the mother tongue and literature of the non-Russian peoples, i.e., less than a third of all the language teachers. This is despite the fact that 50% of the pupils are non-Russian. In the same year, one fourth of all schools for general education in Ukraine used the Russian language as the language of instruction. As these schools are located in the cities and have more pupils, it turns out that one third of all the pupils in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are instructed in Russian schools. In proportion to the Russian population of Ukraine, however, Russian should be used at most in one fifth of the schools. In the higher educational establishments of the USSR, the Russians outnumber the Ukrainians four times, although the total number of Ukrainians is only 2.5 times less than that of the Russians. Ukraine has four times less scientific institutions than the Russian Republic, and there are five times less scientists than in the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic (RSFSR). With respect to the nationalities of the scientists, matters are even worse, for there are one seventh as many Ukrainian scientists as Russian scientists and just as many as Jewish scientists. Approximately three fourths of the books and brochures in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are printed in the Ukrainian language, but this is only one twelfth of all the books and brochures printed in the USSR. Less than half of the journals printed in Ukraine appear in the Ukrainian language. This figure represents one tenth of all the journals printed in the Russian language in the RSFSR. To this figure, we must add almost as many journals which are printed in the Russian language in non-Russian republics, so that the proportion of the journals printed in the Ukrainian and Russian languages respectively is approximately one to eighteen. Approximately two thirds of all the newspapers, including industrial and farm newspapers, are printed in the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, but this number represents merely one tenth of all the newspapers in the USSR. Moreover, the relationship of Russian and Ukrainian higher level newspapers is approximately one to one. These figures indicate that the Ukrainian element is consciously suppressed from above, in accordance with the general policies aiming at a final Russification of Ukraine in the near future.

In summing up, it can be said that Stalin's reign was the most degenerate period of the Russian-Bolshevik terror system. After Stalin's death, his successors were forced to carry through numerous reforms to avert a dangerous dissolution of the Russian empire at

all cost. (This dissolution could easily have been brought about by the explosion of the suppressed elements in the Russian empire). These reforms, however, did not produce any essential changes in the system of the USSR, for they were not fundamental reforms. The basic nature of the Russian-Bolshevik state, i.e. a state in which Moscow enslaves non-Russian peoples, a state in which the workers and peasants are exploited, is the same as before. Due to her atomic weapons and the building up of her heavy armament industry (which has given her greater influence among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America), the USSR has become an even greater menace to the free world than before.

III. Present Trends

On the one hand, Khrushchov's post-Stalinist reforms have put a stop to the physical mass annihilation of the Ukrainian people; on the other hand, however, they have intensified the Russification process, which is camouflaged by nebulous statements concerning the successful development of Ukrainian culture, mutual enrichment of the cultural life, etc. After a period of temporary alleviations, a large-scale attack against religion and the church, against the national liberation idea and its representatives, but first and foremost, a consistent and systematic attack against Ukrainian nationalism has been launched.

On the one hand, however, Moscow's policies are checked by the fundamental resistance of the enslaved non-Russian peoples, who are simply fed up with the Russian-Bolshevik system, and who carry out Moscow's orders only half-way, or completely sabotage them; on the other hand, these policies are countered by the organized underground movements, which in larger or smaller groups are fighting against Moscow. Moreover, public strikes and other uprisings are organized. This is even confirmed by sporadic statements issuing from the USSR.

More and more Moscow's policies are checked by a growing resistance among the intelligentsia, for this intelligentsia is gradually beginning to awaken from a Stalinistic stagnation and is gaining courage to strive to liberate itself from the Bolshevik system.

Furthermore, Moscow's policies are checked by serious economic difficulties, especially in the field of agriculture.

This year the agricultural crisis in the USSR is especially serious, for a very severe winter and a subsequent dry summer resulted in a bad harvest. There is not only a shortage of bread, which has to be bought from capitalist countries with gold — a purchase which seriously damages the prestige of the USSR — but also a shortage

of cattle fodder. As a consequence of this shortage, numerous cattle are slaughtered by the kolkhoz farmers. Cattle is also sold to the state or to the collective farms. This will undoubtedly result in a diminution of livestock, and thus in a reduction of meat products for the urban population in this as well as in succeeding years.

This in itself could bring about an intensification of the anti-Bolshevik mood among the urban population, but most of all among the workers. For even today, the workers are not at all satisfied with the poor living conditions, the high prices for clothing and shoes, and the high prices of groceries. More and more they demand better living conditions and complain about the fact that at the cost of their material well-being the government of the USSR gives impressive economic aid to its satellites, namely Cuba (in the first place) as well as various Asiatic and African neutral countries. This complaint of the workers is so much the more justified as this foreign aid is often a waste and does not entail any benefit to the USSR. as has been the case with China and Albania, for example.

Moscow's dynamism is also checked by contradictions within the Communist Party itself. The adherents of a more strict course intrigue against Khrushchov's course. In addition, the opposition on the part of the young generation, which wants to continue the experiments with respect to the liberalization of the regime, is increasing. Furthermore, tendencies toward national differences among the members of the Communist Party in the non-Russian republics should not be left out of account. The differences of opinion with respect to the various directions of the Communist movement in the world have not remained without influence on the non-Russian Communists. The establishment of new states on the African and Asian continent also makes these non-Russian Communists reflect about these matters.

Generally speaking, both the national and the agricultural problems are the most pressing in the entire USSR today. The intelligentsia and the workers are the most dynamic elements in the USSR. The further internal development of the conditions in the USSR will depend on them, especially among the non-Russian peoples.

Although it cannot be maintained that there is an immediate danger of uprisings within the USSR, nonetheless, under given circumstances, the outbreak of a revolution is certainly possible. The task of the free world is to constantly study these inner processess of the Soviet Russian empire, in order to be able to support those forces which might speed up a revolution and the dissolution of the USSR. Then the reconstruction of sovereign national states, including Ukraine, can take place upon the ruins of this empire.

W. KOSYK

PROPOSALS FOR A SENSIBLE STRATEGY

The geopolitical thesis, which was presented by Mackinder in 1904, is well-known. It declares: "He who has East Europe, controls the largest bulk of land; who controls the latter, holds the world island in his hands; who controls the world island, has the entire world". According to this Scottish geographer, East Europe extends from the Denmark-Istria line as far as the Volga. The land bulk — the heartland — covers the area from the Ural Mountains to China, thus comprising the Ural Mountains, Siberia, Turkestan and the Soviet Far East of today; under the term "world island", Europe and Africa are included together with Asia. According to Mackinder's conviction, this world island is destined to rule the entire globe some day.

It is certainly possible that Mackinder's theory is only partially valid, and that especially today, in view of the innovations in the field of ballistics and of nuclear weapons, it is partially out of date. The fact remains, however, that the geographical conditions that Mackinder brought forth could have a certain significance or, to say the least: there will always be people, be they military men or politicians, who will attach a relative value to these prerequisites.

If we consider Mackinder's theory more or less valid, we are certainly forced to admit that it would be urgently necessary to tear East Europe from Russian domination, or to be more exact, all those countries in this part of Europe that are not inhabited by Russians. Only in this way can the Russians be prevented from controlling the world island, and by this the entire globe. This theory becomes surprisingly real when we consider the fact that Soviet Russia, which controls East Europe and the adjoining land bulk, is actually striving to gain control of the world island and subsequently of the entire globe. This is to be achieved by the swindle of Communism, disguised as a new ideology and as a new international religion.

It was not without reason that in the *Revue Militaire Generale* of October 1962, Camille Rougeron maintained that in view of the tremendous advancement that has taken place in the conception of weapons, geopolitics and geostrategy have lost their significance

for the most part. But this does not refute the fact that East Europe, which is the most important chess figure in world politics even today, would certainly play the most important role if a clash between the two world powers should occur. The validity of this view is substantiated by the two World Wars. These two wars were fought on such a massive scale because the causes lay in this corner of the world or arose from the desire to rule it.

Conjectures Concerning the American Strategic Plan

No one can say with certainty that he knows the details of the strategic plan that has been devised to defeat a Russian attack in the event of an emergency. Therefore, we would like to restrict ourselves to conjectures only or to mention certain details, from which the basic ideas of the American general staff and certain American politicians can be deduced in order to ascertain the strategic plans they might follow in accordance with their political views.

In discussing the question why Khrushchov does not attack America, the American weekly **United States News and World Report** of August 13, 1962 gave an answer to its readers that raises certain doubts in our minds. The answer contains a description of a possible counterattack on the part of the United States, in the event of a Russian attack. As might well be assumed, the authors of this article would not have been able to describe this counter attack, had not information from the Armed Forces or from responsible persons leaked out.

In the event of a Russian attack on the USA, the above-mentioned article states that American long-range bombers, containing atomic warheads, would immediately take off from American airports and encircle the frontiers of the USSR and that atomic sub-marines would start in the direction of several big cities and industrial centres. In addition to other large cities, Kharkiv would be raised to the ground and five megaton bombs would destroy Kyiv (Kiev) and Odessa, whereby 8 out of 10 persons would perish. Bombs of 10 megaton force would destroy Leningrad and Moscow. Additional bombs would level several other cities in the USSR: Tbilisi, Erevan, Riga, Vilnius, Minsk and others. The result would be 100 million dead, 30 million wounded, 130 destroyed cities, 70% of all industry annihilated, all traffic routes, airports and strategical points put out of action. In this moment the satellites would separate and rise against the Soviet forces. All these factors taken together would result in the unavoidable fall and destruction of the Soviet Russian regime. Therefore, the American magazine concludes, Khrushchov will never dare to attack the United States.

Moscow rightly fears this terrible American counterattack, and this fear has become a factor in international relations. As far as Ukrainians are concerned, however, this counterattack itself must be examined a little more closely. If this counterattack would be carried out as the American periodical has described it, the following would greatly concern us: it would be a counterattack directed singly and solely against the Soviet Union, which is regarded as **one country**, as a united whole, without considering the fact that within the Soviet Union, there is something like interior satellites (Ukraine, the Baltic states, Caucasasia, Byelorussia etc.), namely, countries that are psychologically inclined toward the West and are therefore its possible allies. On the other hand, the West would spare the satellites outside the Soviet Union. To us, the strategy of such a counterattack does not appear to stem solely from the imagination of individual American journalists, for in a series of articles on America and its defensive strategy, André Fontaine wrote as follows: "Only if they themselves (the Russians) would attack our large cities, which Monsieur Messmer terms "demographical" objects, lightning strikes would also be inflicted on Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, etc., whereby many millions of Soviet citizens would be killed. To release this wave of destruction, the USA certainly has a second wave of thermo-nuclear weapons at its disposal. The United States is convinced that it will survive Russia's first attack in any event". (*Le Monde*, June 27, 1963). On the occasion of the "force de frappe" debates, a number of French writers put the future containment of the Soviet Union into the following terms: "If the Kremlin knew that the immediate consequence of an attack on the US would mean the dropping of an atomic bomb on Kiev or Odessa..." it would certainly keep its hands off.

Who Would Perish?

As it appears to us, such strategic considerations completely miss the point. The American counterattack is supposed to weaken the opponent and to force him to capitulate. In the first place this means that this opponent must be hit. But is this really the case?

It appears that the U.S. strategists do not quite know who the enemy really is. They think that it is the Soviet Union as a whole, which is to say, not solely ethnographic Russia, the champion of Communism and the guardian of the Soviet Russian imperium, but also the countries that are occupied by Russia, namely, Ukraine, Caucasasia, the Baltic states and Byelorussia primarily. If the American counterattack would take place as the American weekly described, then not only all of Ukraine would be, so to speak, destroyed by American bombs, but also the Baltic states and Caucasasia. Russia, on the other hand, owing to her immense land area would be

comparatively much less affected. Both her strategic strong points and her towns would be destroyed to a lesser degree. On the whole, the Russian population would not suffer as much as Ukraine. For example, if approximately 90% of the population of Ukraine were killed and at most a few million people of the 43 million would survive, Russia herself would lose only about 20-30% of her population. Therefore, such a massive counterattack would be chiefly directed against the countries subjugated by Russia, i.e., against countries that have always fought against Bolshevism and Moscow and are therefore the natural allies of the West. The situation is truly tragic and absurd! Such a counterattack would mean the annihilation of the very segment of the USSR's population that most vehemently resisted Bolshevism and the Red Army that enslaved these states in the past and in the present.

Therefore, we cannot but conclude with the question whether such a strategy is necessary, whether it can be justified or defended at all. It must also be asked what benefit the free world could derive from such a strategy and its ruthless application.

Recently, the British General, J. F. C. Fuller, wrote that approximately two thirds of the USSR's population, in particular the non-Russian population, was against the Soviet regime.¹ He makes this statement in an essay in which he advocates an offensive strategy. For this reason, their territory is by no means secure for the Russians. Viewing the matter from this perspective, therefore, there is no reason why this population and also its largest cities should be a target for America's counterattack. One would not only annihilate the irreconcilable enemies of that regime that one wants to destroy, but also the future underground fighters and partisans, who are imbued with hatred against the Communists, as well as the future soldiers who are most familiar with the regime, which they despise. It would be madness, therefore, to kill precisely the most capable people. With such a policy, it is out of the question that these people, in their despair at a bombardment or at a policy of madness, might assist the Russian regime. If it should come to such a point, Moscow would certainly make unlimited promises or even actual concessions to greater independence, as was temporarily the case during the last war. Instead of increasing the possibility of a fight between the population of the occupied countries and their rulers, this strategy would tend to achieve precisely the opposite effect.

We cannot find a single sensible reason, be it of a strategic or economic nature, for the necessity of concentrating an American counterattack on the non-Russian countries of East Europe, and on Ukraine in particular. To be sure, this country is rich in raw materials, but it is also the country in which the Russians are most

1) "The Berlin crisis" in *The Royal United Service Institution Journal*, London, May 1962.

hated. This fact is confirmed by Alexander Rathaus'² disclosure and from the evidence of tourists. In the event of a war, an uprising in Ukraine, in conjunction with similar revolts in other occupied countries and satellites, would paralyze the Communists' traffic routes, as well as their factories and strategic points. The West should work toward this end, instead of making plans that would annihilate an entire nation, which has already endured infinite suffering in the past.

Shift in the Centre of Gravity

As Bernard Feron³ has proved, the USSR's centre of gravity has been shifted to Asia. In our opinion, on the other hand, it has also been shifted to Russia and to the Urals. The idea of shifting the centre of gravity is a very old one, but it has never been openly discussed. The Ukrainian Communists have observed, namely, in the years 1923 to 1926, that the Soviet government promoted the economic development of Russia proper and of the Urals to Ukraine's disadvantage. At that time they protested against this.⁴ The answer to their protest read as follows: "The reason for this discrimination is of a political-strategic nature, for in the next war Ukraine will be the main theatre of war". Approximately ten years later, the Russian writer Demyan Byedny supposedly wrote to the British journalist S. Grubbs: "We are building all our important factories in the Urals and in Siberia for Ukraine is unsafe ground. Believe me, we don't trust anyone there..." This view is confirmed by a comparison of statistics concerning the economic development of Ukraine and Russia. They reflect a continuous decrease in the percentage of Ukraine's production as compared to the production of Russia. (For example: coal — 78% in 1913, 33% in 1961; iron ore — 75% in 1913, 55% in 1961; cast iron — 68% in 1913, 50% in 1961; steel — 56% in 1913, 40% in 1961). Soviet sources, on the other hand, show that in Russia proper the total industrial production in 1961 was 50 times higher than in 1913, whereas in Ukraine it was only 32 times higher. As far as the production of heavy industry is concerned it is 35 times higher in Ukraine and 60 times higher in Russia. In this respect the increase was 45 times as much in Leningrad, 78 times as much in Moscow, 118 times as much in Ural, 124 times as much in the Volga-Vyatka territory, 384 times as much in West Siberia (where Russians are living to a large extent), 94 times as much in East Siberia and 73 times as much in the Russian Far East.⁵

²) *Revue Militaire Générale* No. 10, December 1963; pp. 665-682.

³) *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 1963.

⁴) *Bilshovyk Ukraïny*, No. 2-3, Kharkiv 1928, M. Volobuyev.

⁵) USSR Statistical Yearbooks of 1962 and 1963.

To be sure, Moscow has need of Ukraine's wealth in times of peace, but she is certainly in a position to produce and to supply her military equipment exclusively in Russia and Asia. "It is true", Khrushchov stated during one of his secret speeches at the 20th Party Congress, "we lost approximately half of our industry and the most important industrial and agricultural areas during the war, because the enemy occupied Ukraine, North Caucasia and other Western parts of our country. Nonetheless, the Soviet people succeeded in organizing the production of military equipment in the Eastern part of the country, after the necessary materials had been relocated from the industrial sites in the western part of our country. In this way, we were able to furnish our armed forces with everything they needed to defeat the enemy."⁶

Since the war, the economic potential of the various districts in the Russian Republic has undeniably become more significant. Admiral Elis Bjoerklund rightly points out, that today Russia produces more than 70% of the USSR's total industrial and agrarian output within the boundaries of the Russian Soviet Republic.⁷ In fact, the Russian Republic furnishes approximately 66% of the Soviet Union's total industrial production and more than 75% of the engineering production. It is evident that Ukraine has lost a considerable part of its importance for the USSR. Viewed from this perspective, the destruction of Ukraine by a possible American counterattack would be inexcusable. Incidentally, such an atomic attack would not necessarily destroy Russian military power. At most it would destroy the Russian armed forces in Ukraine and in other non-Russian countries, together, however, with the population friendly to the West. Since the Russian divisions are scattered over a huge territory, they, including the greater part of the Russian population, would survive to a large extent. In addition, there are still at least 30 Soviet divisions in the satellite countries. In the weeks following the first counterattack, therefore, events could possibly take place that no one can imagine today.

Necessary Strategic and Psychological Consequences

On the other hand, the very basic principles of Mackinder's theory are incompatible with the destruction of the non-Russian countries of the USSR by a possible counterattack on the part of the United States. What should really be destroyed is the military, economic and possibly the ethnographic backbone of that country, which, owing to its present domination over East Europe, has become the ruler over the land bulk and which openly strives toward the domination of the world island and of the entire world. But this

⁶) Secret report by Khrushchov, p. 49.

⁷) "Soviet Industry and Vulnerability", *Revue Militaire Générale*, No. 2, 1963.

backbone is **singly and solely Russia** (by some people called Great Russia in the fashion of the past century) and **not Ukraine, let alone the entire Soviet Union**. Let us call to mind for a moment that during World War II, the Allied Forces' main efforts were not directed against France or against other European countries occupied by the Nazis, but solely against Germany, which was heavily bombed.

To be sure, Ukraine has lost much of its economic significance for the Soviet Union; nevertheless, she has a special significance for the non-Russian countries of the USSR and the outer satellite states. Furthermore, her degree of strategic importance for the Russians is minute, if compared with the loss the USA would suffer in the event of Ukraine's destruction in a counterattack. The West must have the greatest interest in preserving this country, which, if undestroyed, will most certainly be the best fighter against Russian Bolshevism and for the restoration of a democratic order and of peace in this part of the world.

In our opinion, Ukraine's strategic importance is of a quite different nature. Without occupying her, Russia cannot rule East Europe, from which follows that Russia's rule over the central land bulk is necessarily threatened to a considerable extent by this fact. Ukraine's independence is a guarantee of the independence of the other East European countries. As far as the heartland is concerned, i.e. Siberia and the five Turkestanian Republics taken together, they would most likely strive to establish an independent federal state for Siberia (the United States of Siberia) and a similar federal state for Turkestan. Thus Russia, after the destruction of the Bolshevik regime would cease to be a constant menace to Europe and the world.

No matter what the situation may be, a counterattack, following a Soviet offensive, would most likely take place only if a psychological war had preceded. This is necessary in order to avoid useless losses during combat and to secure the best chances of victory for the combat teams. Psychological warfare consists of three phases of action: The first is of a strategic nature. Its aim is to drive a wedge between the population of the enemy's country, between its government and the troops that are still at their disposal, or have remained faithful to it. This is a tactical action that aims at undermining the enemy's combat morale in general and at enlightening the population to the fact that the enemy is pursuing just military and political goals, even though, in certain circumstances, he is forced to defend himself by attacking. In contrast to this, the psychological war that is being waged at present — which includes the destruction of the occupied countries, which could possibly be of great assistance to the West — is certainly achieving the very opposite of that which a real psychological war should.

Jaroslaw STETZKO

The Oecumenical Council and the Expectations of the Faithful of the Persecuted Church

Not only the Ukrainian public but also many circles in the West have approved of the protest by the Ukrainian bishops in the Vatican against the presence of the delegates of the Russian Orthodox "Church" as observers at the Oecumenical Council. A big response by the world press to this protest clearly indicates that the Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitaries can count on the moral support of the freedom-loving, anti-Communist West, since human rights, human dignity and the right to freedom of religious faith are recognized there.

The Ukrainian nationalist liberation movement, which in its fight for the freedom of the Ukrainian people upholds the Christian and national idea as the vital force in the life of the Ukrainian people, is greatly perturbed at certain measures adopted by some Vatican circles, who are endeavouring to establish a kind of *modus vivendi* with the atheistic governments, since they obviously hope that these governments will make certain temporary concessions of a local nature for the churches in the regions in question. In this respect one should however bear in mind that these governments will on principle continue to maintain a hostile attitude towards the Church as well as towards the rights of individuals and peoples. For it is obvious that neither their doctrine nor they themselves as representatives or servants of the Russian atheistic, imperialistic centre are likely to accept or adopt any fundamental changes.

The Ukrainians have indeed set their hopes on the noble plans of Pope John XXIII, and Pope Paul VI, aimed at the restoration of the Christian unity, for there could not be a finer and more magnanimous idea than this amongst the Christians at the present time. Nevertheless we are of the opinion that the course which certain circles of the Vatican intend taking in order to carry out the papal plan in practice does not always seem to be right. For these circles for inexplicable reasons are — as far as orthodoxy is concerned — attaching most importance to the question of the Russian Orthodox Church. With the help of this Church the circles who are at present influential in the Vatican are hoping "to convert the East." And the said circles are dazzled by this illusion to such an extent that they are obviously — and on the strength of so-called realistic considerations — also pursuing a policy of opportunism with regard to the present "Orthodox" Russian "Church," which is headed by the "Patriarch" Alexey. A few years ago we were already perturbed at a grave step on the part of the Vatican diplomats, according to which they refused to continue to recognize the diplomatic representation of (non-Communist) Lithuania and Poland and based their refusal on international legal considerations which were of secondary importance. Later we learnt from the press that the Pope received an official representative of Communist Poland in audience. The spokesman of the Union Secretariat, which is headed by Cardinal Bea, is reported to have stated that, in the event of certain preconditions being fulfilled, there would be a possibility of the Vatican entering into diplomatic relations with the USSR. Can it be that the Vatican circles still believe in something in which not even the children in Ukraine believe, — namely that structural changes are possible in the atheistic regime, which is now led by Khrushchov and which until recently was led by Stalin? As regards this subject one only needs read what that disillusioned Yugoslav Communist Djilas says in his book "Conversations with Stalin":

"Stalin's successors are continuing his work; the inner structure of their regime is composed of the same elements, of the same ideas, conceptions and methods which prompted Stalin... Even today, after the so-called de-Stalinization, one can unfortunately only reach the same conclusion as in former times: those who want to live and survive in a world which is different from the world created by Stalin are obliged to fight. For Stalin's world has not ceased to exist; its character and its power have been preserved unbroken."

Can it be that this truth, which is so obvious to Djilas, has not been comprehended by the said Vatican circles?

Are not the ruthless suppression of the Polish, Hungarian and German revolts as well as of numerous riots by the Ukrainian prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps, the persecution of the Ukrainian churches, the arrest and imprisonment of the



Ukrainian Catholic bishops at the Vatican Council.



*Pope John XXIII among some high Church dignitaries.
Msgr. Augustin Hornyak, Bishop of Ukrainian Catholics in Britain,
is second from the right.*

Ukrainian priests and their Metropolitan, the incarceration of individuals and the genocide committed against entire peoples, the tyranny and enslavement, the murder of Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet, which was organized by the deputy Prime Minister of the USSR, Shelepin, the militant atheism, and other similar conditions, sufficient proof that the attitude and the policy of the Soviet Russian regime remains unchanged? Does all this indicate any "structural changes in the regime" and prompt us to assume that some form of coexistence with this godless regime is possible? For the Church of Christ there can never be any coexistence with the forces of evil, — not even if the entire world were to agree to such a coexistence. For the Church must always combat the forces of evil. Nor can it change its attitude to meet the earthly well-being of its believers, namely because they might be persecuted for their religious faith. No, the Church must constantly defend the truth and God and must combat the undue importance attached to material values, love of ease and comfort, and wordly pleasures. And in this respect the priests and the ecclesiastical dignitaries should set the faithful believers an example.

Even the mention of a possibility of the Vatican entering into diplomatic relations with the USSR, though this is to depend on the fulfilment of certain preconditions, creates the illusion that structural changes are possible in the Red Russian imperium. This merely confuses and misleads the faithful and is, in any case, reprehensible. And it shakes the trust of the faithful in the Catholic Church, which has always been a citadel that was inaccessible to destructive, Russian, Communist, masonic and "progressive" ideas. Do certain opportunist-minded ecclesiastical dignitaries allow the commandants of this citadel, too, a possibility to make a compromise with the Devil, and can it be that this citadel houses the wooden horse of Troy?

Strictly religious dogmatic problems are not within our province. The decision reached by the Oecumenical Council in this respect are accepted by the faithful Catholics. But as regards the question of an anti-Communist attitude the faithful are on the side of the Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitaries, on the side of the uncompromising fighters against Communism, on the side of the champion of a spiritual crusade against godless Moscow — Cardinal Ottaviani, who rejects all possibility of a "coexistence" with the Russian tyrants and their "Church" and thus defends the Ukrainian priests and faithful who have been incarcerated.

We always assume that **unity of action** on the part of the Christian churches in their fight **against atheism**, as represented by Moscow, **is possible**. A unity in dogmatic questions depends upon the Grace of God and also upon the tedious and systematic work of many years,

but unity in the fight against militant atheism, against tyranny and slavery, and for the rights of the individual as a being created in the divine image, and for the freedom of religious faith, is now more than ever possible and real and, indeed, imperative. It is extremely regrettable that the invitation of representatives of the Russian "Orthodox Church" to the Oecumenical Council has made all this impossible. For the presence of the delegates of the Kremlin, attired in priestly robes, at the Oecumenical Council in the Vatican created an entirely different moral situation and an entirely different atmosphere for the discussions held by the Council elders. For the Council cannot become a council of the militant Church against the godless on a global scale if the Moscow representatives of the godless regime continue to be present, since all condemnation of this regime, which is hostile to man, would arouse opposition on the part of the "observers." Moscow has unfortunately succeeded in paralysing the **militant** Church in the West. For this reason the Council is at the moment not in a position to defend uncompromisingly **every** religion which is being persecuted in China, Korea, Vietnam, the USSR, Albania and in other countries, and to condemn the persecutors, for the representatives of the "Church" from the USSR who are taking part in the discussions of the Council would defend the "freedom" of religion in the USSR and thus ridicule everyone else. It is hardly likely that any great, historical decisions will be reached at present as regards a **crusade of the spirit and of the idea** against atheism and against the persecution of religion behind the Iron Curtain. This has incidentally been corroborated in a cynical and symbolical manner by the Moscow "Patriarch" Alexey (who has his representatives at the Council), who at a diplomatic reception held recently in Moscow kissed Nikita Khrushchov like a brother, that is to say a man who liquidated the restored Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs) and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and who has murdered hundreds, in fact thousands, of priests and true believers in Ukraine. And this man, the hangman of Ukraine and, above all, of the two Ukrainian Churches, is kissed by the "Patriarch," who incidentally has been decorated with the highest Soviet order, whereas the representatives of the "Patriarch," without the least respect and in complete disregard of the ritual of kissing the Pope's ring which is customary in the Christian world, merely shake hands with His Holiness.

The assertion that the delegates of the Russian "Church" at the Oecumenical Council are representatives who are not connected with the Soviet government, since the Church is separated from the State on the strength of the Constitution of the USSR, and that the ecclesiastical delegates cannot therefore be held responsible for the crimes of the Bolshevik regime, is nothing but a sophism of dialectical materialism, which likewise blinds the initiators of the invitation. In this connection the fact must be borne in mind that the Ukrainian

Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church were not liquidated solely by the Russian secret police. The Lviv "Council," which "decided" to conclude a "union" with the Church of Moscow, was arranged not only by the NKVD but also by the "Patriarch" Alexey. This same "Patriarch" appointed his supporters as bishops, enforced his supreme authority on the Church which had been liquidated by applying violence, and transformed the Catholic priests who had been in danger of being shot into "Orthodox" priests, etc. Alexey worked hand in hand with the NKVD. He designated Stalin, the most ruthless persecutor of Christianity of all time, as "God's annointed." If Alexey believes in God, why did he not defend the Ukrainian priests who died for Christ? He should not have placed terrorized Ukrainian Catholic priests and even priests of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church under his "jurisdiction," for he must have been aware of the fact that this was not a case of a "voluntary conversion," for these unfortunate priests were "converted" by means of NKVD guns. The representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Professor of Theology Dm. Trakous, designated the observers of the Russian Church as "political agents who are endeavouring to bargain over the 'peaceful coexistence' between the Soviet state and its Catholic subjects."

As has already been pointed out, the fact that representatives of the Russian "Church," that is to say of the Church which is morally and in practice responsible for the terrorization and persecution of the Ukrainian Churches, are taking part in the Council in the Vatican, is undermining the morale of the faithful of the two Ukrainian Churches. The man who approved of the arrest of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan and of the Ukrainian Orthodox priests who were not prepared to recognize the Patriarch of Moscow (and what is more, he was extremely pleased that the Ukrainian Churches were liquidated by the NKVD), the man who gave Stalin his blessing and recently kissed Khrushchov, the man who tried to persuade the Ukrainian Metropolitan to betray the Ukrainian Church by offering him the highest post in the Moscow Patriarchate, — this same man, as if to ridicule all Christians, sends his delegates to the Oecumenical Council in the Vatican, whilst numerous Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priests and faithful still linger in Communist Russian dungeons and forced labour camps.

Those Vatican circles who decided to invite the Russian "Orthodox Church" to the Oecumenical Council have in the meantime no doubt realized that they made a sad mistake in assuming that "the experience of the past two thousand years" would be able to outwit the cunning of "Communism merely a hundred years old." For they themselves were outwitted by the Russians, who by cunning methods managed to get the Patriarch of Constantinople, Athenagoras,

excluded from the Council so that they might remain the sole spokesmen of "Orthodoxy." If solely the genuine and true Orthodox Churches and in particular the persecuted Churches were taken into consideration in this respect, then the participation of representatives of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church as observers in the Oecumenical Council would naturally be extremely desirable. In that case the delegates of the "Patriarch" Alexey would have no business to be present amongst the Council participants.

Incidentally, a straight and uncompromising course, as well as dogmatism should remain firmly anchored within the Church, but opportunism, tactical considerations and relativism are out of place. Principles and not tactics must rank foremost. The path to unity does not lead via opportunism and collaboration with the "Church" which supports the government of tyrants and atheists and, what is more, serves the aims of the regime of the atheists, but via a **crusade** against these tyrants and persecutors of religion, these modern Neros and Diocletians.

The hopes set by certain Vatican circles on the "conversion of the East" via Moscow (Russia) would be realizable, given a certain precondition: namely that the Catholic Church changes its spiritual structure fundamentally and becomes a refuge for servilism and Caesaropapism and an instrument of Russian world Messianism, with a Russian Pope and **the Kremlin instead of Rome** as the centre of the Catholic Church.

The opinion naturally obtrudes itself that the Oecumenical Council will not succeed in fulfilling the noble intentions of Pope John XXIII if the militant Church in the catacombs behind the Iron Curtain is not allowed to express its views at this Council. It would be fatal if the confidence of the faithful in the Catholic Church, in its capacity hitherto as a bulwark in the fight against godlessness, tyranny, slavery and moral degeneration, were shattered. And there is danger of this being the case if the guiding principles pursued hitherto in this fight and the uncompromising rejection of all collaboration and any kind of "dialogue" with the advocates of the godless regime and of slavery are undermined. For the strength of the Catholic Church always lay in its uncompromising fight against the forces of evil and in the dogmatic and indisputable emphasis of its truths, which are based on the divine revelation. And the Church has never made a pact with the Diocletians and Neros, nor with the heathen pontiffs, but has always fought with the weapon of the spirit, of faith, of the Christian idea and of martyrdom for the victory of its truths. It never aimed to establish any coexistence with tyranny, tyrants and blasphemers. The Church of Christ prefers to be persecuted rather than to enjoy protection. The Church always forgave those who were converted and even made them its champions; the Sauls became Pauls, but the Church never sought to make any pacts with the

Sauls. It never allows itself to be humiliated, nor did it ever negotiate with those who persecuted its faithful, or with those who negated the Church itself.

In our opinion the Church should also defend social rights, as many of the great Popes have done, and it should further the realization of social justice by preaching idealism, self-sacrifice and altruism and, at the same time, opposing egoism and hedonism both in practice and in every other respect. It should not ignore the national rights of the subjugated peoples, but should support them, for this, too, is part of the realization of divine justice.

We had hoped that the present Oecumenical Council would advocate the protection of all the persecuted churches in the world and the freedom of religious faith. We were firmly convinced that the Catholic Church would initiate the union of all Christians in the fight for God on earth and for the defence of His laws...

We likewise felt justified in hoping that the Council would issue a renewed appeal for a crusade of the spirit and the Christian idea for the rebirth of Christianity in the spirit of the early centuries of its existence, — for a **different** and more austere mode of living, for purity of morals, for ascetism, for social and national justice, and against hedonism and materialism, against the moral degeneration which is becoming increasingly widespread in the West; for the rebirth of religious faith and moral principles, for the liberation of the individual from the fetters of godlessness and indifference, for a new way of life for individuals and for peoples, for a new and courageous approach on the part of the entire Christian Church, of the universal Church towards the persecuted Church, since this Church must be regarded as the standard-bearer of our day.

We nourished our hopes with the thought that the Council would devote its attention chiefly to the ruthlessly persecuted but militant Christianity of Ukraine, Hungary, Lithuania, Caucasia, China and Vietnam, as well as of all the peoples enslaved by the godless regime.

We furthermore hoped that the "silent" Church would have an opportunity at the Council to tell the whole world about the manner in which the godless tyrants persecute Christ, negate and scorn man, God's creature, and ruthlessly crush every religion.

We expected a fighting spirit to manifest itself against the Antichrist, who dared to undertake a campaign against Christ and against all the religions of the world.

Above all, we expected a spirit of regeneration to manifest itself, and, in the second place, other resolutions and decisions, which were to serve as a basis for unity. That is to say, in the first place a unity in spirit, in a definite attitude to life, in the primacy of self-sacrifice, asceticism and of heroism "for our nearest neighbours" in the fight

against the godlessness which dares to attack the whole world and which has as its allies religious indifference and the priority of materialism before idealism. For the Christian Church will never speak the same language as all the Diocletians and Neros, or as all the chief pontiffs of the type such as the atheist Alexey, just as the early Christians had nothing in common with the heathens.

The Metropolitan Count Sheptytsky, the Metropolitan Lypkivsky and the Metropolitan Slipyj revealed the same courageous attitude which was manifested by the leaders of the early Christians. To us they are an example worthy of imitation.

We are gratified that our Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitaries candidly and openly voiced the truth in Rome. In this respect they have the full support of the entire Ukrainian people, regardless of any difference in religious faith. For our Ukrainian prelates defended truth and also indicated the course which Western Christianity should follow.

Our arguments would not be complete and it would be a serious omission on our part if we did not quote in conclusion the noteworthy statement which our prelate, Archbishop Dr. Ivan Buchko, made on the occasion of a press conference held in Rome on October 30, 1962, when he told German journalists:

"The Ukrainian prelates were always unswerving in their faith. None of them ever betrayed Christ or the Church. They all sacrificed their lives for their religious faith. Only one of them, namely the successor of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky, — Archbishop Joseph Slipyj — is still alive today in exile. He is the great but also the **unknown** absentee in this assembly of the Council. It seems to be more acceptable to some persons if his name and also the name of the persecuted Church are passed over in silence. If we were living in the days of the Apostles, St. Peter would languish a long time in Herod's prison. But in those days the Church prayed for him... We Ukrainian bishops are now forced to reveal the truth about the situation behind the Iron Curtain. But many persons accept this situation as though it only concerned us. From the worldly point of view we have nothing more to lose. But in spite of this, our Church continues to live on in secret and to train new persons who can indeed be called true and devout Christians. Nevertheless we consider it our duty to warn all those who fail to assess godless Communism rightly. The decalogue intended for young Communists contains the following passage: 'Do not forget that the clergy must be regarded as the fiercest enemies of the Communist state. Fight religion on every occasion. He who is not a convinced adherent of the godless movement, is not a good Communist. For atheism and Communism are inseparable. These two ideals constitute the basis of the Soviet government.'

But has this 'basis' been established after 45 years of Soviet Russian rule?! No! For in the hearts of the faithful faith and hope are still alive. And it is this faith which enables them to endure sorrow and suffering. And it can be assumed that it is thanks to this suffering that we here in the West are still free. It is by the Grace of the Holy Ghost that we are able to send delegates to this Council from all over the world and that we are able to assemble here in order to bear the Cross of Christ and also help our brothers to bear it."

The Ukrainian press has devoted appropriate attention to these courageous words by the Archbishop of the Ukrainians in exile. We trust that his words will meet with the response that they deserve in the circles to which they are addressed. The attitude of the entire Ukrainian people in this respect is the same as that expressed by Archbishop Buchko in so impressive and convincing a manner.

In conclusion we wish to stress that our criticism is directed **not** against the Catholic Church as an **institution** but against certain ecclesiastical dignitaries. For we know only too well that the Church can never reconcile itself to Communism — for the two are as different as fire and water. But some ecclesiastical dignitaries are such opportunists and so calculating that they are either not capable of seeing, or refuse to see the danger which threatens and interpret the self-satisfied and deceptive smiles of Alexey or Nikita as an indication of a change for the better. The Church as an institution, however, will never follow the course adopted by these opportunist dignitaries.

For this reason we hope that the third session of the Vatican Oecumenical Council in the autumn of 1964 will not disappoint the hopes of the incarcerated, persecuted and subjugated Christians, but will show the whole world that the Church is the eternal protector of the righteous who suffer, fight and die for it and for truth.

André FRANÇOIS-PONCET

(Member of the Academie Française)

Shevchenko, an Apostle of Freedom

To the connoisseurs of Slavicism, this name is certainly well-known and highly esteemed. The average Frenchmen hardly knows it at all, however. Nonetheless, it certainly deserves to be known. Shevchenko is the name of an Ukrainian, a man, full of vital energy and enthusiasm, who was both a painter and a poet and whose destiny was quite a remarkable one. In literary history his work holds a special place as being very typical of European literature at the time, between 1830 and 1848, when the Continent was stirred by the aspirations of the peoples for freedom and national independence — aspirations, in the words, which were suppressed with great severity. His lyrical, romantic and political writings glorify the magnificent past of the Cossacks and the great steppe where their cavalry charges and battles took place; they glorify their rustic customs, their songs, the legends of this proud and faithful people and his native country on the banks of the majestic Dnieper. Even today he is a symbol for the deepest aspirations, yearnings, thirst for freedom and the humanitarian ideal of the Ukrainian people, which regards itself as the victim of coercion and subjugation.

Taras Shevchenko was born a serf on one of the estates owned by a russified German by the name of Engelhardt. Even as a child and in his boyhood he gave signs of an extraordinary talent for drawing and painting and of an overflowing vitality. Nonetheless, his owner tenaciously declined to allow him to become a painter, for he himself intended to keep him as a valet. In the end, however, he let himself be persuaded and allowed him to study painting in Vilno, Warsaw and Petersburg.

Soshenko, a talented artist and a Ukrainian like Shevchenko, observed how he (Shevchenko) drew the statues in the Summer Park by the light of the clear Petersburg nights, and he mediated his acquaintance with a very famous painter, Karl Bryullov. He also, praised the extraordinary talent of this young man. He became his sponsor and made arrangements for a collection to raise enough money to buy his freedom to enable him to work under his (Bryullov's) guidance at the Academy of Fine Arts as a free man.

At this time and in this environment, the other side of his nature, his poetic talent, suddenly showed itself. In 1840, Shevchenko published his first volume of poetry, **Kobzar**, which — just as the later works of this prolific genius — was received with great

enthusiasm by Ukrainian readers. In 1845 — already a known personality by this time — he settled in Kiev. Here he joined a secret society, the Fraternity of SS Cyril and Methodius, whose members pursued the following aims: the abolition of slavery, the establishment of a liberal state organization, the formation of a Slavic federation of states, of which Ukraine also was to be a member state. They pursued a course which provoked the rancour, the terror and revenge of Tsardom and its officials as no other. Detected and incarcerated along with his fellow members, Shevchenko was sentenced to serve as a common soldier in Turkestan and Siberia. In addition, the tsar personally forbade him to write and to paint. Thus he had to endure ten year's banishment in the greatest misery. Nonetheless, he found ways and means of writing and working in secret. His old friends, several of whom belonged to the highest nobility, remained faithful to him.

Following the death of Nicholas I, he was pardoned and set free on the 1st of January, 1857, by the intercession of Countess Tolstoy. From that time on he became one of the most important pioneers of patriotism and the intellectual life of Ukraine — celebrated, esteemed and admired in the cities (in Astrakhan, Nizhniy Novgorod, even in Moscow and in Petersburg), where he took up residence for a longer or shorter time. He had the intention of finally settling in his native country, but in March of 1861, tired and at the end of his powers, he died in Petersburg at the age of 47. According to his explicit wishes, he was buried by his friends on a knoll overlooking the Dnieper. Many people visit his grave there; it is honoured like that of a hero, saint or prophet.

In reading this account of him, some people may perhaps be astonished. Is not Ukraine one of the Socialist Soviet Republics which make up the USSR? Isn't Russia a federal state? Yes, it certainly is when one judges from appearances, but not when one considers the true nature of this so-called Socialist Republic. Communism is by no means more liberal than Tsardom was. The Soviet Republic is merely a façade which simulates independence. The Central Power rules it as lord and master, and the governments of the so-called republics have to carry out Moscow's orders. Ukraine had to pay bitterly for its attempt to cast off this yoke. She has had to endure bloody "purges", whose inexorable atrocity were intended to break her resistance forever.

But violence can only rage for a certain amount of time, and it seldom comes to pass that it has the last word. It is doomed to failure by the tenacious clinging of a nation to its own individuality and to its inflexible and never tiring will to live according to this individuality — even if this will be mute and gagged at the present time.

(*"Le Figaro", March 12, 1964.*)

Evhen MALANIUK

Shevchenko and Ukrainian National Idea

With outstretched arms he embraced Ukraine — Ukraine with its blood-stained graves and its dreadful glory. He recreated the melodious language of the people into images of what was and is in Ukraine. Through him our entire nation expressed its manifold destiny...

...since that time our people have been divided into the living and the dead, and for a long time still they will be thus separated.

P. Kulish

THE EARLY SHEVCHENKO

1

Already from the time he was a mere lad in the classroom, Petersburg was for Hohol (Gogol) "the dreamt-of field of operation", where he would carry out his future work for "the good of his country". For Shevchenko, on the other hand, the capital of the huge empire was to be only a stage in his life of serfdom: Shevchenko's landlord went to Petersburg and to Warsaw or Vilna — that is all. When Hohol arrived in Petersburg in 1829, he wrote to his mother asking her to send him descriptions of Ukrainian folk customs, folk practices and folk costumes, as well as Ukrainian comedies written by his father, old coins and old scripts from the bygone Hetmans' time etc. In a state of nostalgia, in this strange sober city, he created (primarily for himself) an all-comprising picture of Ukraine. In his *Evenings at a Farm near Dikanka* (1831), he paints the picture of an "intoxicating and colourful Little Russia". Torn between Petersburg and Moscow, he attempts nonetheless, to write "a history of our unique and unfortunate Ukraine" (Letter to Maksymovych on the 11th of November, 1833); he dreams of a chair at Kyiv University, and in a moment of ecstasy he expresses an unequivocal national consciousness in a letter to Maksymovych: "Really, I advise you simply to drop all this Katsapiya¹ and go to Hetmanshchyna²... We are really stupid when we come to think about the whole thing. For what and for whom do we sacrifice everything?" These, however, are the last quivers of national feeling in him. In June 1836, he goes abroad to search "for the fatherland of the soul" which had already died in him, however.

It was Petersburg which poisoned the last traces of national feeling in Hohol's soul, but for Shevchenko, Petersburg was the place where the miracle of "Ovid's Metamorphoses" ("Khudozhnyk", "Artist") took place; the serf became a free man and the painter a poet who was to become a national prophet.

Petersburg had a completely different meaning for the life of these two artists, who stemmed from different classes but from the same country — a country which lost its vitality in its aristocratic upper classes, but celebrated its rebirth in its "grass roots". In the historical existence of a people an inner process of change was taking shape — a process which was symbolized by the figures of Hohol and Shevchenko in literature.

2

Shevchenko, an organic part of solid peasant stock, deeply rooted in the people, had too much inner resistance to succumb to the poisonous influence of Petersburg. The city, which was later recreated into a concentrated, baleful picture in his "Dream"; this city — "lying in the valley as in a pit, dreaming in the black mud with the fog hovering over it like a dark cloud" — was, figuratively speaking, reduced to the "enchanted halls" of the Art Academy in young Shevchenko's mind. Everything else he did not notice at all, or due to his strong and healthy outlook, simply did not absorb, or what is even more probable, he did not even feel it. The liberated serf underwent a psychic process of momentous importance. "I am learning how to paint... I earn money... I do not bend my knee to anyone, and I fear God only. *It is wonderful to be free*". (Letter to his brother Mykyta on the 15th of November, 1839). "The beloved", "the magnificent", the "enchanted" — these were the epithets which he gave to the Academy, to which he a "poor dirty devil — soared on wings — from the dirty garret of an uncouth country bumpkin". (*Diary*). The "golden days" during which he "completely involved himself in the curriculum" ("what a wonderful thing this curriculum is for a student") remained unforgettable to him. Then, after tearing himself away from painting for an hour, he would listen to lectures and general subjects — physiology, physics, zoology, French ("Khudozhnyk", "The Artist")... The metamorphosis of a man who only the day before was still a dumb slave of Mr. Engelhardt and a servant hired by Shiryayev was almost too fabulous.

A truly restless nostalgia burnt in him: "Write to me... not in Muscovite (Russian)... so that at least I shall feel the familiar sounds of my native tongue on paper, so that at least once I may shed tears of joy... Night after night I see only you, my beloved Kyrlyivka, (Shevchenko's birthplace) in my dreams; I see the tall grass of the steppe where I used to hide as a truant schoolboy..." he wrote to his

brother Mykyta on the 1st of November 1839. Day by day the terrible awareness that his brothers and sisters in Kyrylivka were still serfs tortured him. This awareness was all the more dreadful, for he himself had already gained personal freedom... Indeed, the more intensely and the more pronouncedly he experienced his own freedom, the more clearly he sensed the state of serfdom in which those dear to him found themselves. It grew in his awareness ever more intensely until it comprised the entire people, the whole of Ukraine. This bitter awareness was the first natural result of his psychological and intellectual growth and of his awakening political and national consciousness.

No, Shevchenko's lively nostalgia and his Peterburg "orphanhood" had no need of Hohol's Little Russia, which no longer radiated any life of its own. He himself was too deeply related to the national character of his country. Deep within his bosom, he treasured Ukraine in all her dreadful reality and terrible destiny. "Before the enchanting canvass (by Bryullov) I began to reflect and the image of the blind minstrel (Kobzar) and of the bloodthirsty Haydamaky (insurgents against Poland) awoke in me, and I cherished and cared for them. In the semi-darkness of his magnificent studio, I saw the Dnieper steppes rising before me in a feverish fantasy — the shadows of those martyrs, of the hapless hetmans. The boundless endless steppe, scattered with graves, unfolded before my mental eye and there she stood before me, my magnificent, unhappy Ukraine in all her brilliant splendour... and I sank into deep contemplation". (*Diary*).

In the vision of the sculptor and painter, who work only with external colours and lines, the inner substance of Ukraine begins to take shape in him. The painter becomes a poet. His early motive — "Gray songs of dark hours, in sadness you have thrived! What has bound you into verse, you gray melodies". (Introduction to *Kobzar*) — becomes the leading thought and permanent mark of his creativity. This motive — "Gray songs of dark hours..." — initially still nebulous and unclear, yet pregnant with enormous content, unfolds itself step by step, to burst forth at last into a full, pure and finely detailed blossom.

3

Among the most disagreeable, orthodox, pseudo-scientific Shevchenko traditions, consisting of various superstitions, we must include, beside the highly glorified "fur coat and fur cap tradition", the superstition of an "early uncritical romanticism" and of a "later social realism".

The essence of this tradition lies in the claim that initially Shevchenko, completely captivated by the past of the nation, had glorified "the days of the Cossacks and the magnificent freedom of the Hetmans", especially as he was living in a strange country

and was altogether saturated with national ("nationalistic") romanticism. Later, it is maintained, he liberated himself from nationalistic illusions as a result of external influences ("the Konarchyky and Petrashevtsy", imprisonment and banishment) to become a socially conscious and "class conscious" poet... That this depiction was especially popular in the USSR can be easily understood. Since 1930, it has acquired the force of an invincible decree there. Why should one be amazed, therefore, that the authorities dug up the term "pre-proletariat" and declared Shevchenko the "conscious" and "convinced" poet and spokesman of this "pre-proletariate". The tragicomedy of this pseudo-scientific legend, however, lies in the fact that its authors, exactly as in the case of the "fur coat and fur cap" tradition, are the poet's own countrymen. The modern Belinskies merely took advantage of the work of naïve Shevchenko admirers. They had only to re-shape the existing material to meet their own ends and to popularize it.

It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to state clearly and explicitly that there is no room whatsoever here for an ideological change, for a "cremation of former ideals" never took place in Shevchenko. There was no limitation of a "materialistic" (or "socialistic") nature in Shevchenko's creative perception — neither in his work nor in his consciousness. His development was steady and continuous — and it was a fully conscious one. In the annals of literature, his works are a unique example of an organic and conscious development of a personality and Weltanschauung. In his later works we can trace the unfoldment, extension and deepening of the themes and motives of Shevchenko's earlier creative period.

With respect to the "idealization of the Cossacks and the Hetmans" and the "glorious" (characteristic quotes in one of Eisenstock's works) past of Ukraine, we can trace this line from the poem "Do Osnovyanenka" (To Osnovyanenko, 1839) through "Pidkova", "Hamaliya" "The Dream", "Hoholyu" (To Hohol), "Ne zarevut' v Ukraini..." ("No longer will the guns roar in the Ukraine"), "Kholodnyy Yar" (The Cool Ravine) to "Chernets" (The Monk) (1847), "Zastupyla chorna khmara..." (A dark cloud covered the white one...) (1848) and "Ta inodi staryy kozak..." (Sometimes an old cossack...) (1849) and finally to "Kozak bezverkhyj upade..." (The dismounted Cossack will fall upon the throne...). In other words this line can be traced to 26th of November, 1960, shortly before his death.

Who is not capable of recognizing Shevchenko's monolithic dedication and the Gothic development of his ingenious personality, he — with the exception of "Reve ta stohne" (The Bewitched) or "Sadok vyshnevyy" (The Cherry Orchard) — will never know his specific nature, the breath of his creativity, as well as his historical and national importance.

4

At this point it is fitting to mention the name of the indefatigable Stepan Smal-Stockyj.

In his passionate efforts to uphold the true image of Shevchenko, — an image which is indeed exaggerated at times (for example, with reference to his metrics) — he traces with fascinating directness and passionate diligence — despite possible and occasional errors — the unbroken line leading to the great truth: the understanding of Shevchenko and the elucidation of his personality are possible only if the national hero is approached from a national position.

And it is just so! In the considerable output of modern scholarly literature on Shevchenko, regardless of its quality, we find quite a number of specialized and to a certain extent exotic investigation (for example, "The Sociology of Shevchenko's verse"). Unfortunately, however, there are still very few works or articles throwing new and clarifying light on the figure of the genius, which even today is somewhat "mysterious". This is all the more so, because a purely rationalistic analysis cannot be applied to a genius as individualistic as Shevchenko. Apart from that, such works would be helpless and incomplete, which would be the lesser evil. It is hardly possible to approach Shevchenko's work without a creative as well as national intuition.

Actually, Shevchenko is by no means a figure whom one can include in the category of the "rational". Again and again we could reconstruct his period and environment and analyse the possible influences of the Kharkiv Romantic school. We could examine the publications centered around Kharkiv University at that time; we could consider the tremendous enthusiasm which was prevalent in both Polish and Russian literature in the 20's and 30's for Ukraine as the centre of literary exoticism. And last but not least, we could take the revolutionary propaganda of the Polish emigrants into consideration. We could search for analogies and trace influences, beginning with Byron and ending with the blind Kozlov. Nevertheless, this rational approach would neither do justice to the subject nor be of value to it. As a result of these investigations (and these *only*) would it be possible to explain how it came about that the former serf — who was so happy about his freedom, who was completely dedicated to painting and who was the best student of the then so famous Bryullov, who was awarded medals for his outstanding work — suddenly became "reflective" and began to reconsider his initially very confused "gray songs of dark hours, in sadness you have thrived..." with ever increasing attentiveness and intensity.

With respect to all this, we must discuss the tedious subject of whether Shevchenko was a Romantic or not, as we would like to anticipate the possibility of compressing the entire genius into the pigeonhole of a hackneyed "ism".

It is a fact that the early Shevchenko who by his very nature was hungry for light and human contact (even after the "Ovid's Metamorphoses" took place in his life), assimilated all the ideas of his time and everything with which his immediate atmosphere was saturated — to say nothing of his reading, which was voluminous. ("There was no book... which he did not have in his hands" — Kulish). We know, of course, that the literary circles of Petersburg were belatedly dominated by the Russian Romantic school in the 1830's. The first translation of Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* appeared in 1830 and completely took the reading public by storm. E. Sue and Alfred de Musset also enjoyed tremendous popularity. Chateaubriand was also well-known (Shevchenko mentions him repeatedly). There is no need to mention Byron³: Shevchenko knew his works (also from Mickiewicz's translations) and esteemed him. (O. Chuzhbynskyj). Lermontov, whom Shevchenko singled out, was Shevchenko's own age. Among the strictly Russian literary figures, mention must be made of the Byronist, Marlinskiy-Bestuzhev (who probably went too far), of Lazebnikov and of the strange and deep poet E. Boratynskiy (*Eda*), of the sentimental Romantic Kozlov ("Bezumnaya — The Mad Woman") and finally of Pushkin for his Romantic contribution (*Tsygane* — The Gipsies), not to mention the translations of Zhukovskiy and the Ukrainian poems of Ryleyev.

It is certainly possible — indeed fairly certain — that Shevchenko read all of these authors. There is also no room for doubt that, on the basis of an analysis of his early poetry (at the time of the *Chyhyryn Kobzar*, Shevchenko could be considered a poet of his time i.e. a Romantic poet. In regard to Shevchenko, however, this formal classification demands elucidation and clarification.

It is very difficult to encompass a genius within a specific framework. A genius strives for the fullest unfoldment of his personality, to create his own "cosmos" — he knows no limits or restrictions. A genius, therefore, lives in different periods and pursues different courses simultaneously. Romanticism, if we do not consider the historical meaning of the term, is essentially a very definite mood of the soul which almost every poet experiences in the first stage of his creative process. As far as Shevchenko's Romanticism is concerned, it embraces the truly Romantic changes of his personal life on the one hand; and on the other hand, it embraces the powerful Romantic stirrings in the soul of the awakening poet, the literary mood of his time and finally and fundamentally, the Romantic flavours of national interest in "Little Russia" — was felt initially as an awakening interest in the history of Ukraine. One should consider the popularity of works like *Istoriya Rusov* (The History of the Rus' People), *Istoriya Maloy Rossii* (The History of Little Russia, the work of Bantysh-Kamenskyj — 1822), or *Istoriya Malorossii* (The History of Little Russia by M. Markevych), as well as the historical national

songs of the Ukrainian people (cf. the collections by Tsereteli in 1819, by Maksymovych, whose renditions appeared in three editions: 1827, 1834 and 1849; and also those of Sreznevskij and others).

Because of its relatedness to the fundamentals of the Romanticism of this rebirth, the highly symbolic pseudonym *Perebendya* can be considered most characteristic. *Perebendya* is more than a synonym of "kobzar" (minstrel). Indeed, boldly and without reservation, we can designate not only Shevchenko's early creation with it. Even then, i.e. in the years 1838-39, *Perebendya* was a far-reaching concept (cf. Franko's work "*Perebendya*"). This concept was, so to speak, the "living conscience of the people", the poet-apostle, and the poet as the prophet of the nation. He is the central figure at the time of the *Chyhyryn Kobzar*, a time which might be called the time of 'Romantic nationalism' (as Franko most aptly expressed it) in Shevchenko's creative process. Over and above this, however, it is a motive, as most of Shevchenko's motives, which is woven into all his creations. Later, in his "Testament" and the "Psalms", he develops it to unsurpassable intensity. The concept of *Perebendya* and this is one of Shevchenko's extremely characteristic paradoxes — "is completely foreign to any folk poetry" (Franko). This figure was the fruit of Shevchenko's profound thoughts and not a sudden powerful flaring up of a transitory mood. It was this very figure of the minstrel *Perebendya*, nonetheless, which was taken from Ukrainian life as a figure of flesh and blood. It is even possible that this figure was suggested by the "Ukrainian bard" E. Hrebinka and the *Szkola ukrainska* (Ukrainian School in Polish literature).

The flame, — or to express it more clearly, the element of this peculiar Shevchenkian Romanticism — sometimes flares up with great intensity in the midst of sentimentally nationalistic works (Ballads, "Kateryna") and in the midst of romantically national works in *Chyhyryn Kobzar*, that one could almost designate it as neoromantic ("Smiiysya, lyutyy vrazhe, ta ne duzhe..." Laugh, fierce enemy, but not too loud... — "To Osnovyanenko"). This force finds its strongest unfoldment in the prophetic, historical expression of the time, in "Try lita" (Three Years). Incidentally, the period between Shevchenko's banishment and his return marks also a return to a peculiar "classicism" (iambic lyrics). This element of classicism, however, cuts through all Shevchenko's works (including his prose works).

We speak of a "strange" Romanticism, but it must be specifically emphasized that Shevchenko's Romanticism never possessed the abstract (world-wide as with Byron or "interplanetary" as with Lermontov) character of orthodox Romanticism. In this very difference lies the chief characteristic of Shevchenko's Romanticism. As Shevchenko himself said, "Trizna" (The Funeral Repast) and "Slepaya" (The Blind Woman) are "written in the inflexible 'Katsap'

(Russian) language, written after the literary fashion and intentionally in 'Byronic fashion'. The poet, however, makes it emphatically clear that "he did not tolerate unclear dream visions and Byronic obscurities..." Sharply, and more than once, Shevchenko protests against so-called "art for art's sake" ("...is there anything more horrible on earth than the tasteless results of leisurely wasted years in print?") For him, poetry served a national (not solely a social) function: it was Perebendya's prophetic cry. His Romanticism was always projected onto a realistic Ukraine and always remained in touch with reality: with the landscape, the history and fate of the people. His Romanticism found its adequate organic embodiment in reality. It must have been this fact which prompted several scholars (Yefremov) to call Shevchenko a realist.

But it was this very harmony of poetry and truth which conveyed the tremendous impact of *Kobzar* (which was much stronger than the purely literary impact) to his contemporaries: "I was dumb-founded..." (Kvitka), or: "Shevchenko's muse tore away the curtain which concealed our national life. To look behind it was both terrifying and sweet, painful and fascinating" (Kostomarov).

Whether Shevchenko's images portray the cruel enslavement of a helpless orphan or the poet's gift for prophecy, whether they brought a girl on the scene or revealed the holy wonder of motherhood — they never had the character of the orthodox way-faring themes or wayfaring heroes that are so prevalent in Romanticism. His figures always remain concrete and true to life; Yarema, Perebendya or Kateryna are figures of flesh and blood...

To show how terribly difficult it is to include Shevchenko in any kind of literary movement, be it in one stage of his creative process only, we may compare two poems: "Ivan Pidkova" (1839) and "Hamaliya" (1842). To all appearances these two poems are very similar in both subject matter and style. Both were written at a time which is generally considered Shevchenko's most "romantic" period. Just as we can designate "Hamaliya" as a "romantic" poem, more or less; we can designate "Pidkova" as realistic with even greater justification, and this in the same way we designate "Pan Tadeusz" by Mickiewicz as realistic. It is fitting here to quote F. Yakubovskij's statement, which — though not entirely — goes to the root of the matter: "Hohol created typical masks... casts as a sculptor makes... In his most realistic moments he is still a Romantic. Shevchenko, is still a realist." (In Search of the true Face, *Za spravzhnye oblychchia*, LIM 1931).

Hohol's weak national feelings were the cause of a dead spirituality combined with a specific vividness which made his creations extremely complex and mysterious. Therefore, he is always a Romantic. Shevchenko's Romanticism, on the other hand, thanks

to his deep national consciousness, is always drawn out to its ultimate conclusion, i.e. full, clear and vivid reality.

Even if a "Byronic nebulousness" clouded the themes — which were still in a germinating state — in *Chyhyryn Kobzar*, he knew how to dispel this "nebulousness" and to clear the atmosphere in the period which followed, i.e. "Three Years".

"THREE YEARS" ("TRY LITA")

After 14 years' separation from his native country, Shevchenko's long cherished, painful dream was to become a reality. In the Spring of 1843 he returned to "our, but not our own country", as the already famous author of *Kobzar* and *Haydamaky*.

It is quite understandable that the Ukraine he found upon his return was not the same "beautiful and unhappy Ukraine" which he imagined in Bryullov's studio far away. What he saw here was concrete reality, without any trimmings, without "Byronic nebulousness" and without that hazy idealization which is a natural consequence of spatial separation and a stay in a foreign country. The poet encountered his people openly and directly. It was a truly dramatic meeting, which, however, was devoid of the catastrophic effect which the authors and followers of the theory (i.e. that the poet's "romantic national views were disappointed", following which he "became ripe for class consciousness") would like to have it.

He was always sober in the peasant's way, never knew superfluous illusions, not even now that he had become a free, educated man, a man who was conscious of Ukraine's historical tragedy.

1

Shevchenko was never "enchanted" or "blind".

Despite his deep infatuation with the fascinating myth of his Ukraine — without which he would never have become a poet — he never lost his healthy sense for Ukrainian reality. Indeed, that he always knew how to keep a balance between myth and reality — that was the secret of his creativity, of his Romanticism. Therefore, it did not come to a "clash" between myth and reality in 1843. In February of that year he wrote to Ya. Kukharenko from Petersburg: "...I don't want to go to Ukraine at all; they are not even human beings there... In March I am going abroad, but not to Little Russia! The Devil take it! Beside lamentations I can't hear anything else there". In another letter to the same person in November 1844, we find a similar evaluation of Ukrainian reality. It was written shortly

after the poet's first return from Ukraine: "I was in Ukraine this yearJ I saw everything and I cried almost the whole time. Together with the Muscovites the damned Germanism⁴ has plundered Ukraine — I wish to God they would soon leave off raging". In terms of intuition and feeling for Ukrainian reality in all its historical breadth and depth, there was no one, not even in the ranks of the most gifted intellectuals in the Ukraine of that time, who was on the same plane with this "peasant" Shevchenko. This intuition and this sympathy, which were part of his innermost being, were above all dynamic and driving forces in his life. In this lies the essential difference between him and another representative of the intelligentsia — certainly not the worst — namely, E. Hrebinka, an author with a by no means superficial, but hopelessly immobile, conception of history.

"Sighs" of this nature were not only peculiar to Hrebinka or Markevych; even Hohol could "sigh" in this manner at times. "Gone are her (Ukraine's) glorious days of free Cossack rule on the vast battlefields; it is no longer the Cossacks' turn to tip the scales of history with their swords, for now their days of glory are just a memory of sweet songs", this characteristic tirade by Opanas Spyhotskyj (in a letter to Izmail Sreznevskyj around 1834) mirrors the resigned tragedy of this generation's Weltanschauung.

Shevchenko, on the other hand, with his healthy and determined talent, could accept neither the hopelessly dead "memory of sweet songs", nor the melancholic, grave-like "ifs" and "buts" of a Hrebinka, despite the fact there was a "high nobility" in his conception of history.

He could easily have cursed Ukraine's historical and political fate, along with her "Little Russian" reality; he could have put this "Little Russia" "out of his mind" forever, or he could easily have gone abroad to create a myth of Ukraine there... What he was not able to do, however, was to reconcile himself to this reality — not even with the help of a subtle and "rational" ideology or conception of history, which, however, would have been able to justify and rationalize this reality most clearly. But this was something he neither could nor wanted to do.

Acutely conscious of the terrible discrepancy which existed between "his" Ukraine and the real "Little Russia", he strove — with that fiery enthusiasm, of which only a poet is capable, and with the blazing fire of his passionate nature — to fill the historical and social vacuum of his fatherland. He strove to reawaken the (Hohol's) dead souls of the Ukrainian nobility and to open the eyes of the vast mass of cheated serfs, i.e. he wanted to join and revive the paralysed elements of the nation and to breathe new life into the dead national organism. From a "rational" point of view, this was

an absurd task. "The Muscovites call me an idealist, which is to say a fool... May I be nothing but a peasant poet, as long as I am a poet — that is certainly enough for me..." The thoughts of the aristocratic historian M. Markevych, who had a presentiment of the disagreeable consequences of the poet's strivings even at that time, were more or less the same: ("...what the devil drives you to play the Hetman and to discipline the authorities with the *bulava* (sceptre) of Mazepa? When the time comes, then do not cry, Taras: the Muscovites will knock you down with their hard fists and they will not even give you time to cry..." Varfolomey (Bartholomew), the poet's relative also thought along these lines.

"Only to be a poet", even a "peasant poet" — this meant to be vital in national matters in the Ukraine of that time. To be a poet was to be in a position to seek for a solution for "the enslaved peasants whose eyes had not yet been opened" and to reveal it to them. He felt compelled to find an evolutionary way out from aristocratic debilitation and blind "haydamaky" recklessness. Then Ukraine would awaken from this gloomy "reality", in which "she seems to slumber for ever and ever..."

The first task of the poet, therefore, was to connect the torn threads of the "Little Russian" reality with those of Ukraine's great historical past. The poet was not the only one who was conscious of this responsibility: this burden was shared by his blood-brother Kulish ("...it lies upon us to open our countrymen's eyes...") as well as by a Ukrainian professor at Moscow University, O. Bodyanskyj ("We will write a thing or two to this Petersburg Kobzar, as he is teasingly called. Or is he the waypointer to all of us?" — July 9, 1844).

Shevchenko's social consciousness — so to speak "class" consciousness — which was rooted in his birth, develops hand in hand with his intellect and becomes a higher and all-embracing consciousness, a national-state consciousness. This consciousness, incidentally, is condensed into an admirably simple formula which in its ingenious simplicity seems to apply to all peoples:

*"One's own right in one's own home
one's own strength and freedom."*

The period which is most expressive of this process, which could be felt from time to time in his earlier works ("Ivan Pidkova", "Do Osnovyanenka"), falls most distinctly into the years 1843-45.

It is this creative period, from which a notebook "Three Years" ("Try lita") stems.

Unquestionably, these three years marked the zenith in the poetic creation of the national genius.

2

The complete ideological conception of the cycle "Three Years" did not come suddenly and out of nowhere as an unexpected "revelation". Preceding it were many years of search, of agony borne in solitude and of serious vacillations; years, during which the poet had to liberate himself from transitory illusions. In a youth who had just been ransomed by strangers, all this was quite natural.

Owing to his sound common sense, there was one thing which this youth always knew: "I have just finished writing my 'Blind Woman' and now I am crying over it. What Devil was riding me and what wrong did I commit that by means of this inflexible *Katsap* (Russian) language I confessed to the *Katsaps*" (Russians, Shevchenko's italics). There was a peculiar indefiniteness which he sensed in an especially anxious way: "...it is certainly true that apart from God and Devil there is something else in our souls, something terrible, which makes our heart freeze if we touch this mystery a little". He continues, "both my own countrymen and strangers call me a dunce... but what am I to do? Is it my *fault* that I was not born a *Katsap* (Russian, Shevchenko's italics) or a Frenchman?" It seems as if he were vacillating in the most important realm: "What is to be done, brother Ataman: Should one fight against the odds or bury oneself alive?" (From a letter to Kukharenko).

His sensitivity was still a bit exaggerated, but this of course was quite natural for an "orphan in a strange country". In a minor key this oversensitivity can be heard almost throughout *Kobzar* from the year 1840. I gives to "Kateryna" (Catherine), for example, a flavour of Romantic sentimentality which is only too obvious.

Indeed, even his epistle to Osnovyanenko, despite his famous invective ("Laugh, fierce enemy...") ends in a hopeless melancholy tone. His work at the Academy, Bryullov's studio, an occasional night at the theatre, a meal in a restaurant or a visit to Hrebinka's literary salon, his correspondence and solitude — this was the cycle of his life in Petersburg.

His departure for his native country ruptured this cycle, but his encounter with Ukrainian reality broadened his mind, stabilized his vacillations and quickly crystallized his almost formulated thoughts and ideas, which had been torturing him for quite some time.

In the organic poetry which occasionally serves as a lyrical introduction and lyrical conclusion to his cycle "Three Years" and which bears the same title, Shevchenko utters painfully:

Three short years
Have vainly flown,
But played not a little

Havoc in my home.
They have laid waste
My poor quiet heart,

Extinguished all that was good
And kindled evil.
With fumes and smoke

They dried up the good tears
Which I shed for Kateryna
On her way to Moscow.

(In the poem "Kateryna" the heroine of the same name is seduced by a Russian officer who then leaves her. She is cast off by her parents. Rejected and deserted she wanders off with her child to the Russian North.)

In the same poem the poet mentions several themes from his earlier works. And in turning over a new leaf in his life and his creativity, he writes:

And I began to see
A little... I looked closer —
It would be better not to speak.
Around me, wherever I looked,
There were not people, but
[snakes.

And my tears dried up,
The tears of youth.
Now I am treating
My broken heart with poison,
I do not cry, I do not sing,
But howl like an owl.

In this way Shevchenko himself described the transition from *Kobzar's* youth to hard manhood and the bitter experiences of a mature age. It is indicative that in the bitter calmness of these verses and in the irony of the end rhymes, a presentiment of the catastrophe which was to take place in 1847 is felt. It is by no means accidental, however, that his cycle "Three Years" ends with the "Zapovit" (Testament)⁵.

First and foremost the vivid simile "not human beings but snakes", which goes back to Shevchenko's phrase ("Be human beings" and man as the "image of God"), refers to the "fellow-countrymen", types like Hnuchkoshyyenko-v (Toady), for example, who was immortalized in the prefaces to *Haydamaky*, as well as to another unpublished "Kobzar" — to fellow-countrymen, in other words, whom Shevchenko came to know only too well in Petersburg. It is likely, however, that at that time this simile did not apply solely to his fellow-countrymen. It is sufficient to mention how *Kobzar* was received by the Petersburg critics.

Shevchenko was too proud and too nationally conscious to be deeply disturbed by the "unanimous ridicule" and the malicious hisses of the "liberal" Russian press. Reviews written by the predecessors of the present ideologists of the USSR, by Belinskiy, for example, the famous "Westerner", "leftist" and convinced imperialist, who with the scent of a good critic immediately recognized Shevchenko's danger for Russia, had no other effect on Shevchenko than to create a certain impression in his mind and to teach him a valuable lesson in regard to this "liberal Russia".

This lesson confirmed what Shevchenko had long before sensed intuitively and gave him occasion to reformulate his Weltanschauung, which found its most complete expression in the cycle of "Three Years".

The poet's relationship to Russia as a state structure and to the Muscovites as the rulers of this structure had found its poetic embodiment once and for all. And since the year 1840 no traces of "liberal" or "class" illusions with respect to "a common front" (with the Russians) to fight "tsardom" are any longer present in him. Such illusions may well have been present in Shevchenko in his youth. For him, "tsardom" was only the most poignant symbol of the Russian empire, especially of the Russia of Nicholas I — of this "living pyramid of misdeeds", which was supported by "600,000 organic machines with bayonets" (Herzen); for him it was a symbol for a country in which "one could neither move nor breathe without the tsar's command or permission" (de Custine). This highly gifted poet, whose eyes with respect to Russia's true nature — *eternally* and *unchangeably* the same, as long as it be Russia — were opened by Nicholas' regime (and here we see clearly why Belinskiy's doctrine is applicable), this highly gifted poet states prophetically, that his "Gray song of dark hours":

Will fall, some day, upon the earth,
A parable become
For crucifiers of the nations,
Tyrants yet to come.

(*"The Neophytes"*, translated by Vera Rich.)

In his "Dream" and in "Caucasus", as no one before or after him, he unmask the mechanism of the empire and masterfully analyses the psychology of Russian imperialism: "...only the *saklya* (hut of the Caucasian Mountains inhabitants) catches our eye: why does it stand in your country? We did not give it to you".

Shevchenko called for a society, which, "united and unanimously", would overthrow Russia including the symbol (the "tsar") — and not only the symbol — as present Shevchenko scholars in the Soviet Union are anxious to prove with great waste of time and paper. Hence the repudiation of Bohdan in "Chyhyryn" and the "Plundered Grave"; hence Mazepa's rehabilitation. Only in its historical context, at a time when strangers and fellow-countrymen praised Bohdan unreservedly because of his "alliance" (with Moscow) and pronounced Mazepa "a villain" (because he fought against Peter I) — only in this historical context can the poet's entire ideological position, as well as the all-embracing vision of his historical conception, be properly evaluated.

3

*Think! Become human beings,
Or woe unto you...
...on the Day of Judgement...
(" Epistle ")*

It was not enough to attain ideological insight. One had to become a "human being" also, and these "human beings" had to be welded together in a "community" by an inner moral impetus, under the existing conditions in Ukraine as she really was at that time. "Unity and unanimity" had to be achieved, or to use one of Shevchenko's more characteristic and deeper expressions: "One had to *know* how to rule". ("Ivan Pidkova")

But what kind of "human material" did the poet find in his country?

We may first of all find an answer to this question in several fragments of "Poslaniye" ("Epistle") — in the central work of the cycle "Try lita", in the extremely important epistle to Hohol, in a number of poems with descriptions of the social milieu, and finally in his prose works, which were written in exile and which were unfortunately artistic failures. The best and most concrete answer, however, is to be found in the works and the *personality* of Hohol, Shevchenko's tragic contemporary.

Already in the tales of *Mirgorod* (Myrhorod), Hohol paints a grotesquely glaring picture of the social and national atmosphere in Ukraine at the beginning of the 19th century — a picture, which, despite the fantasy which is woven throughout the work, does not obliterate the impression of reality. This raw painting portrays inhuman "halfmen" who had been reduced to the lowest human ebb, degraded in an oppressive milieu to a half-animal-like state — men who vegetate in a state which resembles that of an existence without historical past, one which life has cheated. Against the background of a sleepily rich country, amidst the ruins of a stormy past, the estates and farms, remainders of a once prosperous elite of Cossacks and Hetmans, sink into deathlike sleep. Kotlyarevskyj's *Aeneid* is the last blossom of this Ukrainian aristocracy — which is already a parody and travesty of itself. It is dissolved into two parts: One is absorbed by the "fatherland", Petersburg with its Rozumovskys, Bezborod'kos and Trostsinskyjs; the second part — becomes impoverished and dissolves into the serfdom milieu of a "Little Russia" homestead, with its Natalka-Poltavkas, with "our" customs and songs — a homestead in all its totality, which, despite its degeneration into pariochialism, preserves nevertheless powerful historical reminiscences of a culturally prospering life, which never finds its full and complete expression, however. From the social waste of these processes arises the nightmarish gallery of *Dead Souls*.

A deathlike stillness pervades the conquered land. And if this stillness is broken, it is broken by the ballroom music of a lordly estate, or the hotly gushing tears of the misery of serfdom, or the drunken bawling of wanton banquets where the nationally crippled and morally dwarfish "miserable scions of great and glorious ancestors", do what they are capable of doing: eat, drink and delight in "looking for a girl for the night". Concerning the classical type of this "busybody patriot", the poet writes while in exile: "I still get sick when I think about them". At times there may even be an exception. Occasionally, the drunken mood prompts a drunkard to get up and make a toast "to the Ukrainian Republic"... The intoxication vanishes and the careless one is bitterly sobered by investigation and arrest.

This is how it is "on the top". But down below millions of peasants groan, oppressed by the burden of a half dead *shlyakhta* (Polish aristocracy) and completely crushed between the millstones of serfdom. The peasant population goes on living an increasingly parochial life. The *kobzars* (the living but *blind* conscience of the nation) sing of their glorious past. In moments, overcome by a historical responsibility for the nation, they keep the remembrance of the historical past alive. The tenaciously preserved traditional milieu — powerfully rooted in the ancient moral standards of the people — is intimately bound with the magic of the song: the cycle of life and work, which is independent of external factors in the final analysis, the language. This is the magic pattern, which the peasants have mapped out for themselves and which they defend against the impure elements of human alienation. With this simple formula, they preserve the *entire* nation from ruin. Later, this inspired national poet, who emerged from the womb of this peasant stock, writes in a preface to a new collection of poems (which however never appeared in print), in the so-called "Notebook No. 3" (*zoshyt* No. 3):

"When they read passages from the *Æneid* and lounged around the taverns, they thought they knew the peasants very well. Oh, no, my friends, read the *Dumy* (ballads — Ed.); listen how they sing the songs and how they talk to each other without taking their caps off, or at friendly banquets; listen how they conjure up old times in their minds and listen how they cry..."

Thus the descendants of a great past deteriorated into renegades, drunkards and cranks. The Trojan heroes of the "Cossack Ruś" become the heroes of the "travestied" *Æneid*, and the Zaporozhian Iliad becomes a Hohol's *Taras Bulba* at best and a gloomy pathological "frog-mice war" of Ivan Ivanovych and Ivan Nykyforovych at worst. Parody and comedy become the most popular forms in Ukrainian literature. To make oneself ridiculous ("whom are you laughing at? at yourselves" — Hohol), to disparage the history of

one's country, one's own people including its culture and its myths — always with the same circle of characters — this was the accursed psychological pattern of Russophil renegades. This was the pattern which all Hohol admirers and imitators and frequently Hohol himself followed — Hohol, who suppressed and sweetened his suicidal illusions with the help of laughter; Hohol, who realized how bitter and poisonous this laughter really was before his death. "A humoresque after Moscow's taste", as Shevchenko called the *Æneid*, embodied, despite its historical objective values, ominous seeds...

"When Kotlyarevskyj came out with his *Æneas*, everybody roared with laughter... And this roaring laughter was the most dreadful test for our written Ukrainian word... He disparaged our customs and our country... and *Æneas* says such filthy things about his mother in public, that one simply wants to walk away".

In this way the serf Shevchenko is seconded by the "nobleman" Kulish, one of the few who preserved his nationality. At that time these few noblemen formed the first cohort, so to speak, for a political awakening from the deathlike Ukrainian lethargy and from Hohol's charmed world.

"You laugh but I cry" — Shevchenko wrote in his "Epistle" to Hohol. This is the most concise formulation of two attitudes to Ukrainian reality on the part of two sons of a people, which is experiencing the most terrible crisis in history. In this "crying", but together with "them" (the peasants), there were no more sighs of the kind uttered by Hrebinka and Kvitka. There was no longer room for an oleographic riotous "Little Russia" and for Hohol's "laughter" coming from the graves. This crying was a protest which had no other meaning than to stir the memory of the national past. ("The Plundered Grave", "Chyhyryn", "Subotiv"). This crying was an anathema which penetrated to the very marrow of one's bones. ("The Great Vault"); it was the eruption of consciousness in an enslaved people ("The Dream", "Caucasus") and finally this crying meant the tearing into pieces of "this beautifully painted curtain", as Kulish and Kostomariv aptly expressed it — a curtain which in a Promethean way exhibited the hopelessness of Ukrainian reality in its totality, and by which the "poetic light was sparked". According to Kulish, this light "was visible in all Ukraine and each of us knew where he had to go". (Letter III from the Farm).

This "crying" which was later hardened by the flame of anger and transformed into a fortress of national defence, swept through Ukraine like a purifying thunderstorm, accelerated the process of national unfoldment, destroyed what was superfluous and destructive to the society, separated the dead from the living and with benevolent love united all those who "reflect" and who "become human beings" into an organic hierarchy of the nation.

In his "Three Years" Shevchenko laid the cornerstone to a new epoch of Ukrainian history, to a new historical national process which has been germinating — with fallow periods, it is true — for over a century. But with each decade, it grows more powerful.

Conscious of this responsibility, as only geniuses and prophets can do, he dedicated the main part of the cycle "Three Years" which represents the most perfect ideological synthesis of Shevchenko's entire creations to "the dead, the living and those not yet born". In so doing he confirms the integrity and immortality of the Ukrainian nation for all time.

N O T E S

1) *Katsap* — from the Arabic *kassab* — butcher, Ukrainian derogatory name for a Russian. "Khokhol", on the other hand, is the Russian name for a Ukrainian. Khokhol is the typical tuft hairstyle of the Ukrainian Cossack. *Katsapiya* — Ukrainian derogatory name for Russia.

2) Hetmanshchyna, name for Eastern Ukraine. It is derived from "Hetman" i.e. the top leader of the free Cossacks. Hetmanshchyna: Land of the Hetman.

3) Shevchenko paid his tribute to Byron, or more aptly expressed, to Byronism in his Russian poems "Slepaya" ("The Blind Woman") and more especially "Trizna" ("The Funeral Repast", 1843). Unadulterated Byronism, however, with its insatiable egocentricity and its aggressive "demonic" character was foreign to Shevchenko, just as it is foreign to the Ukrainian psyche altogether.

4) Germanism: Shevchenko calls it *nimota*; this term, however, does not always designate the same thing. Here it designates the administrative offices in Ukraine, which were administered by Russian bureaucrats, strongly intermingled with German elements.

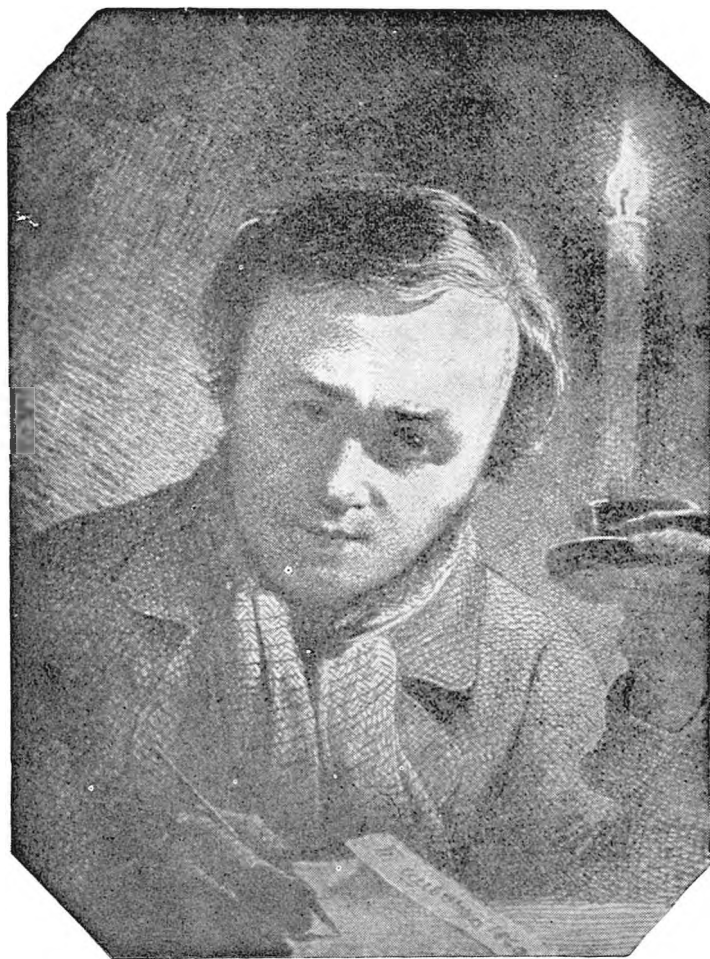
5) The scholar Stepan Smal-Stockyj turned his special attention to the fact, that the cycle "Try Lita" (Three Years) was "one single cycle and a coherent unity".

Dr. Karl SIEHS

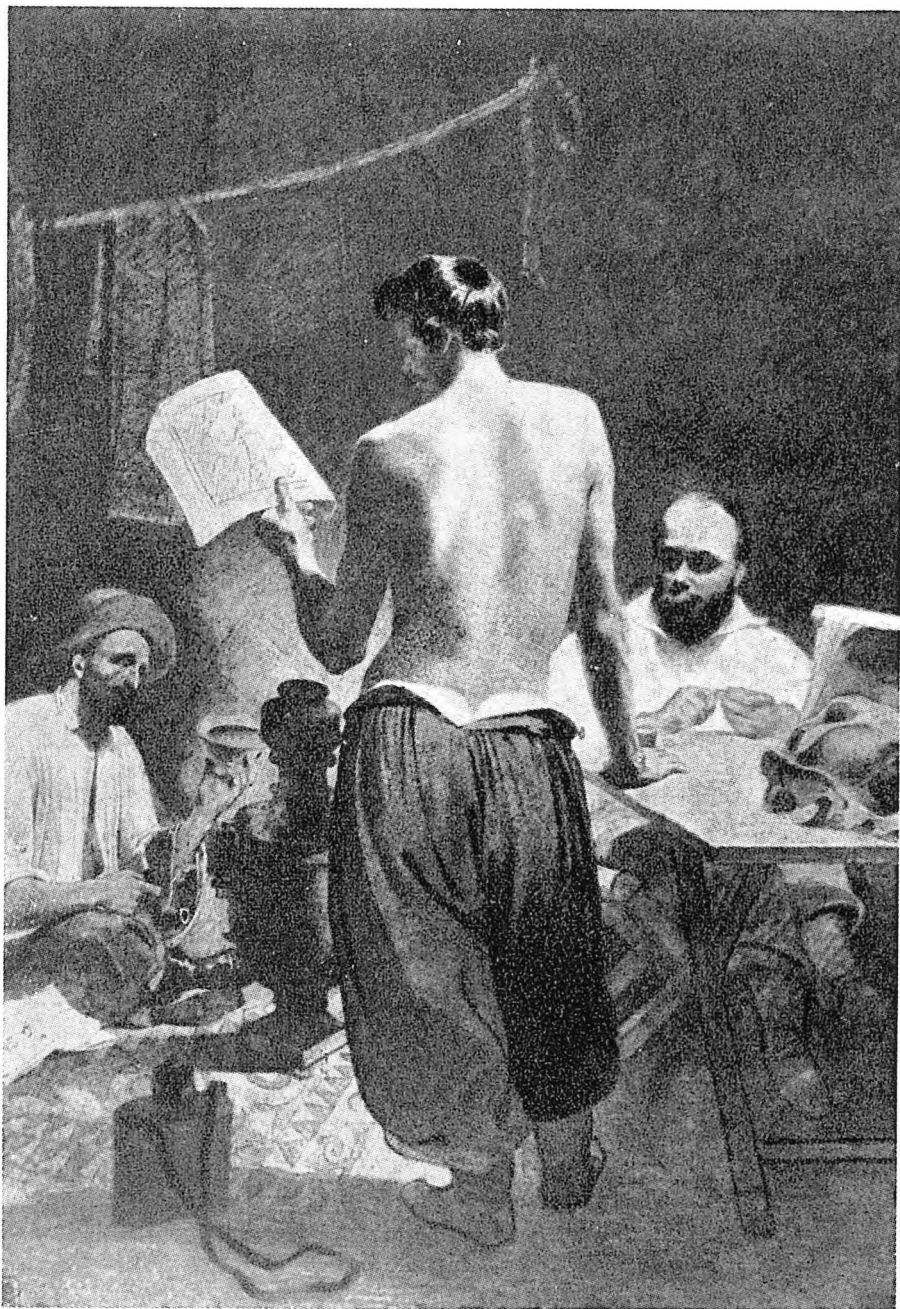
Shevchenko in the Eyes of His Contemporaries

The number of scholarly works on Shevchenko is by no means small. Nonetheless, even to this day the true picture of this unique man has not been clearly conceived, notwithstanding the existence of studies, often of a brilliant nature, on one or another aspect of Shevchenko's works.¹ The primary cause for this lack of a complete picture is to be found not only in the fact that many different philosophical approaches on Shevchenko scholarship are sharply distinguishable from one another,² but also, and in the first place, by the circumstancially brought about scantiness of existing material, which was repeatedly destroyed by Shevchenko himself as well as by many of his friends and supporters, so that it would not fall into the hands of the constables of the notorious 3rd Department as compromising material. The destruction was to a certain degree so thorough, that today we are no longer in a position to say with whom Shevchenko was intimately associated in this or that period of his life.³

What is going to be attempted here is the unfoldment of the man, Taras Shevchenko, from the preserved remembrances of his friends and acquaintances, without overlooking the fact that the individual claims and accounts are tinged by a strong subjectivity and therefore do not exclude contradictions. But the origin of this kind of contradictions is to be found not only in the subjectivity of the individual claims and accounts. Rather, it is mostly to be attributed to the genius of this great man, who, neither as man nor as painter, and still less as a literary figure, can be encompassed within the narrow framework of a traditional school.⁴ To a greater or lesser extent, however, this is the case with every great genius.



T. Shevchenko: Self-portrait, 1860.



T. Shevchenko: Among friends, 1851.

In the garden of an estate in his well-sheltered childhood, the giant from Yasnaya Polyana sought to unearth that tablet, upon which he thought to find the truth written. A few years before a young man, uncared for, humiliated and tormented, harassed by hunger and injustice, had begun to seek those iron columns, upon which the whole structure of the world is supported and behind which justice was at home in unperverted purity.⁵ Whereas in the case of the "repentant nobleman" "there was a violent encounter of the most extreme oppositions in the chaos of his reflections and aspirations" and whereas "the Faustian battle in his soul tormented him his whole life long"⁶ only to recognize "his dreams as well as those of his political successors who tried to realize them as utopian", the serf with a noble spirit moved forward certain of his goal and in full consciousness of the rightfulness of his actions — the beaten and freedom-robbed slave and antechamber footman of a moody master, a man who was persecuted by the Russian government as a "dangerous revolutionary" to the end of his life, a man who was not permitted to paint and to write during a fifth of his life — this martyr moved imperturbably to his holy goal with the inner conviction to restore justice to all those who are enslaved. Whereas the great Leo Tolstoy belongs to the few Russian writers who were not politically persecuted — instead he was excommunicated by the Orthodox Church because it was considered utopian to seek truth, which belongs to God alone, here on earth — Taras Shevchenko was politically persecuted in the most violent way because it was considered utopian to seek justice, as long as "we have not reflected and become men" (Epistle), as long as there are men who suppress others politically, economically or morally. Only after Shevchenko's demands have been fulfilled, will it be possible to come closer to the mission indicated by Tolstoy. But Shevchenko's demand for absolute justice was not a Utopia — not even today. His purposeful way of life and his behaviour attest this, for he never allowed any humiliation to get the better of him: "He was like a child: good-natured, friendly and trustful; he was thrilled by every little thing; anyone could cheat or exploit him. Notwithstanding all the evil and all the injustice which he endured throughout his tormented life, the belief in man and in goodness was never destroyed in him; not a single drop of resentment collected in his breast..."⁷

The last quote is not to be falsely understood. Shevchenko was neither a dunce, who let himself be cheated by everybody, nor a Dostoevskian *Podpolnyy chelovek* (underground man), who found his salvation in *smireniye* (humiliation) and self-degradation. This can be substantiated by the following quote: "With tears in his eyes, Mykyta recalls, 'What a good soul he was! How I used to beat him when he was a boy! With delight I used to thrash him. But he, the blessed one, he gave me everything'..."⁸

At this point, it is premature to try to solve what we have presented so far. First let us hear the prophetic words of a man who perceived the character, type and genius of the little Taras with a rare clarity. This man was his father, who wrote in his will: "My son Taras does not need anything of my household. He will be an exceptional man: either he will be very outstanding or a great good-for-nothing. My inheritance will either mean nothing at all to him or will not help him..."⁹

Only too soon, little Taras demonstrated that he did not need a material inheritance to be "exceptional". With an incomparable sense of purpose he pursued the course which his nature dictated. All efforts to get him to pursue a "simple bread-winning occupation" failed, notwithstanding the hopeless and sad plight of the little painter, who disregarded all prohibitions in order to be able to gratify his passion for painting. "Mykyta Hryhorovych, the elder brother of the poet, made efforts to initiate him in his own farm, but all attempts were in vain. Taras Hryhorovych was bored by this work only too soon, and without reflecting upon it very long, he left the oxen in the field and ran off to roam about in freedom..."¹⁰ Thoughts of material possessions never — in his whole life — appeared to disturb him: "It must still be pointed out here that beside a complete disinterestedness in all forms of financial transactions, Shevchenko even feared them. Whenever he was on more intimate terms with anyone and lived with him for a longer time, he would hand over all his money to his friend with the request to be freed from the financial worries of everyday life..."¹¹ He was never troubled by riches: "...among other things he showed me his gold watch at that time which he had purchased shortly before. It was the first watch he owned: Until that time the poverty of his circumstances did not permit him to think of any luxury... That was on a Friday. On the following Sunday he was no longer among the living..."¹² But cares for his personal well-being never oppressed him. He had faith in situations like this: "Unexpectedly, his landlady appeared and informed him, 'Taras Hryhorovych! I no longer have anything with which I can continue to feed you! You owe me two months' rent and money for food and laundry — also for two months! Either give me the money, or I do not know what I will do with you...' "¹³ Hardly had his landlady left the room, when Shevchenko received a commission from a friend. With the advance, he promptly paid his debts.

That Shevchenko did not like to deal with money matters is no proof that he was unfit for practical life. He had no head for money because in the greatness and largeness of his good heart, he found no place for it and its value. From the goodness of his heart, from gullibility and thanks to his complete honesty, he spent it: "He was so unfamiliar with the practical affairs of life and especially with

those of a soldier's, that when a non-commissioned officer presented him with his uniform, which of course had been sowed at the cost of the state, he asked without the slightest trace of suspicion, how much the uniform cost. Without hesitation the officer answered '40 rubles'. Shevchenko promptly paid him this sum..."¹⁴ Typical of Shevchenko — he, who when sentenced to confinement in a fortress, asked how much the prisoner's uniform cost!

"— Give me three *karbovantsi*"* — said Shevchenko shyly and looked at me with his good-natured smile. By the expression of his face, it was evident that he now and then would begin to laugh.

"— Surely for him? — and I indicated an unknown guest who had departed in the meantime.

"He motioned with his hand and I gave him the money. Shevchenko took his cap and went out. When he returned he told me that the young nobleman who had entered our room and introduced himself, admitted that he had lost state money in gambling and that great difficulties could arise for him, if he could not have a loan of five rubles. In the goodness of his heart, Taras Hryhorovych was innocently touched by the plight of this man and he promised help. In the meantime he invited him to tea. But when he had emptied his decanter of rum and demanded a second, Shevchenko decided, notwithstanding this praiseworthy service to Bacchus, to reduce his sacrifice to three roubles. At the same time he jokingly requested me not to tell V. A. Z(akrevsky) who might feel insulted by such indifference to a genuine drunkard.

"He never turned down a request for help and there were times when our mutual capital was reduced to a few *hryvni*;** Taras always took small change with him to give alms to the poor. His sympathy for the suffering sometimes placed him into the most touching situations — which contributed to the fact that everybody was still more favourably inclined toward him. Sometimes, however, when he was the victim of a deception, which was a bit too insolent, he would angrily promise himself to be more careful. But some new importunate beggar, with a simulated expression of suffering, a plaintive voice — and Taras was not able to withstand him..."¹⁵

Modesty, selfless goodness — the attributes of every great man — are also Shevchenko's most outstanding characteristics: "He lived so modestly that he had no need of *ciel*."¹⁶ This boundless goodness was especially evident when the well-being of others was concerned, and especially when it was a matter of promoting talent: "Before his transport to Novopetrovsk — he had already been arrested and was under guard — Taras heard of the existence of a poor man by the name of Khlebnikov, who was living in Orenburg and showed

*) *Karbovanets* — Ukrainian term for 'rouble'.

**) *Hryvni* — 10 kopeck coins.

signs of an extraordinary talent for painting. He went to him, confirmed the truthfulness of the noteworthy talent of this young man and committed him to my charge before his departure."¹⁷

Shevchenko, however, was not made of cotton; he was made of steel. This polarity of his nature was already evident in his earliest childhood: "In order to get him out of her sight, the mother-in-law, who did not like Taras because of his taciturnity and obstinacy, commanded him to tend the calves and pigs in the vicinity of Kyrylivka and Tarasivka."¹⁸ It was injustice that caused the little Taras to be "obstinate". "It can be imagined that Deacon Borhorsky was not especially soft with a boy like Taras Shevchenko, who had such an impudent and unstable character as a child."¹⁹

The test of his capacity, which Shevchenko had to endure all his life, began in earliest childhood, and the tensions which resulted from them mark off the ground, so full of conflicts, from which Shevchenko's genius blossomed. Meanness and injustice were not able to break him. On the contrary they formed his character: "His banishment and military service beyond the Ural Mountains did not coarsen him and did not harden Taras' tender, good, gentle and loving heart."²⁰ But it was not his banishment that made Shevchenko what he was; this tragic duality was an inborn element of his personality. "I will recount an episode from my acquaintance with him at the time that the poet was still young, gushing with energy, assiduously educating himself, and notwithstanding the deep sorrow which enveloped his heart when he was alone with himself, still allowed himself to be swept along by the exhilaration of a joyful social gathering from time to time, as well as by his sympathetic heart — all of which produced the congeniality of his personality..."²¹

Not infrequently the evidence of Shevchenko's cool and offensive ways accounts for the fact that Soviet critics state that he associated only with revolutionaries like Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and others openly and courageously.²² Thus Shevchenko comes through as being lyrically tender and overflowing with heart-felt goodness, as well as hard and reserved, passionate and irascible: "His humanity was revealed in each of his actions, in each of his movements; his loving tenderness extended even to animals. More than once he protected little cats and young puppies against the mean pranks of street urchins, and he would sometimes buy birds, which had been bound by a string, only to let them fly away..."²³ "Skoropadsky began to brag and to heap praises upon himself about how good the serfs had it on his estate. As he would have it, they lived like in Abraham's bosom... One of Skoropadsky's lackeys committed a *faux pas*, by forgetting to serve something. Skoropadsky sprang from his chair and raced into the servant's room and heaped blows upon the face of the servant. He forgot to close the door, however, and the guests witnessed everything. But as they were all gentlemen

and were used to scenes of this kind, they were not disturbed. Only to Shevchenko this did not seem to be natural. Beside himself with anger he sprang up and in a moment of intense fury, he took hold of the table and tipped it with such force that bottles, decanters and all the plates crashed to the floor. Hearing the noise Skoropadsky returned to the room, but Shevchenko took his cap and moved toward the door.

"What's this supposed to mean?" Skoropadsky cried.

"Shevchenko stared at him, gripped his cap with all his strength, ripped it into two and threw one half into Skoropadsky's face, shouting: 'Very well you care for your servants! You are a wonderful master! One can certainly not deny that!...' Since that episode he never returned to Skoropadsky."²⁴

This and numerous similar accounts of eyewitnesses are grist to the mill with respect to the theory that Shevchenko was a typical peasant who did not know how to handle himself in higher society — a peasant, whose poetry was saturated with peasantry. "Shevchenko is a poet of the people through and through... his whole way of thinking and his sympathies are in complete harmony with the thoughts and ways of the people. He stemmed from the people; lived with the people, and was bound to them in both body and soul, not only in his thoughts, but also in the circumstances of his life."²⁵

But how is one to take the following account of Princess Repnina, who belonged to the lower classes of society just as little as she belonged to the revolutionaries? "Shevchenko was a child of nature; he had no conception of the ways of polite society, but he was very tactful. He had a good heart and great regard for everything holy: he was respectful to everyone and demonstrated a corresponding esteem for older people. Everyone liked him. Even Mama, who really knew him very little, was very fond of him; and Papa even loved him."²⁶

The first part of this quote certainly requires some elucidation, for it appears to confirm the theory that Shevchenko was a peasant who did not know how to handle himself in higher (to a certain extent in quotations) society. There are numerous accounts, however, according to which Shevchenko moved in the circles of superiors, officers, artists and intellectuals during his banishment. But not only his behaviour in banishment, but also his behaviour in civilian life proves that Shevchenko was not only at home in servant circles. It is this very fact that gives us a picture of the many-sidedness of Shevchenko's human contacts. It appears, however, that it was more the human capacity of a man's heart, rather than his political orientation, that was decisive in Shevchenko's choice of companions.²⁷ His association with the so-called *mochymordy* (drunkards) is especially informative with respect to the elucidation of his

character.²⁸ Is it true then that in higher circles Shevchenko was a country bumpkin — although a tactful one — as he is often characterized with intentional distortion? ...“One should know that the Privy Councillor, Baron von Majdel, was an inveterate aristocrat and moved about only in the highest spheres of the ruling aristocracy. But with my own eyes I convinced myself that even here Taras was not put out of sorts. No trace of awkwardness, no dissonance with respect to any of the guests was to be noticed. He behaved himself with dignity — indeed, with a certain amount of importance. It was this about him which highly appealed to me. He was never obtrusive; he did not interfere in any conversation. Everyone turned to him and he answered reticently, with a barely detectable irony and a feeling of self-respect...”²⁹ Instead of adding numerous similar accounts, let it suffice to add a kind of “summary quote”: “He spent his evenings in the company of Count F. P. Tolstoy, Lazarevsky, Kostomarov, Polonsky, Zozulenko, of the music-loving family, I. L. Grinberg and many others. He also had access to many fashionable houses — for example, those of Demydovych, Musin-Pushkin and others, where writers and artists were often invited for soirées...”³⁰

Let this suffice to show that he was a man who “liked the milieu of a plain, simple family where he was received not with pomp, but with heart-felt warmth. In this atmosphere he would become very talkative.”³¹ For him, human tenderness was most decisive, and where he found this tenderness, there he felt most at home, regardless whether it was in the highest social circles, among the serfs or with soldiers. “Notwithstanding the fact that he was often absorbed in himself — a fact which created the impression that he was inaccessible — he was nonetheless favourably regarded by them and liked by everyone — but most of all by the soldiers. He was that much more liked by them because they recognized a cultured man in him. They showed great understanding for his displaced position, and they expressed their gratitude for his human contact with them by refraining from uttering any kind of military cynicism in his presence...”³²

The boundless love, which the “little man” showed for Shevchenko, had its roots in the deep sympathy which the poet had for all forms of human suffering: “In the midst of this mixed crowd, Taras Hryhorovych’s radiant personality, with his boundless and devoted love for his people and his native country (a love which had remained pure and holy, despite the endless suppression and all forms of moral degradation, of which he endured more than his share in his life time), awakened no other feelings than those of pity and sympathy... and this also explains the great influence... which Shevchenko’s personality exerted on the youth of that time.”³³

Honesty was the basic component of his character. It was so pure that even when it entailed harm to the poet, it found its fullest

expression: "His fellow-countrymen advised him to have himself placed in the infirmary as sick for two or three weeks, for it was hoped that in the meantime someone would speak up on his behalf. He, however, extricated himself from this plan — not only because of an aversion to the infirmary, but also because, as he said, he had never deceived anyone, and he regarded his going to the infirmary (because he was to do so without a medical certificate) as a fraud against the authorities. But he forbade the request of this certificate, because he did not want to be humiliated under these conditions."³⁴

Thus Shevchenko was transported from Orenburg as a common soldier. This new intensification of his situation, however, was brought about by an incident which was typical of him: "The wife of his Orenburg friend, Gern,³⁵ committed adultery with a young cadet, Nikolai Grigoryevich Isayev, who had recently graduated from cadet-school. Shevchenko found out about it, confirmed it for himself, and despite various warnings from his friends, he informed the husband. The cadet took revenge by informing against him, and this considerably worsened Shevchenko's situation.³⁶ Honesty and faithfulness always compelled the poet to act in this way, without taking his own safety into account.

Such an attitude demands a heroic character, which, according to various witnesses, the poet had: "During the whole time of his detention for investigation, Taras Hryhorovych was unusually brave; he appeared calm and even joyful. Before the examination, one of the officers of the guards said to him, 'God is merciful, Taras Grigoryevich! You will justify yourself and then your Muse will sing again!' To this Shevchenko answered in Ukrainian: *No yakyy chort vas usikh siudy zanis, koly ne sia muza!* ('No other Devil than this accursed Muse has brought all of you here!')."³⁷

The sensitive lyricist, Ya. P. Polonsky³⁸ spoke about Shevchenko in the following way: "He was free and direct in his relationships, and he never became confused, as is the case with many personalities, whom destiny has cheated... He was a man entirely without falsity, passionate and irascible, sincere and honest and even unafraid to such a degree that his passionate speeches often caused his friends to tremble for him... In moments of great spiritual excitement, he was capable of repulsing some dandy with wild expressions of passionate hatred against that which had destroyed his life...

"He was a democrat, not only in theory, but in his whole way of thinking — a barn democrat, so to speak... Shevchenko did not belong to those men who are easily conciliated with others who think differently, especially when his native country was the object of this difference or conflict."

But let us not interpret this description to mean that Shevchenko was hard-headed, narrow-minded with respect to his own views, and

an altogether self-righteous man. Last but not least he was firmly convinced of the rightfulness of his thoughts and actions by the many demonstrations of sympathy of his fellow-countrymen; in this matter he allowed for no contrary arguments. With regard to the matter of the fair treatment of his people he was uncompromising. It was not **his** destiny which hardened him; it was the destiny of **his people**, for his lot and their lot were identical: "The history of my life forms a part of the history of my people."³⁹

"Shevchenko never complained about his situation, and I never saw him sad or in a dark mood. He was physically healthy, had red cheeks, and his look was always clear and direct. To be sure, he was almost always absorbed in thoughts, but they were quiet, and they nourished, so to speak, his spirit. Sometimes one could almost get the impression that he heard spherical music: so deeply his clear and familiar thoughts carried him into a land which was known and accessible to him only. One was forced to come to the conclusion that a poetic movement had taken place in his soul — a movement which served to protect him against the onslaughts of cruel reality."⁴⁰

Thus his thinking and feeling, his whole life, was concerned with his people, for whose freedom he fought. In this respect, he demonstrated, despite the tenderness of his heart, an intrepid boldness in both word and deed — a boldness which was worthy of a hero. But his noble and brave way of thinking did not grow out of the heart of a revolutionary who was set upon subversion at all cost. It grew out of the deep sorrow of a man who witnessed his people being exposed to an outrageous slavery: "When I was a child my heart was ruptured a million times over by the abuses of a despotic schooling, that it ended by embracing revenge and flight, as is the case with defenseless people, who finally lose their patience."⁴¹

The conception of the Russian tsar murderers — raw open fighting, treacherous bombs thrown from ambush — was all too undignified for the greatness of Shevchenko's soul. He was a bold and fearless champion of the fundamental human rights of all nations, and especially of his beloved Ukraine. This elevated him to the pedestal of immortal internationalism: "His message is most clearly expressed in the line: 'Embrace, my brothers, the lowest one among you ..' And his life, he fulfilled this behest: his love for his people served as an excellent model to his contemporaries and to the succeeding generation..."⁴²

He let no opportunity pass to enlighten his people, indifferent to the danger which this entailed to himself. It is not surprising therefore, that situations like the following repeated themselves frequently: "His visits were terribly disagreeable to Prechtel. He hated Taras because he talked so freely in the presence of the servants, who, after listening to his liberal talk, began themselves... to insist on their human rights... Shevchenko narrowly escaped a flogging on the part of the angry Prechtel."⁴³



T. Shevchenko: Kateryna, 1842.

With simple but drastic means he enlightened the people. When he went into the market place, he always took a pocket full of corn with him. He would place one grain on a table and say, "This is your tsar." Around it he would place a circle of grains; they represented the ministers, generals and governors. A wider circle symbolized the subordinate officials. Then he would empty the contents of his pocket onto the table and tell the people, "Find your tsar now!"⁴⁴

He was firmly dedicated to the people. Hence his preference for simple people, servants, lakeys and peasants: "He preferred the company of priests... but most of all, Shevchenko felt close to the serfs and peasants: he knew almost all of them by name... often he would visit them in the evening... and the time passed unnoticed. Shevchenko was fully alive: he recounted much of Ukraine's past, of the heroic deeds of the Cossacks, of the battles against the Turks and the (Polish — Ed.) lords..."⁴⁵

"Along with Kostomarov and Kulish, Shevchenko was a welcome guest in the salon of M. V. Yuzefovych... it often came about that he remained with Vasiliy in the antechamber, and as their talks lasted quite a long time, he often appeared much too late in the salon... Following his return from banishment, it was with Vasiliy that he renewed his acquaintance and not with Yuzefovych."⁴⁶

"The parson invited his colleagues so that Shevchenko would have someone to talk to. He, however, asked to see Smalko (a former school friend of Shevchenko and now a sexton), whom he embraced and kissed. When the parson complained about this and called Shevchenko a blockhead because he associated with such simple people, whereas he avoided the company of educated people, the old housekeeper said: 'What you are saying is very strange to me, Your Reverence! When Taras is among us, he is never quiet. Perhaps he doesn't know what he should talk about to you!'"⁴⁷

Shevchenko's preference for simple people is revealed in the basic elements of his character. He was fearless and expressed his views in the company of gentlemen freely. This can be substantiated, for example, by his behaviour on the occasion of a hunting party with Polish estate owners.⁴⁸ This incident did not end in a second banishment solely due to the sensible conduct of the governor; rather it ended with his kind and selfless efforts to alleviate the suffering of his people: "Taras said ...that all of them had declared themselves willing to work for the general enlightenment of the people. This work was to proceed in the following way: Each of them was to contribute a sum corresponding to his means to a common fund, which was to be entrusted to an elected administration... when the fund had become large enough, it was to be distributed to the poor who did not have sufficient money to continue their studies at a university upon the completion of their secondary schooling..."⁴⁹

Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko, born a serf, entangled in a hopeless fate, became the first leader of his people. The way to this goal was long and thorny, but despite affectionate help from the outside, he had to go this way alone. For this task, Shevchenko possessed all the prerequisites.

His tremendous hunger for ever increasing knowledge was with him from the cradle. "Among all the belongings of this drunkard of a sexton, a little book with pictures, i.e. with engravings (of course they were crudely executed) appeared to me as the most treasured object. Whether it was because I was not able to see the wrongness of it, or whether it was because I was not able to resist the temptation to possess this gem — I took it and fled by night to the town of Lysianka."⁵⁰

The tormented and half-starved young man did not take material goods to better his physical conditions; to seek for spiritual things was his destiny. With tremendous tenacity and tireless assiduity he utilized every opportunity to extend his knowledge.

Already in earliest childhood, it was possible to ascertain a special passion for drawing in Taras Hryhorovych. Whenever possible, on walls, doors and gates — Shevchenko used to paint with coal and chalk. In school where he received paper and pencil, this passion developed steadily. Since he lost his patience to endure school life any longer, he fled (primarily prompted by this passion) to a painter-deacon in the town of Lysianka...⁵¹

"Naturally, in these terribly unartistic activities, he was not able to find anything which communicated to his native penchant; his passion for paintings and books, however, did not desert the boy for a minute. He took every opportunity to buy some work of the Suzdal school from a wandering book dealer with whatever few pennies he happened to earn. And when he did not have any money, then he sometimes gave himself up to the temptation to steal books in order to gratify his passion for works of art. In this way he acquired a rather good collection of art works, with which he hid himself in the garden from the numerous domestics. In the thick shrubbery of the garden, as far as possible from the house, he set up for himself a kind of art gallery, by hanging his paintings on the trees. There Taras went to sing his songs and to imitate Solovey the Robber or Kutuzov. For neglecting his duties in this way, he was sometimes beaten by the cook."⁵²

He always endeavoured to improve himself, and he never let an opportunity pass to learn something new. This he continued even when he had to follow his master to Petersburg, where he was given into the hands of the painter Shiryayev: "I was there quite often and we spent many an evening in conversation. Sometimes I read or recited the poetic works of Pushkin or Zhukovsky, while

Shiryayev's two apprentices stood in the next room and listened at the door... Later one of these apprentices turned out to be your favourite poet, Shevchenko."⁵³

Shevchenko's acquaintance with such people could not fail to influence his development. Talks which he heard by them in their houses, and books which he received from Hrebinka accelerated the pace of his education. After he had worked the whole day, commanded by his master to paint windows, ceilings, but sometimes even fences, he would spend the night in his garret reading whatever fell into his hands. His memory was amazing... The tremendous knowledge which he acquired did not stifle his capacities: the clear natural understanding of the poet systematized this knowledge and distinguished between important and unimportant matter, without burdening his mind with useless trash."⁵⁴

After the poet's freedom had been purchased at the price of a portrait of Zhukovsky, which had been done by Bryullov, his passion for work knew no bounds: "He was up at the crack of dawn and immediately began to work. The Tatarchuks especially note his love for work. According to them, he was in his room almost the entire day; he painted portraits when he was not involved with writing. He constantly read books which he borrowed from the master's library... he seldom roamed around in the neighbourhood; he often paused, viewed some distant object and sketched various scenes."⁵⁵

Despite a constant shortage of money, which was especially great after his arrest and banishment, the poet always had access to books. Many of his friends sent them to the place of his banishment. "At the time of his arrest in the spring of 1847, all of Shevchenko's books were taken away from him; in autumn of 1850, the poet arrived in Mangyshlak without a single book in his possession. Nonetheless, already by the spring of 1852, he had a whole row of books beneath his bunk in his barracks."⁵⁶

It is by no means surprising, therefore, that the poet's reading, despite the meagreness of his means, was prodigious: "Collecting books as an end in itself had no attraction for Shevchenko. He possessed only a small library of his favourite books (and this even in banishment!). Mikeshyn claims that among the books which Shevchenko always had within his reach at that time were, (besides Mickiewicz) the works of Lermontov. A book list has been preserved (Institute for Literature named after T. H. Shevchenko, of the Academy of Science of the Ukr.SSR), which remained intact after the death of the poet: many editions are to be found here with dedications from authors, publishers, and translators (I. S. Turgenev, S. T. Aksakov, M. Vovchok, P. A. Kulish, M. A. Maksymovych, A. S. Afanasyev-Chuzhbynsky, N. V. Herbel, A. F. Pisemsky, N. F. Shcherbyna, A. V. Mykytenko, P. I. Yakushin, E. Zheligovsky, N. I.

Kostomarov, A. A. Blagoveshchensky and others); besides these are five volumes of the works of Belinsky (1859-1860), poems by N. Ogarev, poems by A. Polezhaev, Koltsov (in two editions, 1846 and 1857), two volumes of the works of T. N. Granovsky; works of Schiller, Hohol, Shakespeare, Bogdan Zaleski, Syrokomla, Polonsky and many others."⁵⁷

Since Shevchenko had to follow his master to Warsaw and Vilnius, he took the opportunity to learn the Polish language perfectly. There are many accounts attesting his mastery of this language: "Shevchenko spoke Polish well; he knew quite a few works by Mickiewicz, Bogdan Zaleski and to a certain extent also the works of Krasinski by heart..."⁵⁸ His knowledge of the French language, however, which he had seriously intended to broaden upon his return to Ukraine for the first time after he had obtained his freedom did not, it appears, progress beyond the first stages.

There are manifold accounts which attest Shevchenko's propensity for music. Although he was not much of a singer, he nonetheless liked to sing — alone as well as with others. No wonder, that accounts like the following are to be found: "Shevchenko not only liked but was also very familiar with Russian and Western classical music. Repeatedly, the names of Glinka, Dragomyzhsky, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Chopin, Rossini, Meyerbeer, Weber, Verdi, Auber, Donizetti, Paganini, Bellini, Oginsky and other composers are encountered on the pages of his 'Diary' and his short stories."⁵⁹

Strangely enough, however, there are many — even from prominent people — contrary accounts. First, however, we want to throw more light on the man who made statements which stand in the most glaring contrast to those which we have heard so far. With respect to the relationship of Turgenev to Shevchenko, Annenkov relates the following: "He (Turgenev) sought Shevchenko's acquaintance, and he showed sincere sympathy for his former sufferings and his talent. But he did not share his enthusiasm. Among his friends he often ridiculed Shevchenko's fidelity to the Zaporozhe, to the splendour of the Cossacks, and to the time of the **haydamaky**."⁶⁰ It appears that the dualistic attitude of Turgenev, (who, on the one hand, acknowledged the poet's personality and talent, but on the other hand ridiculed his inclination for Ukraine) laid the foundation for the attitude toward Shevchenko as a **Ukrainian** poet on the part of the Russians. Another quote: "Although T. Gr. already enjoyed great popularity among his fellow-countrymen as a poet, the Great Russians and the scholars of the Academy could not appreciate his poetic talent because they could not speak the Little Russian language..."⁶¹ Before quoting another passage which proves that the Russians did not have to know the "Little Russian" language perfectly, in order not to recognize Shevchenko, we first of all want to hear Turgenev's interesting attitude:

"Actually, a poetic element seldom broke forth in him: Rather, Shevchenko created the impression of being an uncouth man, who had become embittered, who had suffered much, a man who had many resentments at the bottom of his soul, which was not easily accessible to a strange eye, and from which there was seldom more than a brief, fleeting outburst of friendliness and joy. Humour and wit he did not have at all...

"Shevchenko's egotistical self-love was very strong and at the same time very naïve... the rapturous admiration of his fellow-countrymen who surrounded him in Petersburg, deepened his conviction that he was a 'self-made' man in the field of literature...

"I assume that Shevchenko did not read very much (even Hohol he knew only superficially) and he knew even less than that... but the conviction, which had been planted into his soul from early youth, was unshakably strong..."⁶²

As it appears to me, to arrive at such an evaluation one did not have to know the Ukrainian language first. Not the poet, but Shevchenko's personality is being disparaged — or perhaps only misunderstood?

Although we threaten to deviate from our subject, let it not be considered amiss to add a few more quotes in this connection. They refer to a literary evening, at which Shevchenko along with many other poets appeared for charitable purposes:

"Shevchenko was received with such cordiality, that he had to leave the platform for he was so deeply touched that his strength deserted him. After he had calmed himself a little, he stepped onto the platform again."⁶³ A confirmation of this incident can be found in a letter of a Georgian who was present at the reading: "Benediktov read — superb; our Polonsky, already a noteworthy poet — good; Maykov — superb; Dostoyevsky and Pisemsky — also superb, and Shevchenko, the Little Russian poet and artist — simply sublime."⁶⁴

But let us hear a contrary account now by one who was also present at that literary evening: "Benediktov, Polonsky, Maykov, Pisemsky, Dostoyevsky and Shevchenko read. Even if one studied his whole life long, he still would never know how an audience is going to react. Shevchenko was received as if he were a genius who had glided down directly out of heaven. Hardly had he entered the room when people began to clap, stamp their feet and shout. The poor poet became totally confused. I think that this fanatical noise was not really directed toward Shevchenko personally. Rather, it was a demonstration: They were honouring a martyr, who had suffered for the sake of justice... Something very strange happened to Shevchenko. He hung his head and was not able to utter a single word. He stood there quite immobile; abruptly he turned around

and went out, without having spoken a word... Shevchenko had become ill... after a few minutes, however, he returned... He began to read; he paused at every word; he read with difficulty. But in the end, he succeeded in reading all his poems..."⁶⁵

Also in this case, it is needless to emphasize that for such an evaluation one did not have to know the Ukrainian language either. Without wanting to enter into this problem thoroughly at this point, and without wanting to bother with Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, it suffices to point out briefly the consequences of such a "restriction" of the poet's genius due to his Ukrainian background.

Turgenev: "His talent attracted us because of its originality and its force, although hardly anyone of us acknowledged the world importance, which, I say it openly, his fellow-countrymen in Petersburg attributed to him."⁶⁶

Herzen: "He is great in that he is an accomplished poet of the people, like our Koltsov; but he is of far greater significance than Koltsov, for Shevchenko was also active in politics and a champion of freedom."

For a whole 150 years since the poet's birth, this view has still not been refuted, at least not in "a book of gratifying objectivity and just evaluation,"⁶⁷ which is "the most extensive literary dictionary in the German linguistic area."⁶⁸ In this book, among other factual errors, it is stated: "He was a literary personality, who, popular, romantic and national simultaneously, seemed to continue the works of Koltsov in idealized poetic tales about the peasant's movements and the life of the Cossacks..."⁶⁹

But the great Shevchenko would have probably been less angry about such statements than we. In his humanity he was not narrowly nationalistic; rather, he embraced all those who were "human":

"After this, Shevchenko urged the Byelorussians not to slacken in their work for the people, for it was their duty, and notwithstanding the obstacles, their work would not be in vain."⁷⁰

"A poor man's hut was on fire. The people ran to see it, but predominantly the Jews helped to put it out, because one of their faith lived in the hut. We also hurried to the place of the fire, and Taras acted quickly to save the belongings of the owner. Just like the others he carried all sorts of things out of the house, and when it was all over, he gave a speech to the Christians who were present. Because the hut belonged to a Jew, they had helped unwillingly... Shevchenko was angry with them and reproached them for their indifference. He said that a human being in need and poverty is our brother, regardless of his nationality or religious belief."⁷¹

"For him, all men, whether they were poor or rich, Kazakhs or Russians were equal."⁷² For this reason, the Kazakhs named him the great **Akyn-Tarazy** (the poet-scale), because he weighed justice like a scale.

Concerned about others, Shevchenko had little time to think of himself. All his life, he remained alone.

"Whether God will some day bestow upon me the happiness of allowing me to build my own nest, to have a home, wife and children?" — We often talked to one another about such things, and Taras always asked for my advice and my help to find a place where he could settle down, and also a 'girl'. He insisted, however, that she would have to be a Ukrainian, a 'plain girl', not of 'noble blood' — one who earned her daily bread.

"We began to travel around now to find a place for his nest 'before the front door of which the Dnieper would flow by'. Soon we found such a place — in fact, a beautiful one: Right on the Dnieper, with a small woods. This small piece of land — altogether it encompassed a good two desyatines — belonged to Parchevsky's estate. We began to negotiate with this estate owner, but he refused to be straightforward and always beat around the bush...

"In the meantime Parchevsky informed me that before he could sell the land to Shevchenko, he would have to ask the governor-general 'if it was at all permissible to sell a piece of land to Taras Shevchenko? It could well be that unpleasantness might result from it'.

"Without reaching any agreement with Parchevsky, I began to look around for a piece of land in another place. I succeeded in finding more than one place, but as if cursed, I was not able to acquire any one of them. Strange enough! Everywhere I encountered the same obstacle: 'First of all I have to ask the Governor-General'. We went around asking so long, that in the end, the poor devil had to be given a piece of land for his grave.'..."⁷³

Even after his return from banishment, Shevchenko still thought of establishing a household. But marriage — he was too old now — and all attempts to buy a piece of land failed: When I last saw him, he spoke to me about his intention of leasing a small piece of land on the banks of the Dnieper in two years. It was a small piece of land opposite to Prokhorovka, upon which he was going to build a small house and spend the rest of his life."⁷⁴

But not only in his life time, even in death, the poet encountered the same difficulties. When his coffin arrived in Kiev, "no one knew where he was to be buried."⁷⁵ Indeed, it was even worse: It was not possible to find a churchwarden who was willing to display the coffin in a church until the place of burial had been decided upon.

To this end, it was first necessary to request permission from the highest authorities.⁷⁶

Nonetheless, justice was done to him. A contemporary wrote: "From the nine ceremonial speeches which were held at the poet's grave, six were held in the Ukrainian language. Of the remaining three, two were in Russian and one in Polish. This was symbolic of the general grief of all enslaved people, who had come to pay their last tribute to the Little Russian poet and martyr."⁷⁷

Not only Ukrainians mourned his death; there were also Russians who recognized his greatness: "The Ukrainian people, thank God, have their own literature, their own speakers, their own historians. Now, however, they no longer have a lyricist, comparable to the deceased poet, T. G. Shevchenko, who was rightfully named the 'father of the mother tongue' in one of the speeches held at the grave. *Oratores fiunt, poetae nascuntur.*"⁷⁸

It was not granted to the poet to write a will. Nonetheless, his last wish was fulfilled by his fellow-countrymen: He lies buried where his Muse wanted it to be:

When I die, then make my grave
High on an ancient mound,
In my own beloved Ukraine,
In steppeland without bound:
Whence one may see wide-skirted wheatland,
Dnipro's steep-cliffed shore,
There whence one may hear the blustering
River wildly roar.

Till from Ukraine to the blue sea
It bears in fierce endeavour
The blood of foemen — then I'll leave
Wheatland and hills forever:
Leave all behind, soar up until
Before the throne of God
I'll make my prayer. For till that hour
I shall know naught of God.

Make my grave there — and arise,
Sundering your chains,
Bless your freedom with the blood
Of foemen's evil veins!
Then in that great family,
A family new and free,
Do not forget with good intent
Speak quietly of me.⁷⁹

NOTES ON SHEVCHENKO

1) George S. N. Luckyj: "Shevchenko Studies one Century after the Poet's Death", *Slavic Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, December 1962, p. 722.

2) Ju. Bojko: "Shevchenkivska richnytsia ta zavdannia ukraïnskoï nauky" (The Shevchenko Anniversary and the Task of Ukrainian Scholarship), *Ukrainische Slovo*, 1963.

3) Leonyd Chynkulov: *Taras Shevchenko, Biografiya*, GICHL, Moskva 1960, p. 3.

4) E. Malaniuk: *Knyha Sposterezhen' (Log-Book)*, Essays, Toronto 1962, *Ranniy Shevchenko* (The Early Shevchenko), Chapter 5, p. 39.

5) Cf. V. H. Shevchenko: "Spomynky pro Tarasa Hryhorovycha Shevchenka", *Pravda*, Lviv, 1876, No. 1, 15 January, p. 23-28; No. 2, 30 (18) January, p. 64-695.

6) Halm H., "Leo Tolstoj: Kämpfer und Apostel" (Fighter and Apostle) *Innsbrucker Kulturbeiträge* (Innsbruck Cultur Contributions), 1955, H. 37, p. 125.

7) L. Tolstaya-Yunge: *Vospominaniya* (Memoirs), Moskva 1914, cited in *T. Shevchenko v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov* (T. S. in Reminiscent Accounts by his Contemporaries), Moskva 1962, p. 278 and p. 456.

8) M. K. Chalyy: "Novyye materialy dlya biografii T. G. Shevchenko" (New Material to Shevchenko's biography) *Osnova*, 1862, book 5, May, pp. 45-61 and book 6, June, pp. 1-27.

9) Al. Lazarevsky: "Materialy dlya biografii T. Hr. Shevchenko, I. Detstvo Shevchenko (1814-1828)", (Shevchenko's Childhood), *Osnova*, 1862, Book 3, March, pp. 1-10 (2nd paging).

10) A. M. Lazarevsky: *Ibid.* Cf. also Chynkulov; L.: "Taras Shevchenko", *Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh lyudey* (Lives of Remarkable Men), Vol. 23, Moscow 1960, p. 26.

11) A. S. Afanasyev (Chuzhbynsky), *Aleksandra Stepanovicha Afanasyeva Sobraniye Sochineniy* (Collected Works), Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1891, pp. 417-450. First printing in *Russkoye Slovo*, 1861, Book 5.

12) N. I. Kostomarov: "Pismo M. I. Semevskomu" (Letter to M. I. Semevsky) in *Russkaya starina*, 1880, Book 3, March, pp. 597-610.

13) V. H. S.: "Spomynky pro Tarasa Hryhorovycha Shevchenka" (Recollections of T. H. S.), *Pravda*, Lviv, 1876, No. 1, 15 (3) January, pp. 23-28; No. 2, 30 (18) January, pp. 64-68.

14) M. M. Lazarevsky: "Iz vospominaniy o T. G. Shevchenko", (From Recollections of T. G. S.), *Russkiy arkhiv*, Book 1, No. 4, April, pp. 643-647.

15) A. S. Afanasyev (Chuzhbynsky): *Russkoye slovo*, 1861, book 5.

16) K. I. Gern: "Pismo k M. M. Lazarevskomu o Shevchenko" (Letter to M. M. Lazarevsky about Shevchenko) *Russkiy arkhiv*, 1898, Book III, continuation 12. Dec., pp. 550-555.

17) *Ibid.*

18) M. K. Chalyy: (From the Memoirs of I. M. Soshenko) Sava C.: *Novyye materialy dlya biografii T. G. Shevchenko* (New Material to T. G. S.'s Biography), *Osnova*, 1862, Book 5, May, pp. 45-61.

19) P. G. Lebedintsev: "Taras Grigoryevich Shevchenko. Nekotoryye dopolneniya i popravki k yego biografii" (Several supplements and corrections to his biography) *Kievskaya starina*, 1882, Book 9, September, pp. 567-650.

Lebedintsev Petr Gavrilovich (1819-1896) was professor at the Kiev Seminary and editor of the *Kiev Archiepiscopal News*. His criticism with respect to Shevchenko is on the whole negative. According to his account, the boy was refractory and the priests who were teaching him were completely in the right. Unfortunately, this criticism was greatly responsible for the fact, that in certain circles, Shevchenko was represented as the anti-clerical and atheistic prototype.

20) V. H. Shevchenko: "Spomynky pro Tarasa Hryhorovycha Shevchenka" (Recollections of T. H. Shevchenko), *Pravda* (Lviv), 1876, No. 1, 15 (3) January, pp. 23-28 and No. 2, 30 (18) January, pp. 64-69.

- 21) A. S. Afanasyev (Chuzhbynsky): *Russkoye slovo*, 1861, Book 5.
- 22) T. G. Shevchenko *v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov* (T. G. Shevchenko in Memoirs by his Contemporaries), Moscow 1962, p. 460 Footnote to 291 a.
- 23) Cf. Footnote 16.
- 24) M. S. Kononenko: "M. Shkolychenko, Opovidannia pro T. Shevchenka" (Tales about Taras Shevchenko), *Zorya*, Lviv, 1892, No. 5, 1 (13) March, pp. 94-98.
- 25) N. A. Dobrolyubov: *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (Complete Works), Volume II, Moscow 1935, pp. 562-563.
- 26) V. N. Repnina: *Russkiye propilei* (Russian Temples) Vol. 2, Moscow 1916, pp. 179-263. (Collected by M. Gershenzon, edited by M. and S. Sabashnikov.)
- 27) Ju. Bojko: The Shevchenko Anniversary... Cf. above, footnote 2.
- 28) N. Nevytsky: In *Zhyttia i revolyutsiya* (Life and Revolution).
- 29) F. M. Lazarevsky: "Iz vospominaniy o Shevchenko" (From Recollections of Shevchenko). *Kievskaya starina*, 1899, Book 2, February, pp. 151-167.
- 30) A. A. Blagoveshchensky: "Shevchenko v Peterburge" (1858-1861), *Istori-cheskiy Vestnik* (The Historical Herald) 1896, No. 6, June, pp. 896-905.
- 31) A. S. Afanasyev: Cf. footnote 16.
- 32) N. E. Savichev: Nikita Savichev, "Kratkovremennoye znakomstvo s Tarasom Grigoryevichem Shevchenko" (Brief Acquaintance with Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko), *Kazachiy Vestnik*, Novochoerkask, 1884, May 24th and 27th, No. 53, 54.
- 33) M. O. Mikeshyn: In T. H. Shevchenko, *Kobzar...* Prague, 1876, pp. XIII-XXIII.
- 34) M. M. Lazarevsky: "Iz vospominaniy o T. G. Shevchenko" (From Recollections of T. G. S.) *Russkiy arkhiv*, Book I, continuation 4, April, pp. 643-647.
- 35) Gern, Karl Ivanovich — staff captain, born in Lithuania, his wife was Russian.
- 36) F. M. Lazarevsky in *Kiyevskaya starina*, 1899, Book 2, February, pp. 151-167.
- 37) Kostomarov: "Pismo M. I. Semevskomu", *Russkaya starina*, 1880, Book 3, March, pp. 597-610.
- 38) Ja. P. Polonsky: In: Shevchenko, *Kobzar...* Prague 1876, pp. IX-XIV.
- 39) Shevchenko, *Povne zibrannia tvoriv v desiaty tomakh*. Vydavnytstvo AN URSR, 1939 r. (Complete edition of Shevchenko's works in ten volumes. Published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), vol. 5, p. 224.
- 40) N. F. Savichev in *Kazachiy vestnik*, Novochoerkask, 1884, May 24th and May 27th, Nos. 53, 54.
- 41) Shevchenko: "Autobiography."
- 42) V. L. Berenshtam: "T. G. Shevchenko i prostolyudyny..." (T. G. S. and the simple people...) *Kiyevskaya starina*, 1900, Book 2, February, pp. 248-260.
- 43) Ivan Maksymovych Soshenko: *Biograficheskiy ocherk* (Biographical sketch), Kiev, 1867, pp. 31-41.
- 44) Bronislaw Zaleski: In: Ivan Franko, *Lysty Shevchenka do Br. Z.* (Shevchenko's Letters to Br. Z.), Lviv, 1890, pp. 23-56.
- 45) V. L. Berenshtam: Cf. Footnote 42.
- 46) V. L. Berenshtam: Cf. above.
- 47) V. H. Shevchenko: "Spomyanky pro Tarasa..." (Recollections of Taras...), Lviv, *Pravda*, 1876, No. 1, 15 (3) January, pp. 23-28, Nos. 2, 30 (18) January, pp. 64-69.
- 48) A. S. Afanasyev (Chuzhbynsky): Collected Works, Vol. VI. St. Petersburg, 1891, pp. 417-450.
- 49) V. H. Shevchenko: "Spomyanky pro Tarasa..." (Recollections of Taras...) in *Pravda*, Lviv, 1876, No. 1 and 2.

⁵⁰) Shevchenko: "Autobiography", *Kiyevskaya starina*, 1885, No. 11, pp. 431-435.

⁵¹) Al. Lazarevsky, in *Osnova*, 1862, Book 3, (March), pp. 1-10.

⁵²) Sava C.: (New) Material to Shevchenko's Biography, *Osnova*, 1862, Book 5, May, pp. 45-61.

⁵³) I. K. Zaytsev: In: *Shevchenko v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*, Moscow 1962, p. 45, 405.

⁵⁴) M. K. Chalyy: Ivan Maksymovych Soshenko, *Biograficheskiy ocherk* (Biographical Sketch), Kiev, 1876, pp. 31-41.

⁵⁵) V. L. Berenshtam, in *Kiyevskaya starina*, 1900, Book 2, February, pp. 248-260.

⁵⁶) *Shevchenko v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*, Moscow, 1962, Footnote to p. 225, p. 443.

⁵⁷) Ibid, p. 465/66, Footnote to p. 315.

⁵⁸) *Lysty do Bronislava Zaleskoho* (Letters to Br. Z.), Lviv, 1890, pp. 23-56, edited by Ivan Franko.

⁵⁹) *Shevchenko v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*, Moscow 1962, p. 466, Footnote to pp. 315-316.

⁶⁰) P. V. Annenkov: *Literaturnyye vospominaniya* (Literary Recollections), Moscow 1960, p. 446.

⁶¹) V. V. Kovalev: *Vospominaniya o T. G. S.* (Recollections of T. G. S.), *Po moryu i sushe*, 1896, No. 8, February 25, pp. 135-137.

⁶²) Turgenev, I. S.: In: T. G. Shevchenko, *Kobzar...*, Prague 1876, pp. III-VIII.

⁶³) L. F. Panteleyev: *Vospominaniya* (Recollections), Moscow 1958, pp. 220-227, 235-237 and 173; cf. also L. Panteleyev: *Iz vospominaniy proshlogo* (Recollections from the Past), St. Petersburg 1905.

⁶⁴) Letter by D. I. Kipiani from Petersburg to his wife in Tiflis, cited in *Shevchenko v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*, Moscow 1962, p. 482.

⁶⁵) Shtakenshneyder, Diary from Tuesday, November 21st, 1860.

⁶⁶) Cf. above, footnote 62.

⁶⁷) Book review of *Die Weltliteratur* (World Literature) in *Das Bücherblatt*, Zurich.

⁶⁸) Book review of *Die Weltliteratur* in *Bericht und Informationen*, 1951.

⁶⁹) Frauwallner, E.; Giebisch, H. und Heinzl, E.: *Die Weltliteratur*, Vienna 1950 f., issue 11, vol. III, p. 1615.

⁷⁰) R. Zemkevych: *Taras Shevchenka i Belarusy* (Shevchenko and the Byelorussians), *Nasha niva*, 1911, No. 8, p. 118.

⁷¹) A. S. Afanasyev: *Collected Works*, vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1891, pp. 417-450. Cf. also the article: Roman Smal-Stocky: *Shevchenko and the Jews*, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Chicago, 1959.

⁷²) Iv. Voloshyn: "Akyn-Tarazy", *Literaturna hazeta*, 1939, January 17, No. 3, p. 2.

⁷³) V. H. Shevchenko: "Spomynky pro T. H. Shevchenka." (Recollections of T. H. Shevchenko), *Pravda*, Lviv, 1876, No. 1 and No. 2.

⁷⁴) A. O. Kozachkovsky: "Iz vospominanniya o T. H. Shevchenko" (From Recollections of T. G. S.), *Kiyevskiy telegraf*, 1875, No. 25, 26 February, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁵) A. L.: *Grob T. H. Shevchenka v Kiyev...* (The coffin of Shevchenko in Kiev...) *Kiyevskaya starina*, Book 2, February, pp. 314-317.

⁷⁶) Loc. cit. and several other accounts.

⁷⁷) N. S. Leskov: *Poslednaya vstrecha i poslednaya razluka s Shevchenko* (Last Meeting with and Last Parting from Shevchenko), *Russkaya rech*, 1861, No. 19-20, pp. 314-316.

⁷⁸) Ibid.

⁷⁹) Shevchenko: *The Testament* (*Yak umru, to pokhovayte*), Pereyaslav, 1845. Trans. by Vera Rich in "Song Out Of Darkness" *Selected Poems by Taras Shevchenko*, London 1961, p. 85. The Testament is the second Ukrainian national anthem. The poet died in 1861 the year of the peasants' liberation.

Dr. Vasyl SIMOVYCH

A Brief Survey of Ukrainian Literature

Early Period (988-1454)

Ukrainian literature is very old. Its earliest beginnings date back to the era of the Medieval princes of Kyiv. This is the era of the so-called Old Ukrainian, or as it was formerly called by the Ukrainians — Old Rus' literature, which has been claimed by the Russians of today as their literature but is in reality the possession of the Ukrainian people since it was created in Ukraine.*

It derived its style and character, which are religious, from Byzantium, from where Christianity came to Ukraine. All the early "Slova" (speeches), "Poucheniya" (teachings), "Poslaniya" (pastoral letters), "Khozhdeniya" (pilgrimages), and "Sborniki" (compilations), etc., are concerned with religious subjects. Nevertheless one can clearly distinguish two trends, that is to say two literary schools as it were, in these early works: a scholastic trend (Ilarion, Kyrylo Turovsky) and a popular trend (Nestor, Serapion). The works of the former are characterized by great erudition; they deal with church dogmas from an orthodox point of view; their style is affected, high-flown and bombastic. The writers of this school give no account of Ukrainian life at all.

Some idea of Ukrainian life in early times can be gained from the works of the writers of the popular trend, although these works too are for the most part concerned with religious subjects. Not even the old Ukrainian chronicles are free of this trend; they consist of compilations of various legends, historical accounts, translations, extracts from monastic records, and eyewitness reports, many of which include poetic narratives expressing profound feeling and a true sense of the dramatic (as for instance the "Halych Chronicle").

*) Ukraine was designated as "Rus'" until the days of Peter the Great, whilst the territory now called Russia was known as "Muscovy". Peter then claimed the name "Rus'" for his empire and — as the Ukrainian historian Kostomarov ironically comments — thus stole Ukraine's ancient historical name from it.

An exception as regards this emphasis on religious subjects is the exquisite "Song of Ihor", which was written by an unknown poet and has as its theme the disastrous campaign of the Ukrainian Prince Ihor (1185) against the Polovtsi. As can be seen from later imitations of the "Song of Ihor", a special school of poetry might well have developed in the course of time, but unfortunately this Golden Age of old Ukrainian literature in the 12th century was interrupted by the Tatar invasion in the 13th century. Later other Ukrainian writers appear; the style and character of their works do not change, but they are very few in number. The period from the 13th century to the end of the 15th century is the era of the decay of Ukrainian culture and literature.

Only Ukrainian folk-poetry must have been very comprehensive during this entire period, for remnants of it have been preserved to this day in the folklore of the Ukrainian people, above all in districts which are remote from the centres of culture, as for instance in the Carpathians and in Polissia. We refer in particular to the mythological and ritualistic songs in which natural phenomena, as for instance the omnipotence of the sun, are glorified; an example of this trend can be seen in the Ukrainian "Kolyadky" (Christmas carols containing elements of pre-Christian Yule-tide celebrations of the increase of the power of the sun over that of the night), the "Vesnyanky" (spring songs in which Spring is extolled), and the "Kupalni pisni" (the songs sung on the occasion of the summer solstice), etc. The old patriarchal way of life is portrayed in these songs, which also reveal all the beauty of the heathen Slav philosophy of life. It is characteristic of the folk-poetry of the first era of old Ukrainian literature that, unlike the Great Russian epics, it makes no mention whatever of the reign of the princes who ruled the country at that time. Since the average Ukrainian took little interest in the fate of his native country during the era of the princes, he did not extol their rule in his songs. It is in keeping with the mind and soul of the Ukrainian people that their imagination is only stirred by those things in which they themselves participate (cf. the rich folk-poetry of the second era of Ukrainian literature).

The language used in the works written during the first literary era is old Bulgarian, or rather the old ecclesiastical Slav language, which is interspersed profusely with Ukrainian popular idioms, according to the theme. In works in which the theme was more of a secular nature, the language used is mainly Ukrainian. It is interesting to note that all expressions which refer to household articles and utensils, as for example in the Kyïvan Chronicle, are provincial idioms used in the districts bordering on the River Dnieper. The rule that Slav (old Bulgarian) and Ruś (Ukrainian) languages were identical, held good for writers in those days.

Middle Period (1454-1798)

Historical events brought about many changes in the development of Ukrainian culture. After the complete collapse of the Ukrainian state in the course of the 14th century and the unsuccessful struggle of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian princes to restore the independence of the Ukrainian territories in the 15th century, the entire territory of Ukraine fell under Polish rule in 1569. New influences from the West now began to assert themselves in Ukrainian culture. As a result of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the Ukrainians no longer had any access to Byzantine culture; and the southern Slavs, who had transmitted this culture from Byzantium to Ukraine, at that time also disappeared from the map of Europe. The Ukrainians were obliged to orientate themselves to the West if they wished to survive culturally. All cultural influence from the West reached Ukraine via Poland.

The era of humanism produced Franz Skoryna, the author of the so-called Ruthenian Bible (1517). The Reformation led to a number of translations from the Bible in a language which was closely related to the vernacular (the Gospel of Peresopnytsia). Under the influence of the Jesuits, who had been specially established by Poland to protect the Catholic Church against Protestantism, the Ukrainian middle-class founded schools in many towns, as for instance in Lviv, Ostrih, Kyïv, etc.; printing presses were set up and text-books, in particular for history, grammar and theology, were published. In the schools the so-called "Virshi" (verses) were written. These "verses" were written after the Polish style which often had little contents (Sakovych, Stavrovetsky), and in which not the ideas expressed, but the rhymes and the length of the poem were of primary importance. The writing of this type of verse continued for a very considerable time, in fact until the end of the 18th century; practised by itinerant teachers, this genre of literature gave Ukraine a large number of anonymous poets, who in their satirical verses criticized many institutions in private and public life. It was in these schools that the drama originated, after having been brought to Ukraine from the West in the form of miracle plays. Serious religious drama, which developed out of this genre, was — according to the rules of the Kyïvan Professor Dovhalevsky — always combined with comic interludes (intermedia), which had to be written and acted in the living vernacular. The further development of these interludes led to the creation of the national comedy in the 19th century. The oldest Ukrainian intermedium dates from the year 1619; its author was Yakiv Galyatovych. In the 18th century dramas which had a national subject as their theme (Trofymovych, Prokopovych) began to appear, and although their contents were often commonplace, their poetry clumsy and their language artificial, their national significance was considerable.

The Union with the Catholic Church in Brest (1596) laid the foundation for an extremely rich polemical literature (Bronsky, Rohatynets, Smotrytsky, etc.). The Catholic Polish sermon (P. Skarga), which at that time was of a very high standard, was frequently imitated by the Orthodox Ukrainian priesthood. Countless sermons written by prominent men (Stavrovetsky, Radyvylivsky, Rostovsky, etc.) were published; many of them became extremely popular and within a short time were published in second and third editions. (In this connection special mention should be made of the very interesting compilation by Galyatovsky entitled "Klyuch razuminiya" — "The Key to Cognition").

Little is narrated about the life and work of the Ukrainian people in the works of the writers of those days. One is often surprised by the fact that, in spite of the politically turbulent times of the Cossack insurrections against the Poles and the setting up of the Ukrainian state under the Hetmans, the Ukrainian scholars of the 17th century, completely unperturbed by what was happening in their country, continued to study the scholastic philosophy which was already long since outmoded in the West. On the other hand, however, they very skilfully combatted their religious opponents, the Catholic Jesuits, in their writings, — and herein lies their great national merit and service, for the Ukrainian national idea was at that time inseparably bound up with religious faith. Political events left most of these writers unmoved; many of them emigrated to Russia where, thanks to their erudition, they were gladly welcomed by the Tsar, even though the Muscovite rabble hated them.

The monk of Athos, Ivan Vyshensky, the author of about 20 epistles, which were addressed to all social classes of the Ukrainian people, was however an exception in this respect. He was extremely impulsive and a fervent patriot. He sympathized with the oppressed people and in his epistles he calls all oppressors (in the religious sense) to account; he frequently censures and also curses the renegade nobility and the ecclesiastical dignitaries. His viewpoint is often one-sided; he pays homage to Byzantine influences and glorifies the ecclesiastical Slav language, which he regards as divine compared to Latin, and he warns against the West as the source of all evil; but he is nevertheless an extremely interesting figure in this second era of Ukrainian literature.

In this era the chronicle too assumed a form which differed from that of the first era of Ukrainian literature. It now became a purely secular chronicle; written by eyewitnesses (Samovydet, Velychko, Hrabynka), it dealt with the struggles of the Ukrainians against the Poles. The chief figure in all these chronicles is Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Unfortunately all the chronicles are handwritten. The persecution of all that was Ukrainian by the Russian government

during the first half of the 18th century prevented the authors from publishing their works, in which they had expressed all their love for their native country. Thus these chronicles were never printed. This was also the fate of the famous "History of the Rus' People" by the Ukrainian patriot Poletyka, which at the beginning of the 19th century was distributed in numerous copies amongst the Ukrainian nobility and roused their national consciousness again.

This era closes with the life and work of the Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-1794); he was an eclectic in philosophy, the author of numerous poems and philosophical and didactic works, who lived at a time when serious differences began to make themselves felt between the Ukrainian aristocracy and the peasants who were forced to be serfs. Skovoroda represented the interests of the people and interceded for them with many of the big landowners in the regions of Poltava and Kharkiv. Exactly the opposite attitude was taken by the verse-writer Zinoviy, a Cossack and wandering monk, who in his verses expressed all his hatred of and anger against the peasants.

As regards folk-poetry this era was very fertile. Many epic poems, the so-called "dumy", in which life was portrayed from the popular moral aspect, were created during this era. This literary genre also included the historical "dumy", in which the struggles of the Ukrainians against the Turks, the slave-labour imposed on the Ukrainians in Turkish captivity, the struggles against the Poles, the social difference between the monarchist (Hetman's troops) and the republican-minded Cossacks (Sich troops), and other themes were depicted with profound realism. Everything that concerned the Ukrainian people and their country was taken into account by these unknown poets. The language of these epic poems is Ukrainian; their style and form is original and unique; great care is devoted to rhyme and the verse always ends with the completion of the idea expressed; hence the verses also vary in length.

The language of this second era of Ukrainian literature is a combination of the following elements: the Ukrainian vernacular as a basis, Polish (the official state language) and the ecclesiastical Slav language (the language of the Church). Latin influences (Latin was the language of erudition and higher education) are apparent in the syntax. But in spite of the fact that this language was a mixture, it was regarded by the writers of those days as their own language, compared to the ecclesiastical Slav, Russian and Polish languages. Occasionally writers resorted to the ecclesiastical Slav language, but the number of works written in this language was small.

This era in Ukrainian literature has not been claimed as their own by the Russians.

Andrew MOSKALENKO

The Hetmanate in 1918 and Bolshevik Aggression in Ukraine

The Ukrainian State of 1918 was a Hetmanate, headed by Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky. The state form of the Hetmanate was defined by Premier Lyzohub at an interview with Western correspondents on August 23, 1918 as being a "constitutional monarchy on a republican basis". The European press denoted it as a "state force sanctified by the Church".

On May 23, 1918 the Ukrainian State entered into negotiations in Kiev with the then existing RSFSR with the result that on June 12, 1918 a preliminary peace treaty was drawn up between the two countries paving the way to normal relations. Meanwhile, the peace conference was occupied with drawing the Ukrainian-Muscovite borders.

By virtue of its nature, the Ukrainian State was diametrically opposed to the Bolshevik State of Lenin and its existence constituted a stumbling block to the expansion of the Muscovite Empire toward the south, west, and east. At the same time that he was sending Rakovsky and Manuilsky with a 74-men delegation to Kyiv (Kiev) for the negotiations, Lenin was preparing his armed forces for an invasion of Ukraine. He was convinced that the idea of a world revolution was unrealizable and therefore had decided that the most expedient way of disseminating Communism would be to prepare a revolt in Ukraine and time it with an armed invasion of the Red Army. Since the Communists were entrusted with the task of preparing the revolt and their subversive activities were soon detected by the State Guard, the Communist Party in Ukraine was outlawed.

Under instructions from Moscow, transmitted through the Kiev and Odessa consulates as well as through Rakovsky and Manuilsky, the Communists of Ukraine began to organize acts of sabotage, provocations, and assassinations. One of the largest acts of sabotage carried out by infiltrated Bolshevik agents during the Hetmanate was the blowing up of an ammunition depot near the zoo in Kyiv on June 6, 1918. The explosion took a heavy toll in human lives and caused considerable material damage. Until 1945 it had not been established who had caused the explosion and why. However, in 1945

there appeared the publication of **Collected Works of Lenin**, Vol. 35, which carried on page 23 a brief note of Lenin's telephone conversation with Kyiv in which there was reference made to the explosion.

There were also numerous provocations carried out by the Bolshevik agents leading to conflicts between the population and the army. In 1918 there were German and Ukrainian armed forces in Ukraine after the territory had been cleared of Red Army units in March and April of that year. One such document testifying to the provocations is a Report of the Chernihiv Region Governor to the Department of State Guard, dated October 16, 1918. The document fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks the following December and was kept in secret files of the Bolshevik political police until 1942, when, while organizing partisan resistance against the Nazi German armies, they published the document in a handbook on guerrilla warfare. The handbook was entitled **Documents on the Destruction of German Occupiers in Ukraine in 1918** and carried the document on page 188 under the section 218.

Another attempt of the Communists and Moscow agents to seize power and overthrow the government of the Hetman was when the railroad workers declared a national strike on July 18, 1918. Although the strike was staged largely for economic reasons, a demand for wages long fallen due to the workers, the Communists received orders from Moscow to turn the strike into a political issue and stir up an armed revolt. There is no question as to who operated the lever of this plot, for **Izvestiya VTsIK** of July 31, 1918 carried a call to an uprising against the Hetman with slogans: "Long live the Ukrainian railroad strike. Long live the International Revolution. Long live the global Soviet Republic." It was precisely what Lenin had contemplated, namely to start out with a strike, overthrow the Hetmanate, and finish up with a world revolution. Meanwhile, a fund-raising drive was initiated in Russia proper, ostensibly to help the striking railroad workers in Ukraine. As could be gathered from reports in **Izvestiya VTsIK** between July 31 and September 10, 1918, some two million roubles were collected. However, the entire sum and more was allocated to various subversive groups in Ukraine via the consulates and the peace treaty delegation. The State treasury issued the money to remunerate the strikers. Manuilsky himself had offered money to Vynnychenko to help organize an armed revolt. All this is amply described in the book called **Under the Yoke of German Imperialism in the Kyiv Area in 1918**, DVU, Kyiv 1927.

An idea as to the strength of the Communist Party in Ukraine may be derived from materials of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine which was held in Moscow from October 17 to October 22, 1918. There were 112 delegates present — having left Ukraine illegally — who represented a total of some 5,000 members.

That organizers of subversive activities in Ukraine were dispatched from and upon orders of Moscow is revealed in many Communist memoirs. Thus, for instance, V. Chernyavsky wrote how he, together with others, had been sent by the Moscow Central Committee to Kyiv to organize sabotage and help the Bolshevik partisans. Co-authors of the book Shchors, Gerasimov and Erlikh, wrote on page 35 thus: "Together with literature and arms, also organizers of the partisan movement were sent from Unecha into the hinterland of Ukraine". The Hetmanite police, too, had ample evidence on the activities of Bolshevik agents.

Organizers of subversive acts in Ukraine not only received instructions from Moscow, but also went there to hold meetings, congresses, and to work out plans of action. A note in July 20, 1918 published in *Izvestiya VTsIK*, No. 152, reveals that a meeting of Ukrainian subversive organizations was convoked in Moscow and that an appeal had been released to this effect reading in part: "In order to work out plans and methods of struggle, in order to strengthen our organization, we have illegally gathered in our dear Soviet Russia".

The author of the first history of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Ravich-Cherkassky, writes on page 212 of his book about the Military Revolutionary Committee and quotes Order No. 1 of the same, dated August 5, 1918: "Liquidate all henchmen of the Hetman and of the Hetmanite command". And on page 213 we find the following: "Where there is sufficient strength, seize the power at once. Where at the given moment our strength is inadequate, unfold a partisan warfare to the greatest possible exertion. Disorganize the foe, force him to divert against you a part of his units, annihilate small groups and parties, terrorize the headquarters with bombs and shots. Hamper the movement of the armies, arrange collisions and explosions. Use all means necessary to atomize the force of the enemy".

In the meantime, at the peace conference in Kyiv, the Ukrainian delegates demanded that the motion concerning the material and legal status of Ukrainian colonies in Siberia and the Far East be put on the agenda, arguing that these need to be protected. As early as on May 18, 1918 the Bolsheviks had taken prisoner a number of Cossacks east of the Volga who had admitted that the Cossack Movement aimed at establishing an order similar to that incumbent in Ukraine, namely a Hetmanate. Ukrainians everywhere had joined forces against the Bolsheviks as is evident from a statement made by Stalin, then Commissar for Nationality Problems, in an article entitled "On the Southern Front" published in the September 21st issue of *Izvestiya*, No. 205. He said: "As far as the composition of the hostile forces opposing us is concerned, 98% of them are so-called aliens, mostly Ukrainians and cadet officers". A communique entitled "Ukrainian Commissariat for Nationality Problems" and published

in the 183 number of *Izvestiya* on August 25, 1918 relates how emissaries and Chekists had been sent from Moscow to Ukrainian communities in Kursk, Orel, Briansk, Petrograd, Tambov, Kaluga, Yaroslavl and how they had liquidated them.

In view of the facts related in the foregoing, the Ukrainians living within the confines of Russia proper were subjected to severe persecution and mass terror on par with Russian anti-Communists. In some places they suffered even more at the hands of the Bolsheviks. They were arrested and shot. Particularly severe was the terror against the Ukrainians in Moscow, as the peace negotiations were breaking down and a war was threatening to break out between Ukraine and Soviet Russia. As a result, the Ukrainian Government was forced to protest strongly to the Soviet against the violence committed on Ukrainians in Russia and also to all countries informing them of actions of the Soviet of People's Commissars. The note of protest was handed to foreign representatives in Kyïv by D. Doroshenko, then Foreign Minister, on September 25th and 26th, and by telegram to other countries which had no representatives in Ukraine. The United States of America also received the protest note.

Since it had been established by the State Guard that various Soviet organizations, members of the peace delegation, etc., were engaged in subversive activities, the police saw themselves compelled to detain some individuals who had arrived from Moscow as experts and consultants. Moreover, after it had been positively determined that the Soviet consulate in Odessa was engaged in organizing underground Red Army units, that it spent large sums of money to win sympathizers, the Ukrainian Government then arrested the entire staff of the consulate, put them in prison, and later escorted them to the border to release them to the Soviets. This incident was reported on by Manuïlsky and had appeared in the official press on October 12, 1918. An official report on the arrest and expulsion from Ukraine appeared in the October 22, 1918 issue of *Izvestiya VTsIK*, No. 230.

Obituaries

DMYTRO SHTYKALO

(*7. 11. 1909 — †4. 11. 1963)

Dmytro Shtykalo, the editor of the Ukrainian weekly newspaper *Shliakh Peremohy*, which appears in Munich, passed away on the fourth of November, 1963, after a serious illness. The deceased was a great Ukrainian patriot, a prominent member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and a staff member or editor of various Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers, both at home (i.e. in Ukraine) and outside the boundaries of his dearly-beloved, enslaved fatherland — mainly in the Ukrainian diaspora, due to the occupation of the Ukrainian ethnographical territory by Communist Russia.

Abroad the deceased was the chief editor of the weekly periodical *Ukraïnets u Frantsii* (The Ukrainian in France), the periodical *Ukraïnskyi Samostiynyk* (Fighter for Ukrainian Independence), a staff member of the periodical appearing in London, *Vyzvolnyy Shliakh* (Liberation Path), and finally the weekly newspaper appearing in Munich, *Shliakh Peremohy* (The Way to Victory).

The deceased was very active in the service of his fatherland, especially in the underground movement in the Polish occupied West Ukrainian territory (mainly in Ukrainian Galicia) between the two World Wars. It is not surprising, therefore, that as a result of his activities, which were hostile to the Polish rulers, Dmytro Shtykalo was incarcerated several times and had to share the lot of the inmates of the notorious Polish concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka. But he by no means allowed himself to be intimidated by these persecutions by the Polish police. Fearlessly, he worked uninterruptedly for his subjugated fellow-countrymen in the Polish occupied territory of Ukraine.

The late editor studied in the West Ukrainian city of Lviv (Lemberg). As a man and as a passionate Ukrainian patriot, he was a model to his fellow Ukrainian students. He also wrote poetry which reflects his optimism and his great love for his fatherland. To the very end he remained confident and unbroken, even in emigration.

In the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka, Shtykalo wrote a long poem in which he praises the unbroken attitude of his fellow fighters. For:

*We trembled before their blows,
But we did not fall — nor
Kneel before our tormentors.
And we never asked forgiveness.
The tormentors could hardly believe
That the tortured were only too willing
To die for Ukraine... Yes, the
Great idea gave them courage and
Elevated those who believed in it
To heavenly heights...*

The deceased was firmly convinced that Ukraine's just cause would certainly carry the victory one day.

"And then the hour of retribution will strike. The flames of revolution will glow wide and far in Ukraine..."

Dmytro Shtykalo was active for his fatherland in various countries of Western Europe: in Spain, where he prepared wireless broadcasts for Ukraine; in France, as editor of the periodical *Ukrainets* (The Ukrainian); in England, where he was a staff member of *Vyzvolnyy Shliakh* (Liberation Path), a monthly journal appearing in London; and finally in Germany, where he was editor of the newspaper *Shliakh Peremohy* to the end of his life.

Dmytro Shtykalo found his last resting place in the Munich *Waldfriedhof*, where many prominent Ukrainians are buried. Numerous Ukrainians as well as non-Ukrainians attended his funeral which took place on the 8th of November, 1963. Many wreaths and funeral orations attest the great popularity which he enjoyed among his fellow countrymen. Let us honour his memory!

V. O.

ALEXANDER ARCHIPENKO

A few months ago Ukrainian press in the West reported on an exhibition by the contemporary Ukrainian sculptor, Alexander Archipenko. He had already achieved world fame and had been positively received by world critics and world artistic circles. On February 27, it was reported that this Ukrainian artist had passed away in New York at the age of 77.

Alexander Archipenko was born in Kyiv (Kiev) in 1887 and also studied there. Later he moved to Moscow and to Paris. In his later years he developed a completely modern form, with his own individual style and direction. In the years 1920-1923 he exhibited his works in Germany, France and other European countries, and these exhibitions brought him world attention. In 1924 he settled in New York, where he founded his own school. Throughout his stay in the United States he delivered art lectures at American universities, schools and art organizations.

Archipenko underwent an evolutionary development in his creative work, especially in the so-called sculptor-painting technique. Primarily, however, his attention was centred on synthetic realism, as expressed in his sculptures, with its modern beauty and its symbolic language. Archipenko's works are distinguished by their extraordinary compositional design, their rhythm, dynamic force, as well as by their concentrated and pure form.

Western critics compare his works with those of Picasso and Braque in painting.

As far as Ukrainian themes in his work are concerned, portraits of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko are the most famous.

In all civilized languages, monographs on Alexander Archipenko have been published.

During his life time he achieved great fame as an artist and this fame will last — together with the remembrance of this great artist.

Book Review

A BOOK OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AND VALUE

UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA, Volume 1, prepared by The Shevchenko Scientific Society, edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč, foreword by Ernest J. Simmons, published for the Ukrainian National Association by University of Toronto Press, London: Oxford University Press, illustrated, price £15.0.0 for First Volume.

Looking back to the post-war years of the life of the Ukrainian emigration in the Western Free World it can be said that there have been numerous impressive and dignified ventures which express so characteristically the spirit of the Ukrainian people and their unfading national consciousness. Notwithstanding their dispersion in many Western countries and continents, unfavourable political situation the world over and the rather hard conditions of life which affect the intellectual representatives of the Ukrainian Nation on this side of the Iron Curtain, this emigration continues to live and create through its scholars, writers and publicists in order to prolong the life of a free Ukrainian culture and politics.

During the past fifteen years numerous well prepared books have been published on this side of the Iron Curtain. Among them quite a number of books deal with historical subjects and have a monumental value. The one which we would wish to mention here is the general "Ukrainian Encyclopaedia" published by Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1952 and the dictionary "Ukrainian Encyclopaedia", the first three volumes of which appeared in recent years. These two encyclopaedias, which have been compiled and published by one of the Ukrainian Scientific Societies in exile, compelled the Soviet regime in Ukraine to publish a "Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia" which has, however, little in common with the objective scientific methods and attitudes that are usually connected with such publications.

The publication of books in Ukrainian language for Ukrainian people is not the only aspect of the activities of Ukrainian scholars and writers. Since the end of World War II,

they have been actively engaged in the field of publishing books about Ukraine in foreign languages, bringing in this way to the attention of the Free World true facts about the past and present of Ukraine.

The post-war situation created a greater need for the Western Nations to study the developments in Eastern Europe, especially among the Slavonic nations. As everyone knows, the Ukrainian nation, which is about 42 million strong, constitutes the second largest nation in the so-called USSR. There are quite a number of Western scholars, especially Americans, who have devoted much time and energy to the study of the past and present of Ukraine. Only recently several important books appeared on this subject.

But in spite of the efforts on the part of Ukrainians and interested Western scientists and writers, there was still a great gap to be filled in order to supplement the rather sporadic picture about Ukraine in the Western hemisphere. This need was manifested both in the lack of a synthetic study on the history of Ukraine and in a still greater need in the field of bibliographical material selected according to subjects that constitute the history of national development. Once this is accomplished there should be no great difficulty for a historian to trace these sources, to study and evaluate them in order to form a comprehensive picture about the subject.

As has been noted in a number of instances, many Western historians, while writing about Ukraine and its people, their culture, historical developments and present aspirations, seldom go further than the material provided for them by Russian historical literature, which has rather

strong imperialistic bias and does not show much respect for facts. Ukrainian sources are often forgotten, or even unknown.

Two years ago, however, the Shevchenko Scientific Society gave indication that in Canada preparations were being made to the publication of two volumes of a Concise Ukrainian Encyclopaedia in English. On the 7th May, 1964, the first volume of the encyclopaedia was published.

This volume has 1,184 pages and is divided into seven major parts: General Information, Physical Geography and Natural History, Population, Ethnography, Language, History and Culture.

The Foreword for this publication was written by a well-known authority on Slavonic Studies, Ernest J. Simmons. This is followed by 20 pages Content, providing a clear index to this volume. The "Introduction" also runs almost through six pages and incorporates, among general information about this volume, the table of transliterations, notes on bibliographies and a list of abbreviations. This is concluded by a note — a page and a half long — on earliest Ukrainian Encyclopaedias published since 1674.

The first chapter provides general information about the names of the territory inhabited by Ukrainians and lists all the historical changes in the boundaries which occurred throughout the history of Ukraine under physical and political pressures, and is concluded by a short historical account about Ukrainian National Emblems, Flags, Seals and National Anthem. This material is illustrated by several pictures, including the one that depicts the Emblem of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The chapter entitled "Physical Geography and Natural History" runs through 116 pages and is richly illustrated with maps, diagrams and photographs. It gives information about historical and present state of geography, naturalistic studies of Ukraine, geology, soils, relief and landforms, climate, seas and inland waters, flora, fauna, and about Ukraine as a Geographical Entity with its sub-sections.

The most colourful, by material and illustrations, is the chapter that deals with the population and ethnography, which includes articles about physical anthropology of Ukraine (past and present), demographic studies, size and structure of the population, family status, social and professional distribution, literacy and education, movement and origin of the population, ethnic composition and pattern of its settlements throughout the ages, about tribal division, the folk culture, spiritual culture, oral literature, folk art and handicrafts and about the various ways of people's life and folklore. The illustrations include several colour plates, which demonstrate the Ukrainian kylymy (rugs), embroidery, ceramics and Easter eggs (Pysanky).

The chapter, which is devoted primarily to the political history of Ukraine begins on page 521. This is a major chapter which deals with archaeology, Ukrainian historiography, early and mediaeval history, Cossack period, etc., ending at recent years and incorporating the history of Ukrainian emigration before and after the Second World War.

The concluding chapter is devoted to the history of Ukrainian culture, which includes Ukrainian philosophy and the history of Ukrainian literature up to the present days.

This book contains a large Index, elaborately presented. The book is printed on a good paper and has rather magnificent outlook, which indicates that the editors of this important volume as well as the publishers and printers paid their utmost attention to the realisation of the task, which would not be an easy task even for a well provided scientific society of a sovereign state, not to mention a Society which depends largely on donations from patriotic exiles.

The publication of this important book is of very great value in itself. It provides not only a synthetic study on practically every aspect of Ukrainian Nation but also gives the fullest account about the bibliographical sources which consulted by the experts

preparing this book for publication and which are listed for further use by any person who would study the development of Ukrainian Nation.

This is also the first Ukrainian Encyclopaedia published in English. We believe that it would be welcomed

by all the institutions and persons who take interest in the history of Eastern Europe, and by all people and institutions that are engaged in the formulation of policies.

I. Dmytriw

Oleksander Oleś (Kandyba): LIRYKA (LYRICS), translated into Russian by various authors. Foreword by Maksym Rylskyj. Moscow 1962, CIXL, 264 pp., linen-bound. Price 33 kopecks.

In more than one respect this attractive little book, which only appeared on the market a short time ago, represents a rarity, though, of course, not as regards the number of copies (10,000) printed.

Even though Russian poets in exile may occasionally be considered worthy of having their works published in the Soviet Union (as for instance Bunin, whose works were published in a five-volume edition, in the "Biblioteka Ogonek", in Moscow in 1956 and subsequent years), this does not by any means imply that a Ukrainian poet in exile is likely to enjoy this same honour, especially not if, as happened in the case of Oleś, he was not in Russia during the October Revolution and died in Prague in 1944 (July 22nd).

In view of the fact that even Bunin is sharply criticized in the 30-page introduction by L. Nikulin, it is not surprising that it is apparently even easier to judge the works which Oleś wrote in exile negatively; for Oleś reveals two contradictory qualities in his character; he is a pessimist and an optimist, but, as Rylskyj would have one believe, this has little or no connection with the fact that he lived in exile.

Oleś is a poet who, even in his happiest moments, does not forget sorrow and disappointment.

"Hardly has joy soared up on high
Than melancholy promptly crushes
[her again.

In conflict they are both indomitable,
Nor can I say who carries off the
[victory in the end".

Rylskyj's opinion would probably be less interesting had not two other neo-classicists (Fylypovych and Zerov) also expressed their opinion on Oleś. Their objective criticism, which is by no means in favour of Oleś in all points, was sharply attacked by A. V. Nikovsky, whose words: "What Oleś wrote from 1917 onwards is not distinguished by either forcefulness or originality..." remind one of the said introduction by Rylskyj.

According to Rylskyj, Oleś' betrayal of his native country and of the achievements of the socialist October Revolution can be traced back to the fact that, unlike Lesya Ukrainka, he had not the good fortune to find older persons to advise him; thus his work reveals national limitations, for he was one of those Ukrainians who found a reaction for their fight against tsarist oppression in local nationalism. True, so Rylskyj points out, one cannot ascertain in Oleś any animosity against foreign peoples and in particular against the Russian people, but his nationalist trend becomes more profound in exile.

Whereas Fylypovych with his usual pedantry tries to prove that Oleś by reason of its nature could not be a symbolist, Rylskyj — entirely superficially and erroneously — makes him out to be a poor imitator of European modernism, a copy of a copy an enemy of folk-tradition who has been misled by Ostap Lučkyj and has got into the current which flowed away from Netchuy-Levytskyj and Panas Myrnyj. (Trends which Rylskyj, incidentally, together with Zerov in his "Ad fontes", unconditionally accepted at that time!) Rylskyj, however, adds

that Oleś never opposed realism and that there can be no question of trends directed against the people in his pre-revolutionary works. Rylskyj's introduction is interesting inasmuch as he endeavours to put the following interpretation on Oleś' works: that this writer in his earlier works showed a certain tendency, even though it may not have been a profound one, to hold revolutionary views. The reservations which he is obliged to make in this respect seem to be expressed with a certain regret, as for instance: "What I have said here, is, however, meant in a fairly general sense...", or "it must however be stressed that what is meant here is 'man' or 'mankind', but in very general and therefore vague terms..."

Not only Rylskyj's words but also the selection of lyrics in this book endeavour to stress the fact (and in this connection one is reminded of the Soviet attempts to interpret Chekhov's art) that Oleś might possibly have supported the revolution

eventually, had he not emigrated. This volume contains numerous poems written by Oleś as an emigrant, as for example "Prater, Prater", in order to show how despondent he was in exile, once he had realized the spiritual vileness of the emigrants. When Rylskyj quotes a poem in his introduction, its contents are unfortunately not ascribed to the persons who are meant in it:

"You were one of the honest ones,
I do not hesitate to say so, for it
[is true!

In loyalty you served the Tsar,
Devotedly the Hetman, Petlura.
And if it avails you,
You will serve whoever comes".

The music of Oleś' poems, which sometimes remind one of Heine and also of Lesya Ukraïnka, has not only prompted Mykola Lysenko, Yakiv Stepovyj and K. Stetsenko to set them to music, but is also admirably reproduced in these Russian translations.

Dr. Karl Siehs

Ivan Khmil: IDU Z KOBZOYU (I WALK WITH MY LYRE), Chicago, M. Denysiuk Printing Co., 1962, 244 pages. Price \$3.00.

Senseless World War II, that gross slaughter of mankind, ironically followed the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact of 1939. From that historical cataclysm sprang forth multitudinous publications, describing every phase of it... And yet, the West hardly noticed that in the forests and marshes of Polissia, a forgotten region of Eastern Europe, arose in 1942, from the bushes of the Pripet valley, the incredible UPA — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which heroically though desperately fought Hitler and Stalin against intolerable odds.

A member of that group, Ivan Khmil, a farmer from the region of Kobryn, who lost his family and home in the struggle, made his way to Austria and then to the United States, worked for ten years in a factory here and, at his own expense, has published his second collection of poems (the first one: *Homin Polissia* 'Echo of Polissia', Winnipeg, Volhynian Litopys, 1960, 252 pages) under the title *Idu z kobzoyu* 'I Walk with My Lyre.'

Influenced by the muse of Shevchenko, Oleś, Falkivsky, the self-educated "bard of Polissia" tells us of the horrors of the last war, the bestiality of the enemies, and of the former, peaceful patriarchal way of life of the local population. The partisans sent their poet to the West to tell of their sufferings and sacrifices "about the massacre of little children, which could move stones to cry" (I, 137). The self-satisfied indifferent West "remains deaf" to their plight however and even "celebrates feasts with the monstrous enemy, in vain hoping to reform him" (II, 244). The poet is lonely here and does not enjoy "the cold beauty of heartless foreign lands" uneasily asking himself: "Will the wounds of my heart ever heal and will I ever see you again, my beloved, my native land?" Yet, he assures himself: "We shall return one day to finish the unfinished struggle", and concludes confidently: "We know the price of Freedom; we can buy it only with our blood, if only we keep

kindling the undiminished Faith, Hope and Love in our cooling hearts" (II, 244).

Both collections contain some highly patriotic, inspired, and melodious folksong-like poems. Some of them are, however, too lengthy, repetitious and too didactic in nature. Yet, the

two collections are more than realistic pictures of the horrors of war, and Polissian patriarchal way of life which passed by; they are the sincere and poetic cry of a bleeding and sensitive heart.

John P. Pauls
University of Cincinnati

C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, translators. *THE UKRAINIAN POETS, 1189-1962*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1963. XXX+500 pages. Price \$7.50.

Beyond any doubt, *The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962* should be lauded as an epoch-making event in the presentation of Ukrainian poetry to the English reader. This impressive volume contains representative works of some 115 Ukrainian poets, including anonymous ones, from the twelfth century until today. It opens with *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* (1187-1189), contains five later epics, or *dumy*, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of which the most colourful is "Marusia Bohuslavka", and gives a full selection of the poems of H. Skovoroda (1722-1794), I. Kotlyarevskyj (1769-1838), and later authors. T. Shevchenko, I. Franko and M. Rylskyj are represented by some twenty pieces each, O. Fedkovych, P. Tychna and M. Zerov by some ten poems each, while the other authors are limited

to a few poems. C. H. Andrusyshen, of the University of Saskatchewan, has furnished the book with notes on the poets and an excellent introduction; he has also chosen the selections and provided "a close and exact interpretation of the basic texts". Watson Kirkconnell, president of Acadia University and a poet with "forty years of prosodic experience", has transmuted the literal translations of the texts into English verse.

The rendering is of a high quality, often mellifluous, and worthy of the originals. As one of the highest achievements in the rendering, we point out I. Franko's lyrical masterpiece "Yak pochuyesh vnochi..." The dual translation of Andrusyshen and Kirkconnell successfully competes in all aspects with the original:

If at night, by your window, you happen to hear
A voice that is sobbing and weeping,
Do not glance in alarm at the casement, my dear,
But turn once again to your sleeping!

For it is not an orphan, who motherless strays;
And it is not a beggar who's spying;
It is just my despair that laments all its days,
And my love inconsolably crying. (p. 213)

Indeed, many poems of the anthology are rendered into English verse in identical or effectively equivalent metres. Our objection arises, however, to the iamb which in some poems substitutes trochee of the original. Thus M. Chernyavskyj's "Harvest Time" (p. 278-279) loses much of the mood of the poem, because the original trochee has not been retained. Equally, the same could be said about L. Ukrainka's *Contra spem spero* (p. 255) which was originally written in energetic anapaests but rendered into iambic metre.

Another rather more serious objection arises to the transliteration of the Ukrainian vowel *u*, as in "myth", by the English *i* instead of *y* in the names of the poets. Neither the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., nor the *The Slavic and East European Journal* and the *Slavic Review*, the known authorities in this matter, use it. The Andrusyshen-Kirkconnell system undoubtedly contradicts the established practice in publications, in which *u* is transliterated as *y*; thus, instead of Tičina and Dmitro, Tyčyna and Dmytro

should have been used, as they are used, incidentally, in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, also published by the University of Toronto Press.

Aside from these shortcomings, *The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962* is a worthy introduction to an acquaintance with

Ukrainian poetry, with its rich variety of styles and its abundant contribution to world literature. The anthology has been sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Yar Slavutych
University of Alberta

DISTRIBUTION AND EXPLOITATION OF MANPOWER IN UKRAINE

(*Economy of Soviet Ukraine* — Kiev)

Under the above title, I. Vlasov and S. Savchenko have published a study in the No. 4 issue of *Economy of Soviet Ukraine* (Ekonomika Radyanskoï Ukraïny). As we should like to discuss some of the statistical data and inferences of the authors, a brief abstract from their study will not be out of place.

Let us first of all cite the occupational distribution of the population in 1960. The following percentages are shown:

Industry and construction	28,9%
Agriculture and forestry	46,5%
Transportation and commerce	5,9%
Trade, public welfare, etc.	4,9%
Education and hygiene	9,7%
Administrative organizations	1,6%
Others	2,5%

The percentage of the population living in rural districts (52%) is almost the same as the percentage of the population employed in agriculture and forestry. According to the statistics of 1913, this figure was 81%.

On the other hand, the urban population rose from 19% in 1913 to 48% in 1960 (exact figures: 6.8 million to 20.8 million).

In reference to this enormous rise, we would like to note that the biggest concentrations of the urban population are to be found in the highly developed industrial regions of Ukraine: Donets Basin — 87%, Luhansk — 82%, Dnipropetrovsk — 77,3%, Kharkiv — 66% and Zaporizhzhia — 58% of the total population of the respective regions.

In these five regions, more than 55% of the total urban population of Ukraine is concentrated. The remaining 45% of the urban population is spread over the other 20 regions. We feel justified in asserting that it is in this same south-eastern industrial zone of Ukraine that the Russians, who were imported from Moscow, have been settled. Statistically, their number is given as 7 million. As a consequence of this strong Russian element, the national character of this industrial zone, which is Ukraine's most important one, is seriously jeopardized.

The urban concentration of the population in Ukraine was brought about, not only by a forced industrialization, but also by an intentional exclusion of industrial sites from rural districts in deference to the industrial sites already existing in the cities. This was also due to the wide gap between the social and cultural level of urban and rural districts, not to mention the enormous difference between the wages of the industrial worker and the wages of the collective farm worker.

The congestion of the population in big cities leads to the shortage of housing. In other words: there are simply not enough apartments. All this has a negative effect on the natural growth of the population and the health and life span of the working classes. In addition, it seriously impairs the utilization of natural resources.

The authors make note of the fact that "the natural growth of the population is reaching frightening dimensions", but they make no effort to enlarge upon this statement. It should be generally known, however, that these "frightening dimensions" refer to nothing other than a forced denationalization of the male segment of the Ukrainian population; and the compulsive and systematic removal of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian girls to the Asiatic districts.

But the development of agriculture necessitates increased manpower. Where is it to be obtained? The authors recommend that the most practical solution would be to draw the required manpower from the rural population, for under the present collective agricultural system, the farmers work only 13-15 days per month, and in West Ukrainian districts an average of 9-12 days per month. As the authors assume, this limited use of manpower is brought about by seasonal fluctuations in agriculture. We would like to add, however, that according to our estimation, this limited use of the existing manpower is primarily a result of the *abolition of private property (in the form of farms), for it alone allowed for the possibility of supplementing actual farming with cattle-breeding — which complemented themselves seasonally.* In addition, the authors advise that industry and in particular the food industries, should be brought into the rural districts. "Those occupied in domestic activities", the women, in other words, are for the authors an important source of labour. Their employment in factories is to be made possible by communal living quarters and nurseries.

Simultaneously, the forceful removal of young labourers to the new industrial districts (the cities), and in fact to the south of the Republic, as well as to the east of the USSR (in actuality, to Russia and Siberia) is to be pushed. As can be imagined, this forceful removal does not at all affect those Russian intruders who have planted themselves in Ukrainian cities at present. Most of all, it affects the Ukrainian youth, for by forcefully removing them from their native soil, Russia's russification policies to achieve a "united and indivisible Russia" are furthered.

This is the way in which that "glorious task of rebuilding a communist society" — which in actual practice amounts to a relentless genocide of the Ukrainian people — is realized.

*

In the same issue of the *Economy of Soviet Ukraine*, two additional articles appear. In context, they are closely related to the problems which we discussed above. One is an article by A. Radchenko: "Main Tendencies and Characteristics of the Technical Advancements in Agriculture". The other: "Concerning the Improvement of Wage Policies in the Collective Farms" was written by O. Vasilyev and T. Chulkov.

The author of the first article maintains that in the agriculture of Ukraine, a great discrepancy exists in the development of technical, agrarian and cattle-breeding processes. In other words, the mechanization of farming through the use of tractors, etc., cannot keep pace with the fullest utilization of the soil and of the vegetation; as well as with selective cattle breeding. Likewise, the fertility of the vegetation and the productivity of the cattle is equally not capable of keeping pace with the actual mechanization.

The shortage of mineral fertilizers (in 1962, the quantity of the fertilizers available for the sugar-beet crop was only a little more than half of the amount available in 1957), the forced cultivation of maize and of sunflowers make it necessary to exceed the optimum limit for the conservation of the soil and for the sowing of the winter crop. This has brought about a reduction of the yields of staple foods by several quintals per hectare. In 1962, for example, the plan for the ploughing of the fields for the purpose of letting them

lie fallow for the winter was fulfilled only to 52.7% by October. This meant that even those fields which had been ploughed were not really fallowed; it had been done too late. Even the matter of crop rotation is very often contrary to the rules of agricultural science. Neglecting to plough the fallow fields leads to an impoverishment of the nitrogen, vegetative and humidity content of the soil — and consequently to a diminishing of its fertility potential.

To sum up, it can be said that this kind of nomadic, predatory agriculture which has always been the outstanding characteristic of old Russian farming techniques is now systematically ruining the genuine foundation of agriculture in Ukraine. For example, the shortage of fodder supplies which so affects selective cattle breeding, as well as inadequate animal-breeding led to the fact that in 1961 the annual allotment of fodder per cow was 1773 kilograms as compared to 2103 kilograms in 1957. When we take into consideration the fact that in Holland the record figure for fodder allotment is about 10,000 kilograms per year, we see that the Dutch cows must have a far greater milk yield — about five times as great, in fact.

In 1961, the agriculture in Ukraine utilized only 2.1% of the general amount of electrical energy which it was able to obtain from the Agricultural Administration of the Republic. This fact speaks more than all the propaganda assertions of a great "process".

*

Finally, the third article is concerned with the matter of wages in the collective farms. That the collective farmers represent that segment of the population which has been most neglected and most exploited for obvious political reasons ought to be generally known. For many years, a wage policy was practiced in the collective farms, whereby a part of the farmer's basic wages were paid only at the close of the financial year. The state-determined prices for farm produce were so incredibly minimal, that the farmers were barely able to subsist from their earnings. The author admits that "this did not fully correspond to the increased material interests of the collective farmers", or to put it in clear terms: No one wanted to work for the parasites gratuitously. For this reason, the Russian "Pharaohs" had to resort to "cash advances", with the intention of later introducing regular monthly payments. "The importance of a guaranteed monthly wage is enormous", gleefully shouted one of the communist economists and proved statistically, that as a result of this new wage system, the production rate increased by 59%. This man has really discovered America!

But even under this new system, a collective farmer must work as many as 542 "work-days" per year, in other words, about 14 to 15 hours per day, to earn enough money to live. In several collective farms, a system of piece work was introduced (in other words, not much different from the usual practice of the "colonial capitalists").

But even in this case the state overseers determine the procedures and limits by setting the "justified wage norm" in accordance with the notorious "Stakhanovite" system. It very often comes about, indeed, that the retroactive wages are computed, but they are by no means paid out. In this way, the undermining of the collective farmer's material interest is achieved. As a consequence of these economic policies, the net cost of a hundred pound sack of potatoes exceeded the market price (sales price) as much as 5 to 8 times in the collective farm regions of Luhanske, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Kherson and Mykolaïv.

It should not at all be a matter of surprise, therefore, that such a "Soviet Economy" not only cannot surpass the productive capacity of private enterprise, but cannot even catch up with it. In the meantime, however, the peoples subjugated by Russia must continue to live in a state of dire misery.

M. Skrypnyk

Karl Anders: MORD AUF BEFEHL (MURDER BY ORDER) — The Stashynsky Case, 111 pages, Verlag Fritz Schlichtenmayer, Tuebingen Neckar.

The above book presents a complete, convincing and conclusive factual report on the Stashynsky case, one of the most monstrous, most unusual, and most sensational cases in the history of political murders.

In his skilfully developed, excellently documented, and gripping book, Karl Anders illuminates the personal and political motivations behind the murder, with the intent of showing the public what lies behind the eternal refrain *ex oriente pax* and the hypocritical slogan, peaceful coexistence.

By an unfortunate circumstance, the student Bohdan Stashynsky fell into the hands of the KGB, from which there is no escape. Being an intelligent, weak-willed and easily influenced person, he represents the ideal type of an agent. In October 1954 he set foot on German soil for the first time, and in the Spring of 1957, he received the order "to shadow" the exile politician, Dr. Lev Rebet, living in Munich. Stashynsky knew that Rebet was to be "removed" and on 7th October 1957, the murder weapon was put into his possession. It was a so-called poison pistol, an insidious, ingeniously devised weapon that does not leave any traces on the victim.

On 12th October he lay in wait of Rebet and murdered him treacherously, by ejecting a poisonous stream into his face.

In accordance with his orders from the KGB, Stashynsky had carried out the murder of Dr. Rebet. He had committed the perfect murder.

His second victim was to be the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera. Following an unsuccessful attempt on Bandera in May 1959, Stashynsky succeeded in killing the Ukrainian exile, Stepan Bandera, on 15th October 1959, in the same way as Lev Rebet.

The shocking fact that political murder is ordered by one of the highest official administrative departments of the Soviet Union, with the knowledge of and by order of the government; the fact that the execu-

tion of the murder not only ruthlessly infringes upon the sovereign rights of a foreign state, but also upon the recognized rules of international law and human rights — these facts prove that the Soviet government will never reform itself from the top.

By decree of the Supreme Soviet, Stashynsky was awarded the Order of the Red Banner on November 6, 1959.

In 1960, he married a German woman, whose anti-Communist and anti-Soviet attitude strongly influenced him. When he noticed that he was being spied upon, that the KGB no longer trusted him, and that he was not safe in Moscow, his position became more and more untenable. He resolved to flee to the West with his wife, and on 12th August 1961, he gave himself up to the Americans in West Berlin.

The Karlsruhe sentence states: "The accused is guilty of being an accomplice in two cases of murder, and furthermore, of treacherous relations. He is sentenced to a total of eight years imprisonment".

The justice of the sentence can be doubted and the voluntariness of Stashynsky's repentant reversal can be doubted; apart from this, however, the author's very positive attitude toward Stashynsky strikes one disagreeably. The tendency of the author to present him as a martyr of the Bolshevik system is clearly evident in this book, and the reader is tempted to pity Stashynsky as a man who had the misfortune of being born in the Soviet Union, who had the misfortune of falling into the hands of the KGB, and to receive orders to commit two murders — instead of seeing him, with due respect to justified benevolence, for what he really is — namely, a double murderer.

With the Karlsruhe trial, another gloomy chapter in the history of Ukrainian emigration, of the Ukrainian people, came to an end, a people who have experienced much — more bitterness than sweetness.

Angelika von Schuckmann

Ukrainian Chronicle

METROPOLITAN JOSEPH SLIPYJ— MAJOR ARCHBISHOP

Msgr. Joseph Slipyj, the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv, was awarded the hierarchical grade of "Archiepiscopus Maior" on the 23rd of December 1963.

Msgr. Slipyj is the first catholic bishop who has been officially awarded the dignity of Major Archbishop. This title, which has not yet been codified, exists only in the Oriental Church. It is a special distinction of a Metropolitan see, which is not a Patriarchal see, i.e., a so-called autocephalous Metropolitan see, which is recognized as such by the Pope or by the Oecumenical Council. The title of Major Archbishop is a special hierarchical grade — higher than that of a Metropolitan. It is on the same plane as the hierarchical grade of "Catholicos" of the Armenians, Chaldeans and Georgians; and the "Maphrianos" of the Syrians. The "Primate" in the Latin Church is somewhat comparable to these hierarchical grades.

A Major Archbishop enjoys almost the same rights as a Patriarch in respect to the appointment of bishops in the see of a major archbishopric, the establishment of eparchies, the revision of liturgical books, the appointment of an "Apochrissarios" of The Holy See. According to law, he is the throne assistant to the Pope.

As a result of his award of the title of a Major Archbishop, Metropolitan Slipyj — as was also the case with Patriarchs some time ago — was appointed a member of the congregation of the Eastern Church by Pope Paul VI. As was stated by the Vatican press office, the award of this title to Metropolitan Slipyj was simultaneously a recognition and confirmation of the history and tradition of the Metropolitan see of Lviv.

After 17 years imprisonment, Major Archbishop Slipyj was released by the Communist Russians a year ago. He is living in the Vatican City.

MOSCOW DISAPPROVES OF MSGR. JOSEPH SLIPYJ'S APPOINTMENT TO MAJOR ARCHBISHOP

The Soviet Embassy in the Italian Republic informed the office of the Vatican Secretary of State that the Soviet Union did not approve of Metropolitan Slipyj's appointment to Major Archbishop. This appointment meant the singling out of Msgr. Slipyj as the leading personality of the united Ukrainian hierarchy, and thereby a rehabilitation of the Ukrainian Church, which no longer officially exists in the USSR. In this the Soviet government sees an infringement of the agreements that were reached in the negotiations over Slipyj's release.

Moreover the Soviet government maintained that the exercise of the offices of a Major Archbishop could, under circumstances, have a negative effect in further negotiations over a *modus vivendi* between the church and the state in the "socialist" countries. Slipyj's relationship to the anti-Soviet Ukrainian refugee circles is especially irritating Moscow.

After 17 years' imprisonment, Archbishop Slipyj was released from the Soviet Union at the beginning of last year. Upon his arrival in Italy, he took up residence in the Vatican city. His appointment to Major Archbishop took place in December of last year.

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

According to the last census, there are 473,000 Ukrainians living in Canada. Their cultural organizations and their social life are better developed than those of the Germans, whose number is ca. 1,050,000.

DIEFENBAKER CHALLENGES KHRUSHCHOV

Soviet Premier Khrushchov could show his good intentions for world peace by liberating Ukraine, Opposition Leader John Diefenbaker told a packed house at Massey Hall January 26, 1964.

Mr. Diefenbaker was guest of honour at the 46th annual celebration of the declaration of Ukraine's independence from Tsarist Russia in 1918, an independence that lasted but two short years before the country was overrun and became a Soviet satellite.

Thunderous applause greeted the former Prime Minister as he told his audience that Mr. Khrushchov could start making the United Nations a "great instrument for peace" by paying up the 56 million dollars of which the USSR is currently in default.

Mr. Diefenbaker praised the Ukrainian people for their spirit which has provided the "golden threads in the tapestry of freedom". They were people that had enriched Ukraine and Canada with an abundance of tradition in music and art, providing a "galaxy of greatness" from which all the world could draw a useful lesson.

Reviewing some of the historical highlights of Ukraine, the opposition leader told his audience they well knew the meaning of freedom.

Perhaps Mr. Khrushchov, who himself had told the UN that all the countries of Africa should be free of colonialism, could mark this independence day with an announcement that Russia would give up its Communist colonialism, Mr. Diefenbaker said.

Canada is in a position to take a lead in championing the cause of freedom, Mr. Diefenbaker said. The responsibility rests on the shoulders of External Affairs Minister Paul Martin, and the Opposition Leader said he looked forward to seeing Mr. Martin take a strong stand.

During the evening, Prof. Borys Martos, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ukraine in 1919-1920, now living in New York, addressed the assembly in their native tongue.

The spirit of the occasion was intensified by the colourful Prometheus male voice choir singing a number of well-known Ukrainian folk songs.

"The Toronto Daily Star"
January 27, 1964, Toronto, Ont.

U.S. SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN OBSERVE 46th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

Numerous U.S. Senators and Representatives honoured the 46th anniversary of Ukraine's independence by delivering special addresses dedicated to the struggle of the Ukrainian people.

Prior to the observance of the 46th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University and President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, sent a special letter to each U.S. Senator and Congressman requesting that they send individual messages on this important anniversary of the Ukrainian people.

The Most Reverend Jaroslaw Gabro, Bishop of the St. Nicholas Diocese in Chicago for Ukrainians, delivered a solemn prayer in the House of Representatives, while the Rev. Myron Pacholok, pastor of the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Troy, N.Y., read a prayer in the U.S. Senate.

In the U.S. Senate the following Senators made appropriate statements in honouring the 46th anniversary of Ukraine's independence: Kenneth B. Keating (Rep., New York); Frank J. Lausche (Dem., Ohio); Daniel K. Inouye (Dem., Hawaii); Quentin N. Burdick (Dem., North Dakota); Everett M. Dirksen (Rep., Illinois); Thomas J. Dodd (Dem., Connecticut); and Milton R. Young (Rep., North Dakota).

On the same day, that is January 22nd, 1964 in the House of Representatives the following Congressmen made statements in commemoration of the 46th anniversary of Ukraine's independence and sovereignty:

Mark Andrews (Rep., North Dakota); Thaddeus J. Dulski (Dem., New York); Frank J. Becker (Rep., New York); Frank T. Bow (Rep., Ohio); Don L. Short (Rep., North Dakota); Harold C. Ostertag (Rep., New York); R. Walter Riehlman (Rep., New York); Albert H. Quie (Rep., Minnesota); Daniel J. Flood (Dem., Pennsylvania); Michael A. Feighan (Dem., Ohio); Edward J. Patten (Dem., New Jersey); John C. Kluczynski (Dem., Illinois);

William G. Bray (Rep., Indiana); Ronald V. Libonati (Dem., Illinois); Edward J. Derwinski (Rep., Illinois); Frank J. Horton (Rep., New York); James C. Cleveland (Rep., New Hampshire); L. N. Nedzi (Dem., Michigan); Seymour Halpera (Rep., New York); James J. Delaney (Dem., New York); Barrat O'Hara (Dem., Illinois); George H. Fallon (Dem., Maryland); George M. Wallhauser (Rep., New Jersey); Edward P. Boland (Dem., Massachusetts); Clement C. Zablocki (Dem., Wisconsin); Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (Dem., New Jersey); Roman C. Pucinski (Dem., Illinois); Joseph G. Minish (Dem., New Jersey); Cornelius E. Gallagher (Dem., New Jersey); Leonard Farbstein (Dem., New York); John H. Dent (Dem., Pennsylvania); Glenard P. Libscomb (Rep., California); Emilio Q. Daddario (Dem., Connecticut); William H. Bates (Rep., Massachusetts); James D. Weaver (Rep., Pennsylvania); Charles S. Joelson (Dem., New Jersey); Abraham J. Multer (Dem., New York); John D. Dingell (Dem., Michigan); Henry C. Schadeberg (Rep., Wisconsin); Fernand J. St. Germain (Dem., R. I.); John V. Lindsay (Rep., New York); Alexander Pirnie (Rep., New York); and Charles A. Buckley (Dem., New York).

The following Governors and Mayors proclaimed Ukrainian Independence Day:

Nelson A. Rockefeller, New York; Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey; William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania; James A. Rhodes of Ohio; Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts; Paul Fannin of Arizona; Otto Kerner of Illinois; George W. Romney of Michigan; William L. Guy of North Dakota;

and the mayors: Robert F. Wagner of New York; John F. Collins of Boston, Mass.; Richard J. Daley of Chicago, Ill.; J. P. Cavanagh of Detroit, Mich.; Thomas Whelan of Jersey City, N.J.; Andrew Banick of Carteret, N.J.; Eugene H. Nickerson, Commissioner of Nassau County, L.I., N.Y.; Joseph M. Barr of Pittsburgh, Pa.; E. Flynn of Yonkers, N.Y.; J. Flynn of Perth Amboy, N.J.; Samuel E. Vickers of Phoenix, Arizona; Chester B. Kowal of Buffalo, N.Y.; Thomas G. Currigan of Denver, Colo-

rado; Richard C. Lee of New Haven, Conn.; James Dworak of Omaha, Nebraska; Porter W. Homer of Rochester, N.Y.; Wm. F. Walsh of Syracuse, N.Y.; James J. J. Tate of Philadelphia, Pa.; Elisha C. Freedman of Hartford, Conn.; Paul G. De Muro of Passaic, N.J.; Ira Schoem of Clifton, N.J.

SOBER VOICE OF POLISH REVIEW

From time to time there appears in the Polish press in the free world a realistic and sober reappraisal of the Polish attitude toward Ukraine in general and toward the Western Ukrainian lands (held by Poland from 1920 to 1939) in particular. As a rule, all Polish political groups still claim "historical rights" to Western Ukraine which, as is known, has been and remains overwhelmingly Ukrainian from the ethnic viewpoint.

An exceptional view in this respect is maintained by the Polish exile group around *Kultura*, a Polish-language monthly magazine appearing in Paris, France. The group in its editorial policies not only recognizes the claim of the Ukrainian people to their freedom and national statehood, but also considers that the future disposition of Western Ukraine is a matter for the Ukrainian people themselves to settle.

One of the more noted writers of the group, Juliusz Mieroszewski, for instance, in the January-February, 1964 issue of *Kultura* (Nos. 1/195-2/196, 1964), made a cogent analysis of an article by Leo Heiman which appeared in one of the issues of the Ukrainian Bulletin (July-August 1963, "Soviet-Polish-East German Deal at Ukraine's Expense", by Leo Heiman). Discarding outright the possibility of a possible exchange of the port city of Stettin (Szczecin) for a substantial part of Western Ukraine, including the Drohobych-Boryslav oil region and the capital of Lviv, between Walter Ulbricht and Wladyslaw Gomułka under the benevolent patronage of Khrushchov, author Mieroszewski wrote:

"The matter of the alternative 'Plan Z' has not only a German aspect, but it has a Ukrainian aspect as well. We

could return to Lviv only with the understanding and consent of the independent Ukrainian authorities. Whether then, as once Lobodowski proposed, could a Polish-Ukrainian condominium be established, or whether the agreement would assume another form and character, is a matter to be seen. I am sure, in fact, that the Poles, who have been taught a lesson, would not return to these lands against the will of the Ukrainian people..."

This is, indeed, a sober thought regarding the Polish-Ukrainian problem. We would like very much to hope that this view is shared by the Polish political leadership in the free world, a development which would greatly enhance Polish-Ukrainian understanding.

REPROACHES AGAINST CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI AND MINDSZENTY

At a press conference in Paris, Khrushchov's son-in-law, Alexey Adzhubey, the chief editor of the Soviet official newspaper *Izvestiya*, reproached the Polish cardinal Wyszynski and the Hungarian cardinal Mindszenty for supporting reactionary activities. Unfortunately, there were still too many priests who concerned themselves less with the salvation of the faithful than with state matters, he said. Adzhubey reserved the right of the Soviet state to champion atheism with propaganda.

At a dinner given by the diplomatic press in Paris, Adzhubey declared that the Soviet government would remain true to its atheistic principles. This, however, did not hinder talks with Christian-minded governments. Concerning the anti-semitic brochure "Judaism Unadorned", which was published in Ukraine, Adzhubey stated that it was "unfortunate and badly done". In the Soviet Union this brochure had been suppressed, while numerous issues were printed in the United States and used to promote anti-Soviet propaganda. According to Adzhubey's statements, all national groups enjoy complete freedom in the Soviet Union.

To the question why Khrushchov

had not re-opened the Jewish theatre that had been closed under Stalin, Adzhubey answered that there were no Ukrainian or Byelorussian theatres in Moscow either, but that many Jewish actors had parts on the Soviet stage. The demand to name Jews who held leading positions in the Soviet Union was parried by Adzhubey with the question: "Name me a Russian who holds an office in Israel".

SHEVCHENKO STATUE UNVEILED IN WASHINGTON

An unprecedented rally of 60,000 American Ukrainians witnessed the dedication of a magnificent monument to the greatest Ukrainian national poet and bard of freedom of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), in Washington, D.C., on June 27th. The 14-foot-high statue representing the poet, a fiery opponent of Russian imperialism, as a young man is the work of the Ukrainian-born sculptor Molodozhanyyn who lives in Winnipeg, Canada. The statue was unveiled by former President Dwight Eisenhower at a solemn ceremony after a procession from Washington Memorial to the site of Shevchenko monument situated in a tiny park at 22nd and P streets, NW.

The erection of the statue and its dedication were sponsored by the Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America, Inc., which includes more than 150 notables, among them 20 U.S. Senators and 70 Congressmen, under the Honorary Chairmanship of former President Harry S. Truman. The Committee collected more than 350,000 dollars (about £125,000) to build the statue.

In his speech of dedication, General Eisenhower said the statue would serve as a message to millions of oppressed people in present-day Eastern Europe and give them "constant encouragement to struggle against communist tyranny, until, one day, final victory is achieved."

COMMENTS ON "RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE"

In connection with the publication of the book "Russian Oppression in Ukraine" the publishers received the following letters:

from EVELYN LINCOLN, The White House, Washington, November 26, 1963.

"I deeply regret that a note of thanks did not reach you before the untimely death of President Kennedy. However, I wish to assure you that your gift was very much appreciated."

JAMES SHEN, Government Information Office, Republic of China, December 27, 1963.

"This is to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your circular letter, and a copy of "Russian Oppression in Ukraine" which were sent to President Chiang Kai-shek recently."

CHARLES J. KERSTEN, Milwaukee, October 9, 1963.

"Thank you for sending me a copy of "Russian Oppression in Ukraine." I will read it with great interest and I am sure the information contained in it will be very valuable and historic. Thank you again."

Ambassadeur A. A. USHER, Mission Permanente de la République de Côte d'Ivoire, New York, le 4 décembre 1963.

"Je vous remercie très vivement de votre livre "Russian Oppression in Ukraine" que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer par votre note du 28 octobre."

Je suis certain que votre livre me servira beaucoup dans mes activités politiques, et vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes vifs remerciements."

JOHN E. NOLAN, Office of the Attorney General, Washington, D.C., November 4, 1963.

"This will acknowledge receipt of your letter and the copy of "Russian

Oppression in Ukraine." Mr. Kennedy appreciates your kindness in forwarding the book for his library."

KENNETH B. KEATING, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., October 14, 1963.

"Thank you very much for forwarding a copy of the book entitled "Russian Oppression in Ukraine." I deeply appreciate your thoughtfulness in making it available to me."

BIRCH BAYH, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., October 16, 1963.

"Thank you so much for sending me a copy of your newly published book "Russian Oppression in Ukraine." I am looking forward when time will permit my reading it in its entirety."

TALEB SLIM, Ambassadeur de Tunisie, New York.

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter together with your newly published book for which I wish to thank you."

WEGO W. K. CHIANG, Taipei, Taiwan, China, December 23, 1963.

"It is very kind of you to send me your newly published book "Russian Oppression in Ukraine." We are always anxious to learn the criminal and inhuman deeds of the Russians or any communistic group and exposing them to the peoples in the free world. Your new book will be very valuable for that purpose. Before I finish reading it, I want to acknowledge the receipt of the same and express my sincere thanks.

Best wishes for the anti-communist activities and may the coming new year be filled with victory."

Just published:

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

by

Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko
Ukrainian Free University

Published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2.,
1964, 47 pp.+16 pp. of illustrations.

This lucid treatise by Professor Dr. Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko on the little known relations between ancient Ukraine and Western Europe in the Middle Ages provides fascinating insight into close political, dynastic and cultural ties of the Kievan State with the countries of Western Europe.

Price: 12 s. net.

L'EST EUROPEEN

Revue mensuelle

Prix: 1,00 F

Directeur: W. KOSYK

Edité par l'Union des Ukrainiens de France

A b o n n e m e n t s :

1 an 10 F

Abonnement de soutien à partir de 15 F

Etranger 15 F

5, rue Cadet, Paris 9 Tél. PRO 70-03 c.c.p. 18 953-44 Paris



The
UKRAINIAN
REVIEW



III

1 9 6 4

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



RECENTLY PUBLISHED!

ORDER NOW!

A book packed with hard facts and revealing unpleasant secrets hidden behind the façade of the USSR

RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE

Reports and Documents.

This voluminous book of 576 pages + 24 pages full of illustrations contains articles, reports and eye-witness accounts drawing aside the curtain on the horrible misdeeds of the Bolshevik Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian Nation.

*Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
200, Liverpool Road,
London, N.1.*

Price: 36/- net (in USA and Canada \$8.00)

*Printed in Great Britain by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
200 Liverpool Road, London, N.1.*

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XI. No. 3.

Autumn, 1964

A Quarterly Magazine

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky, Mrs. Slava Stetzko

and

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk

Price: 5s a single copy

Annual Subscription: £1. 0.0. \$4.00

Six Months 10.0. \$2.00

Cover designed by Robert Lisovsky

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2.

C O N T E N T S

COEXISTENCE OR LIBERATION? Commentary	3
CELEBRATIONS OF THE 150th ANNIVERSARY OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO	7
ADDRESS BY GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER at the Unveiling of the Monument to Taras Shevchenko, Washington, D.C., June 27, 1964	10
REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN at the Unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko Memorial	12
"UNDER THEIR BANNERS WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS!" Speech by Jaroslav Stetzko at the Reception in Washington on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Shevchenko Monument	13
HYPOCRITICAL SHEVCHENKO CELEBRATIONS IN SOVIET UKRAINE	16
WHY DID THE K.G.B. PLAN TO MURDER THE A.B.N. PRESIDENT?	18
ANTI-SEMITIC PROVOCATION IN KYIV	21
IN SUBJUGATED UKRAINE	25
COMMUNIST PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH	32
<i>Dieter Friede: A FEW REMARKS ON JAROSLAV STETZKO'S ARTICLE, "UKRAINE'S INVINCIBLE YEARNING"</i>	36
<i>Metropolitan Archbishop Andreas Count Sheptytsky: "THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE COMMUNISTS BETRAY THE CHURCH AND THEIR COUNTRY." Pastoral letter, Lviv, 1936</i>	43
<i>Dr. Karl Siehs: OLGA KOBLYANSKA (27.11.1863—21.3.1942). A Portrait</i>	60
<i>Volodymyr Shayan: MYKHAYLO KOTSYUBYNSKY (17.9.1864—25.4.1913). On the Centenary of His Birth</i>	69
<i>Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky: TO THE SUN</i>	72
<i>Angelika von Schuckman: ANTI-KHRUSHCHOV ACTIONS IN SCANDINAVIA AND THE ECHO WHICH THEY RECEIVED IN THE WORLD PRESS</i>	73
COMMENTS IN THE WORLD PRESS	77
KHRUSHCHOV'S SPEECH AT GOETEBORG, SWEDEN	83
AMERICAN PRESS REPORTS ON UNVEILING OF SHEVCHENKO STATUE IN WASHINGTON	85
SHEVCHENKO CELEBRATIONS ABROAD	87
NEW RECTOR OF THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY IN MUNICH	88
Obituaries: PROFESSOR VOLODYMYR DERZHAVYN	90
SERGE LYTVYNNENKO, THE SCULPTOR	91
UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE	92

Commentary

COEXISTENCE OR LIBERATION ?

The free world continues to pursue the mirage of a so-called "peaceful coexistence" policy, whereas Bolshevism, not only continues to wage an irreconcilable onslaught against the West, but also incites various peripheral and civil wars, Communist subversive activities and assassinations of anti-Communist leaders. In addition, the Bolsheviks endeavour to set up Communist-led "Popular Fronts." On the other hand, some Western statesmen hope to unify divided countries such as Vietnam and Korea not through liberation and freedom, but by neutralising the anti-Communist sectors of the respective countries.

Some Western government circles continue to assume a passive attitude toward the ever-spreading ideological and moral debility which is made even more exasperating by the sordid and gloomy affairs (Profumo-Ivanov; Oswald-Ruby) which are staged in the free world by Bolshevik and other maffias.

The West utilizes all its powers to preserve peace at all costs. At times it even goes so far as to issue official statements to try to conceal Communist-organized crimes — as in the case of the murders of the Ukrainian leader Stepan Bandera and U.S. President J. F. Kennedy. Official spokesmen try to make it appear, for example, that there was no organized Communist power or clique behind the assassination of Kennedy. Moreover, the investigation of the murder of Bandera, carried out by Stashynsky and organized by Shelepin at Khrushchov's orders, was pushed aside by the U.S. Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, although it is not at all impossible that a timely realization of the danger might have saved the U.S. President from assassination.

World public opinion is being politically directed in favour of the USSR against Peking.

Every bold anti-Bolshevik initiative is paralyzed by the spectre of an atomic war. At present all efforts are concentrated on finding an effective counter-weapon against absolute weapons.

As a consequence of the forthcoming elections in the United States and Great Britain, the governments of these two countries have reached a state of complete political deadlock and stagnation. This again results in an utter lack of any planned initiative on their part: only occasionally political moves are made, but with the intention of winning favour among the voters.

Moscow and Peking, on the other hand, systematically and methodically surprise the free world with new initiatives, but owing to a lack of a political offensive strategy, these initiatives evoke only stereotyped reactions on the part of the free world.

France's foreign political dynamics are misdirected at times, although she has rightly opposed a future anti-national world government in the interest of every nation and has opposed every form of tyranny. By taking an active position in defense of national sovereignty in all forms of international relations and by building up her own atomic power, France has thwarted the exclusive power drives of two or rather three centres. Although France's general political policies have been right and useful, she has, with respect to her recognition of Peking and her commitment to the neutralization of South-East Asia (which would mean the loss of this area to freedom-loving mankind), drawn conclusions from a false perspective. In her political rivalry with the United States, however, France has so far failed to follow up her most important chance, namely, to support — at least morally — the national freedom liberation movements in the Russian imperium, for the dissolution of this imperium — a support which would stand in opposition to the United States' "non-predetermination policy." A support of the national liberation movements would constitute a far greater danger for the USSR than its conflict with Peking.

France's tactics, including its term "Europe to the Urals" — which could also imply a reverence for Russia — by no means exclude a large intercontinental Rapallo. The importance of the Moscow-Peking conflict is being both optically and factually exaggerated. Although this conflict has its roots in the **national** differences between the two empires — particularly in the mutual avaricious ambitions of the Russian and Red Chinese imperialists (namely, to snatch away territories from each other and to incorporate them into their own empires) — and although this conflict is also rooted in the rivalry of both centres with respect to the claim to leadership of world **Communism**; it by no means signifies a **complete and final break**.

Rather, they are simply pursuing **separate** courses to gain **world control**. This, for example, protects Communist Cuba from being liquidated by the United States, because the U.S., as a consequence of a false evaluation of the conflict and of the danger, supports the USSR. In another case, this causes France to support Red China.

Owing to unclear Red Chinese or Russian backstage moves, the revolution in Zanzibar ("The African Cuba") is chaotically evaluated, which also may result in a loss of this island state to the free world.

Russia's present position is extended and strengthened by Belgrade (by America's financial aid to Tito). The same is also true for the position of Red China with respect to the African and Latin American countries, where Red China is extending its influence. This, on the other hand, forces an increasing mobilization of the genuine anti-Communist and anti-Russian forces in the free world. This exerts pressure on the Great Powers of the West to relinquish their containment policy, which has been politically reduced (including the Monroe Doctrine) to a systematic giving up of positions.

The fact that there are multiple centres in the Communist world is highly exaggerated, for they have always existed in Communism, though without any sovereign territorial basis until now.

In connection with this, the official circles of the West place their hopes exclusively on the national Communist elements, and not on anti-Communist national liberation movements; they set their hopes on Gomulkaism and Titoism, instead of liberation nationalism.

In world public opinion, however, a more frequent condemnation of Communism as the vehicle of Russian imperialism may be observed.

Because the United States State Department is seeking to realize Rostow's doctrine concerning the bipartition of the world, the **de facto status quo** of the subjugated peoples constitutes to be recognized.

The governments of the Western powers continue to underestimate and belittle the importance of the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism, and deny them political and military aid.

The revolutionary national liberation movement in Ukraine and other subjugated countries has become more intensified. This can be substantiated by the open, offensive mass demonstrations of workers and students in various cities of Ukraine and other countries.

The mental, moral and political revolutionary potential in Ukraine and behind the Iron Curtain on the whole has increased as a consequence of the Russian-Red Chinese conflict.

Behind the Iron Curtain (especially in Georgia, Turkestan and Ukraine), the offensive resistance of the young generation has become considerably stronger in the fields of literature, the arts and to some extent in the humanistic sciences.

Khrushchov's economic planning, especially concerning agricultural production in the so-called fallow and virgin territories, has proved a failure.

Russia's relations with the satellite countries (for example Rumania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia) have become more complicated in national as well as economic matters. There is a real chaos in the relations of the "dwarf imperialists" to their opponents — for example, the Czech Communist chauvinists to the Slovaks, or the Hungarians to the Rumanians, the Poles to the East Germans (concerning the Polish-East German conflict) and others.

Fundamentally: Chronical difficulties and an irreconcilable struggle between the non-Russians and the Russians in the Communist Russian empire are a consequence of the unnaturalness of the enforced Communist regime on the subjugated peoples.

More and more the outstanding political significance of Ukraine as an important factor in the anti-Russian struggle comes to the foreground; and her specific role, especially in matters of political ideology, has considerably increased on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Historical evolution and the unconquerable and inextinguishable human will to freedom and national independence confirm and justify the policy of a common front between the free world and those peoples who have been subjugated by imperialistic and despotic powers — a partnership in the fight for the dissolution of the Russian imperium and for the annihilation of Communist tyranny altogether.

The times make it ever more imperative that the tendency of some Western powers to take sides with Russia against China, or vice versa, must be fundamentally and strongly opposed.

During World War II Ukrainian revolutionaries opposed the orientations towards both Nazi Germany and Russia; **a war on two fronts** against these two powers was prepared and fought at the right time. **Red China will not give us any freedom, just as Nazi Germany has not given us any freedom.**

Only the national liberation revolutions — which in the free world's own interest must also receive military aid — show the right way for liberation. They are a sure guarantee for peace and world stability — which can only come about by the destruction of the Russian imperium and complete annihilation of Communism.

CELEBRATIONS OF THE 150th ANNIVERSARY OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO

Every year the Ukrainian people commemorate their greatest poet, Taras Shevchenko. For decades the 9th and 10th of March have been celebrated as Shevchenko Days. During these two days, cultural, literary and also social-political associations and organizations, schools, research institutes and the Ukrainian communities in general arrange lectures, festivals, concerts, etc. His poetry is then read and choruses sing his songs. Well-known personalities give talks and lectures on the life and work of Shevchenko. This year Shevchenko Days are not confined to March alone, but stretch over the entire year. 150 years have gone by since Shevchenko's birth. In commemoration of this special anniversary, Shevchenko celebrations are being held not only in Ukraine and by the Ukrainians in the free world, but also by many other peoples and friends of Ukraine.

Unfortunately, the festivities in Ukraine itself turned out to be much different than the Ukrainian people could have desired. In Kyïv and in all towns and villages, to be sure, Shevchenko Days were celebrated. The Russian overseers, however, did not allow the true Shevchenko to be commemorated. They demanded that everything contrary to Moscow's imperialistic policies be hushed up, and that Shevchenko, who was the most militant opponent of Russian colonialism, who was imprisoned for many years and deported, be presented as a friend of this imperium and an advocate of Ukraine's subordination to Russia.

At all the official celebrations in Kyïv and at Shevchenko's grave in Kaniv, the Russians grabbed the principal role for themselves. To this end, appropriate Moscow functionaries were sent to Ukraine. It was part of their job to control every word that was spoken at the various festivities. It is not surprising, therefore, that to a large extent, the speeches of the day were dedicated not to Shevchenko,

but to the "bourgeois nationalists." Owing to their patriotic act, i.e. the causing of a Shevchenko monument to be erected in Washington the Ukrainians in the United States were especially reviled. The Ukrainian patriots at home who still refuse to falsify the true Shevchenko were also reviled. Even at the opening of the art exhibition in Kyiv, which had been arranged in memory of Taras Shevchenko, they did not refrain from abusive tirades on the one hand and hymns of praise on the other hand. To the scorn of Shevchenko the Shevchenko prize was awarded to various Bolshevik hangmer of Ukraine — to Nikita Khrushchov among others.

The only consolation which remained to the Ukrainian people is the fact that town, villages, buildings, streets, mines etc., are named after their greatest poet. So far, 300 villages, 1 town, 5 factories 100 theatres, 4 universities, 11 libraries and 480 squares and parks in Ukraine have been named after Shevchenko. Individual patriots have sought to express their attitude with respect to the Shevchenko festivities in other ways also. A woman, for instance, enclosed several rubles in a letter to the USA with the request, that this small but genuine donation be accepted as a contribution toward the erection of the Shevchenko monument in Washington.

The Ukrainians living in the free world, on the other hand, were able to celebrate the true Shevchenko, the Shevchenko as apostle of truth, as fighter for the freedom of Ukraine and other peoples as the courageous poet who did not bow down before anyone — he, who as a prophet of all enslaved and subjugated peoples, prophesied a better future.

All the Ukrainian organizations in America, Europe and Australia have arranged, or are still arranging today, concerts, meetings and conferences on a local, regional and national scale. To this end, committees, which include representatives from all Ukrainian groups and organizations, are being formed almost everywhere. In all this, the unity in the will of the Ukrainians to fulfill Shevchenko's testament is demonstrated.

An example of a regional celebration was the one held in Paris in the Gaveau Concert Hall on the 15th of March of this year. André Maurois, a member of the **Académie Française**, was chairman of the honorary committee. In addition many other well-known French and Ukrainian personalities from various regions of France were present. Thy Byzantine choir from Holland and soloists from Paris and Munich gave performances. A French choir also took an active part in the celebration. The speech of the day was held by a professor of the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, JuriJ Bojko.

The celebrations which were arranged by school children and the youth in various cities of the free world, in Montreal, Canada, for example, where over 3000 Ukrainians and their friends took

part, deserve special attention. The entire festivities were organized by ca. 500 students from several Ukrainian schools in Montreal and vicinity. Several school choirs and a student chorus, consisting of 100 singers, gave performances. The speech of the day itself was held by one of the youth.

As can be understood, the artists always played an active role in the various events. Nor were the graphic arts neglected in the Shevchenko year. Art exhibitions in honour of Shevchenko were held in some countries — in New York, from the 17th to the 31st of May, for example. 52 painters and sculptors took part, and over 100 works were shown.

In their own way, research institutes, Shevchenko societies and Ukrainian free academies celebrated the Shevchenko anniversary. In America and Canada, scholarly conferences, with numerous lectures on the work and activity of Shevchenko, were held.

Many of these lectures were printed beforehand or will still be printed this year. Many books in foreign languages have also been published. In England, for example, a collection of Shevchenko's poems translated into English by Vera Rich was published under the title "Song out of Darkness."

The Ukrainian community in Britain celebrated the Shevchenko anniversary by holding numerous commemorative meetings, readings of his poetry and concerts. The central rally of Ukrainians in Britain attended by over 3,000 people took place in the Forest Park in Nottingham on 23rd May, 1964. In the evening a splendid concert took place at Nottingham Albert Hall. Beside Ukrainian speakers, representatives of various exile communities paid tribute to the memory of the great Ukrainian poet and bard of freedom.

A celebration on a national level in Canada took place on the 5th of September of this year in Winnipeg at the Shevchenko monument, which has been erected before the Manitoba Parliament. But the climax of the celebrations in the free world was the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument in Washington on June 27. To be sure, it is not the only Shevchenko monument in the free world. In addition to the monument in Winnipeg, which was erected in 1961, there is one in Cleveland since 1940. This year Shevchenko monuments will be erected in Brazil, in Curitiba and Porto Allegro. The monument in Washington, however, has taken on a special importance, since Moscow did everything in its power to prevent its erection. Former President Eisenhower, who spoke at the unveiling, called it a second Statue of Liberty in the USA.

Almost 100,000 people were present at the unveiling. Not only Ukrainians from the USA, Canada and Latin America, but also Ukrainians from Europe took part in this historical event.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

at the Unveiling of the Monument to Taras Shevchenko
Washington, D.C., June 27, 1964.

First, let me thank you for your generous welcome.

On September 13, 1960, when I signed into law a measure to authorize the erection of this statue, it was my expectation that you would arrange a ceremony of dedication commensurate with the greatness of Taras Shevchenko.

That day is here and you have come by the thousands from all over the United States; you have come from Canada, from Latin America and Europe and from as far away as Australia, to honor the memory of a poet who expressed so eloquently man's undying determination to fight for freedom and his unquenchable faith in ultimate victory.

This outpouring of lovers of freedom to salute a Ukrainian far exceeds my expectation.

But its meaning does not exceed my hope.

For my hope is that your magnificent march from the shadow of the Washington Monument to the foot of the statue of Taras Shevchenko will here kindle a new world movement in the hearts, minds, words and actions of men;

A never-ending movement dedicated to the independence and freedom of peoples of all captive nations of the entire world.

During my boyhood it was confidently predicted that within the lifetime of my generation the principles of our free society would become known to all people everywhere and would be universally accepted around the world.

That dream is faded.

Within the past few decades, the concepts of liberty and human dignity have been scorned and rejected by powerful men who control great areas of our planet.

The revolutionary doctrines of our free society are far from universal application on the earth.

Rather, we have seen the counter-attacks of fascism and communism substitute for them the totalitarian state, the suppression of personal freedom, the denial of national

independence, and even the destruction of free inquiry and discussion.

Tyranny and oppression today are not different from tyranny and oppression in the days of Taras Shevchenko.

Now, as then, tyranny means the concentration of all power in an elite body, in a government bureau, in a single man.

It means that the ultimate decisions affecting every aspect of life rest not with the people themselves, but with tyrants.

Shevchenko experienced this kind of governmental usurpation of decisions he believed he should make for himself.

And he was a champion of freedom not solely for himself.

When he spoke out for Ukrainian independence from Russian colonial rule, he endangered his own liberty.

When he joined a society whose aim was to establish a republican form of government in countries of Eastern Europe, he was jailed — even denied the right to use pencil and paper to record his thoughts about freedom.

Today the same pattern of life exists in the Soviet Union and in all captive nations.

Wherever communism rules there is forceful control of thought, of expression, and indeed of every phase of human existence that the state may choose to dominate.

The touchstone of any free society is limited government, which does only those things which the people need and which they cannot do for themselves at all, or cannot do as well.

Our own nation was created as this kind of society in a devout belief that where men are free, where they have the right to think, to worship, to act as they may choose — subject only to the provision that they transgress not on the equal rights of others — there will be rapid human progress.

We believe also that when this kind of freedom is guaranteed universally, there will be peace among all nations.

Though the world today stands divided between tyranny and freedom we can hope and have faith that it will not always so remain.

Of all who inhabit the globe, only a relatively few in each of the captive nations — only a handful even in Russia itself — form the evil conspiracies that dominate their fellow men by force or by fraud.

Because man instinctively rebels against regimentation — he hungers for freedom, for well-being and for peace.

Yet the will of a few men thwarts the will of hundreds of millions and freedom stands aghast that this is so.

But let us not forget the ageless truth, "This, too, shall pass."

In the nations of East and Central Europe, in the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R., and in Russia itself — where the poetry of Shevchenko is well known — there are millions of individual human beings who earnestly want the right of self-determination and self-government.

His statue, standing here in the heart of the nation's capital, near the embassies where representatives of nearly all the countries of the world can see it, is a shining symbol of his love of liberty.

It speaks to these millions of oppressed.

It gives them constant encouragement to struggle forever against communist tyranny, until, one day final victory is achieved, as it most surely will be.

Most of you here today are of Ukrainian descent or origin.

All of us — if we go back one generation, or two, or ten, find family roots in some other nation, some other continent.

But today, we stand together as Americans, bound by our common devotion to a system of self government — a system that makes it possible for us to be different, and yet united; independent, yet interdependent; diverse, and yet inseparable.

To be successful in bringing peace with freedom and justice to the world, we must increase our joint efforts to make peoples around the world *more aware that only in freedom can be found the right road to human progress, happiness and fulfillment.*

Shevchenko lived and taught this truth.

In unveiling this memorial to the great nineteenth century Ukrainian poet we encourage today's poets in Ukraine, in Eastern Europe, and around the world to embody in their poetry mankind's demands for freedom for self-expression, for national independence, and for liberty for all mankind.

Were he alive today, he would be in the forefront of that great struggle.

And now I recall the words of one of America's greatest sons, Abraham Lincoln.

Speaking here just 100 years ago he said:

"It is not merely for today, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government, which we have enjoyed all our lives."

In the same spirit, it is not merely for today, but for all time to come that we today present to the world this statue of Taras Shevchenko, Bard of Ukraine and Freedom Fighter, to perpetuate man's faith in the ultimate victory of freedom.

With incessant work, and with God's help, there will emerge, one day, a new era, an era of universal peace with freedom, and justice for all mankind.

Remarks by Congressman Michael A. Feighan at the Unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko Memorial

The unveiling of this memorial statue of Taras Shevchenko is a meaningful addition to the other memorials to human freedom which grace our nation's Capital.

In this citadel of human freedom, the birthplace of representative self-government, we are proud of the grand memorials erected to the memory of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and other dedicated Americans who have blazed and enlightened the path of human freedom. We are equally proud of the memorials which stand in this citadel to such men as Lafayette, Kosciuszko, and Steuben, who gave their all to the winning of our national independence. The memorials to such great men as Bolivar, among others, attest to our close kinship with those in other lands who held high the torch of freedom and hope, lighten by our founding fathers. All of these memorials serve to remind us of the timeless and unending struggles of mankind to reject tyranny and oppression — to win freedom and to protect to as a priceless quality of life.

It is indeed fitting that we here should memorialize the Poet Patriot of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko. For above all else, he demonstrated that in the long course of history, the pen is mightier than the sword.

Born into serfdom, at a time when the unique culture and national identity of his homeland was threatened with extinction, he rose up from his dismal beginning to relight the torch of hope in his native land. At an early age the happy hand of destiny rested upon his shoulder, bringing him to St. Petersburg where he met a French Huguenot painter who recognized his talents and became his benefactor. From the time of his

liberation from serfdom until his death in 1861, Shevchenko composed poetry and verse dedicated to the dignity of man and the hopes of his oppressed homeland for freedom and independence. The popular power of his poetry verse as a sustainer of the spirit of his people is attested to by his banishment into exile under a Ukase of Tsar Nicholas I, that he be prohibited from writing or painting for an indefinite period.

A century has passed since the death of Shevchenko, but the message of his literary works burns even more brightly today in the hearts of his countrymen. The sword has been laid upon his homeland many times since his passing. A long line of despots have attempted to stamp out the spirit of Ukraine rekindled by the power of his pen. The despots have passed into the silence of history and while the sword still rests upon Ukraine, the spirit of her people remains in tune with the literary testament of Taras Shevchenko.

We in our time are seeking to strengthen old bridges of friendship with Central-East Europe and to build new ones wherever possible. The only lasting bridges between nations are those whose foundations are built upon the ideals and moral values which sustain the dignity of man.

The ancient bridge between the United States and Ukraine rests upon those foundations. It will endure forever. So too will the memory of Taras Shevchenko who, more than a century ago, expressed the hope of his people for a George Washington, with a new and righteous law. This statue will serve to remind all who visit our nation's Capital that we, as a people, share that fervent hope, and pray that happy day may soon come.



THE UNVEILING OF THE TARAS SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT
IN WASHINGTON.

Standing from the left: President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Prof. Lev Dobriansky; Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Chicago, Jaroslav Gabro; Ukrainian Orthodox Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk; Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower; Mr. Stepan Yarema; Executive Director of the Shevchenko Memorial Committee, Josyf Lyshohir; Mr. Ihnat Bilynsky and the film actor Mike Mazurki.



THE LAYING OF A WREATH AT THE SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT
FROM THE UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN, ON 29. 6. 1964.
Standing from the left: Mr. Wasyl Oleskiw, delegate from Britain; Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the ABN; Dr. M. Kushnir, Washington; Mr. I. Bilynsky, Member of the Presidium of the Shevchenko Memorial Committee; Mr. L. Molodozhany, sculptor of the monument.

Under their Banners we shall be Victorious!

Speech by Jaroslav Stetzko at the Reception in Washington on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Shevchenko Monument.

The resolution adopted by the U.S. Congress to erect a monument in honour of Taras Shevchenko in Washington, as well as the proclamation of "Captive Nations Week" on the basis of a disintegration of Soviet Russian imperium into national independent states, is a documentation of the American nation's solidarity with the national liberation ideals of the Ukrainian nation and its unsurpassable standard-bearer, Taras Shevchenko.

As former Prime Minister of the independent government of Ukraine, I wish to express my warmest thanks to former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman for honouring the great son of Ukraine who by virtue of his heroic martyrdom, his ideas, his powerful word, became one of the greatest of this world. Today, the greatest nation of the world is erecting a monument to the son of a serf, whose spirit, however, was always free, though he experienced external freedom for only 10 years of his life. He was the son of the invincible Ukrainian soil.

I also wish to express my appreciation to the Ukrainians in the U.S.A. for their willingness to make sacrifices and for the great pains they have taken with respect to the erection of this monument and the organization of this celebration. This day has become a historical event in the relations of the American people to the Ukrainian people — what is more, in the relations of the American people to the subjugated peoples. For first and foremost the author of the powerful poem "Caucasus" was a champion of the freedom and independence of the peoples dominated by Moscow, but also for the freedom of all suppressed and tormented human beings. In the name of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, as its President, I greet all subjugated peoples, in the sense of the realization of Shevchenko's ideals, for then there will be no more slaves — only free individuals. The Russian prison of the peoples will fall to pieces and independent states of free peoples will come into existence. The entire subjugated, but unconquered Ukraine will rejoice not only that this monument was erected — owing to the efforts and material sacrifices made by the Ukrainians living in the U.S. — but most of all that we here in the free world, together with sympathetic circles, are honouring Shevchenko's memory, the memory of the unfalsified Shevchenko, of Shevchenko as the standard-bearer of the anti-Muscovite fight for the rights of the Ukrainian nation and of other subjugated nations. We must

think especially of the present-day fighting Ukraine and do our best to support her in this fight.

(An exceptionally gifted man of mental or artistic power, who opens new horizons for the growth of humanity and whose creative spirit and artistic works give birth to ethically good ideas in aesthetic forms, which lift man to heights marking the border between the Creator and nature — to heights that almost reach the Creator — such a man is a genius. An exceptionally gifted man of strong character and firm moral values who by the strength of his will fills the vacuum between that which is possible and that which is desired, stakes his life for "his friends." An exceptionally gifted man of mental or artistic power who opens new horizons for the growth of humanity; an exceptionally gifted man who elevates the altruistic elements in man and makes them the meaning of his existence and who overcomes the egoistic instinct for self-preservation — a man for whom self-sacrifice does not constitute a perversion of man's basically egoistic tenor, but which becomes the very meaning of his life — he is a hero.

The attributes of a hero and a genius, united in one and the same figure, who by the power of his belief and his deeds, by his way-showing ideas — though unheeded by many a contemporary — are nonetheless shining Pole-stars on the dark firmament of the history of a people, of a nation and of all humanity, pointing the way into the future — such a one is a national prophet.

A genius, a hero, a prophet of a nation, a son of a serf, a giant among giants — and not solely for the Ukrainian nation...

The unveiled monument is a tribute to that which is eternal in Shevchenko, a tribute to his universal values. One of these universal values is also the present fight of the Ukrainian nation, a fight kindled by Shevchenko himself, for freedom and independence, for the victory of Christ's truth on earth, for our God-given rights, which are trodden underfoot by the Moscow anti-Christ; the fight against the embodiment of evil on earth — against godless Moscow, the centre of the peoples' prison.

Kyiv's fight, which is carried on under the sign of the Cross, for the new world of truth, of justice, of freedom; a fight whose watchword is "the liberation of our brothers and a glorious victory" over Moscow, the centre of a different criminal world of blasphemers and tyrants — this fight is carried on in the interest of the entire world... Kyiv's legend, like that of our eternal city, is vitally alive to this very day in all of Shevchenko's works...

It is not enough to be sympathetic toward Shevchenko's ideals — one must fight for them...

The victory of the eternal, of truth, is not brought about by itself, but only if those who believe in it carry the victory...

This monument, therefore, is also to be regarded as an impetus to the present fight against Russia, the peoples' prison. For Shevchenko

is not solely the past and not solely the future; he is the present uniting the past by the fight with the future...

For this reason, this celebration today is also a powerful anti-Russian demonstration: the fighter cannot be honoured in any other way; in terms of its purpose and its goal, this celebration must lead to a strengthening of the present front of an uncompromising anti-Muscovite fight, excluding any kind of coexistence with the world of tyranny and annulling present coexistence, for Shevchenko was an uncompromising fighter, who from the depth of his heart hated Russia as much as he loved Ukraine, was proud of her and willing to suffer tortures for her ideas.

Here today, we want to indict Moscow most sharply for the falsification of Shevchenko's ideas and his entire personality; we want to deny Moscow and the hangman of Ukraine, Khrushchov, the right to act on behalf of the peoples subjugated in the USSR. They honour Shevchenko maliciously and hypocritically and slanderously desecrate the memory of the great fighter for Ukraine and for other subjugated peoples by attempting to appropriate him for themselves. Things must be pretty bad with Moscow, if it finds it necessary to try to appropriate Shevchenko, the greatest admirer of Hetman Ivan Mazepa.

The Shevchenko monument stands beside that of Washington, whom Shevchenko admired — and far away from here, on the Baltic Sea, in distant Stockholm, stands the monument of another great man, whom Shevchenko honoured as Mazepa's ally — the monument of Charles XII. The symbolic act of honouring Charles XII by the placing of a wreath on his tomb in the name of the Ukrainian people, an act which called back to mind Mazepa's great deeds, forced an infuriated Khrushchov to publicly attack those who honoured Mazepa's ally in the name of Ukraine. It is the common front of the Western world with the subjugated peoples, led by Ukraine, that Moscow fears most of all...

Moscow is afraid of the mysticism of this fight; Moscow is well aware that the revolution of the spirit in the sense of a rebirth of life's heroicism, the yearning for greatness, i.e. an anti-materialist revolution of the spirit, is the prerequisite for a successful political and military fight.

It is in this sense that I wish to greet this manifestation today: it is to be a step forward toward the free world's understanding of Ukraine's importance and of Shevchenko's message, of the greatest anti-Muscovite fighter and revolutionary: a step forward toward the preparation of a new Konotop. Shevchenko's most ardent desire will become a reality only when in Kyïv, opposite to the monument of the great Bohdan, a monument will be erected to the greatest hater of imperialist Moscow, Hetman Ivan Mazepa, whom Shevchenko so deeply honoured and admired.

Under Shevchenko's and Mazepa's banners we shall be victorious!

Hypocritical Shevchenko Celebrations in Soviet Ukraine

March 9, 1964 marked the 150th birthday of the Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko. For years the Communists have been surrounding the figure of Shevchenko with a literal — but hypocritical cult. Shevchenko was not only a poet — he was also a pioneer in the fight against tsarism; he was in contact with contemporary, progressive forces in Russia, Poland, and Bulgaria. This fact alone extends his importance beyond the boundaries of Ukraine. Shevchenko celebrations have taken place not only in the Soviet Union, but in all countries having a "people's democracy" — and also in the West. UNESCO has also contributed to their success. Naturally enough, the climax of these celebrations took place in Ukraine. The 150th anniversary celebration of this year was accompanied by various special events: several periodicals published special issues, and numerous other publications appeared. On 10th March, *Radyanska Ukraina*, as well as the entire Soviet Press, published an extensive report about the festive soirée in Moscow and about a similar celebration in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv (Kiev). The festivities in Moscow were organized by an All-Union Memorial Committee, the presidium of which included representatives of the presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the USSR Council of Ministers. The speech of the day was held by the well-known Russian writer, Nikolay Tikhonov. The artist Borys Yohansen and the writer Oleksander Kornychuk were among the speakers from Soviet Ukraine. The Leningrad poet, Alek-

sandr Prokofyev, whose sympathy for the Ukrainian people and Ukrainian culture stood its ground against the severe test of the persecutions in the Zhdanov era, held a particularly outstanding speech, which he concluded with a statement of political and demonstrative import. Although it is customary for Soviet speakers to apostrophize the "great" Russian people, Prokofyev paid tribute to the Ukrainian people with this adjective.

The celebrations in Soviet Ukraine assumed the character of an all-Soviet demonstration. Delegations from the other 14 republics appeared in Kyiv. The Soviet Ukrainian press printed a report about the pompous state reception with which the Soviet Ukrainian "government" honoured them. During the festivities on the 9th of March, places of honour were reserved for them in the presidium. P. J. Shelest, 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine held the opening speech. On the following day a demonstration was held at the Shevchenko monument in Kaniv.

Of the important events which took place on this occasion, the following are worthy of mention: The festive announcement of the Shevchenko prize-winners. The prize for literature was awarded to the Russian N. S. Tikhonov and to the Ukrainian A. S. Malyshko; the fine arts prize was awarded to the painter V. I. Kassian; the prize for music to the composer S. P. Lyudkevych. In addition, a scholarly conference, organized by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, a number of concerts, exhibitions, etc. took place.

On June 10, 1964, a monument to Shevchenko was unveiled in Moscow, in the square opposite the "Ukraina" Hotel. Khrushchov himself made a speech at the ceremony attacking Ukrainian nationalists for their defence of the truth about Shevchenko. He hit out:

"Ukrainian nationalists try to make the creative works of Taras Hryhorovych (Shevchenko — Ed.) their weapons. But the Ukrainian people have understood well the profound international content of the poetry of their best son. He was always loyal to the friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian... peoples of our country... Even today, an acute class struggle is going on about the creative work of Shevchenko abroad. The enemies of communism, including the bourgeois nationalists who labour at the doorsteps of their imperialist masters, as before, continue to make attempts to utilise the creative work of the great Bard for their treasonable purposes. They distort and falsify it in every way. However, these calculations are doomed to failure."

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Yu. Shelest, a loyal lackey of Khrushchov and his henchman in Ukraine, repeated his boss's calumny of Ukrainian nationalists:

"...Our class enemies, bourgeois nationalists abroad, have tried on many an occasion, and even now are still trying, to distort the creative work of the Bard in order to utilise it for their sordid aims. But they will not succeed in it, they will never succeed!"

The "jubilee concert" which took place on the same day in the Kremlin began with an officially inspired song which was to hallmark the entire vogue of insincere festivities:

"Mother Moscow and our own Kiev,
Motherland is proud of you.
Ukraine and Russia have become
Kinsmen for all time."

On closer examination of the reports about the Shevchenko celebrations, it is clearly evident that the representatives of the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia and most likely the larger part of the Soviet Ukrainian bureaucracy also took this opportunity

to demonstrate their emancipation aspirations, which indicated various directions. On the one hand they "corrected" a number of questions concerning Ukrainian-Russian relations. In this connection the article by the Ukrainian writer Maksym Rylsky that appeared in the March 9 issue of *Radyanska Ukraina* is worthy of note. In general the Soviet literati were inclined to explain Shevchenko's political consciousness as having been strongly influenced by the Russian "revolutionary democrats." In the Stalin era this explanation was an unassailable dogma, and even those critics were labelled "bourgeois nationalists" who pointed out that such an influence could not have been possible if for no other reason than that Shevchenko was already a mature personality, whereas some of these Russians were still children at the time of this movement. Maksym Rylsky expressed his view regarding this delicate question as follows:

"Of course there was Radishchev; there was Rylleyev; there were the "Decembrists"; there was Griboyedov; there was the shining of the life-giving sun of Pushkin. Of course his relationship with the progressive men of Russia had a fruitful effect on the formation of the young poet's (Shevchenko's) Weltanschauung, exactly as was the case with Adam Mickiewicz in his time. But nonetheless, it must be pointed out that Shevchenko chose and outlined his own course as national poet."

The feeling that the time had come to reveal Ukrainian-Russian cultural relations in a somewhat more truthful light was clearly evident in all the statements.

The attempt first and foremost to credit Kyiv with the success of the Shevchenko celebrations was another direction of the energetic aspirations on the part of Soviet Ukrainian circles, whose self-confidence had been strengthened. "State" delegations from Soviet Ukraine were dispatched to many countries — an especially large delegation was dispatched to Poland. Kyiv sought to acquire the initiative for the Shevchenko celebrations in the Western world also.

Why did the K.G.B. Plan to Murder the A.B.N. President?

In May 1959, Bohdan Stashynsky, the killer of the late OUN Leader, Stepan Bandera, received orders from his Berlin-Karlshorst KGB chief, Sergey, to start tracking down Yaroslav Stetzko. Stashynsky knew perfectly well what Sergey had in mind and did not need any explanations. Details about the ABN President were known to him from his KGB training. He knew that Yaroslav Stetzko was Prime-Minister of Ukraine and that he occupied the first place after the OUN Leader. For KGB, Stetzko and Bandera were equal in their political importance: Bandera was considered the chief ideologist of the OUN and Stetzko — the chairman of the Ukrainian government. The Muscovite overlords considered Col. Yevhen Konovalets, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetzko, and Col. Andriy Melnyk, symbols of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, and they knew about their popularity in Ukraine. However, the KGB did not count Col. Melnyk among dangerous enemies of the Muscovite imperialism as he was not engaged in active politics, being not politician at all, but only a soldier in an advanced age. For these reasons, he ceased being the object of interest for Muscovite security organs.

While issuing orders to Stashynsky of shadowing Stetzko and giving him Stetzko's residence and passport aliases as acquired from one of his agents, Sergey expressed his indignation at Stetzko's visit to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa. He was irritated by the fact that Stetzko conducted his visit in Formosa as an official visit by a statesman. Sergey regarded this fact as outrageous; in his opinion Stetzko could act in Formosa only as representative of an emigrè "clique", but not as a chairman of an official mission.

In May 1959, Stashynsky observed the premises of Yaroslav Stetzko in person; he made a photograph of all inscriptions on the door, and reported everything to Sergey in detail. It was obvious to Stashynsky that Stetzko was scheduled by the KGB to become the next victim of Muscovite killings as similar preparations and investigations were also made in the case of Dr. Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera.

Stashynsky knew that Stetzko was the ABN President maintaining numerous connections in different countries and carrying on an extensive political action in the countries where Ukrainians were living and in Formosa. At the training courses of the KGB, which were attended by this Muscovite agent, the case of Yaroslav Stetzko and the liberation struggle of the OUN were elucidated from political and historical points of view. For Muscovite security organs, Stetzko and Bandera always represented a unity: both for years having extensively carried on struggle for the proclaimed aim of the Ukrainian independence, and both having been well-known in Ukraine as freedom-fighters for this reason. In the Soviet Union, and, particularly, in Ukraine the name of a personality has its meaning and if, e.g., in Ukraine, stated Stashynsky, an appeal signed by Stetzko were put in circulation, every one would connect with this name the ideas of freedom and independence. In opinion of the KGB, and of the Ukrainians themselves, history of the recent decades was made in Ukraine by Col. Yevhen Konovalets, Col. Andriy Melnyk, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetzko, and with such men as Yaroslav Stetzko living, the case of Ukrainian independence seemed to everybody in Ukraine as being continuously actual and no need for losing the hope in final liberation of the Ukrainian people from Muscovite enslavement was being felt.

According to depositions by Stashynsky, the KGB believes in final victory by the Soviet Union in the internal-political struggle against the national-liberation movement of Ukraine on condition, however, that the Ukrainians lose their "symbols." It is for this reason that the Muscovite security organs continue attempts at the physical liquidation of prominent Ukrainian political leaders living beyond the borders of Ukraine.

Stashynsky envisaged the evident danger to himself for his being the same person who was to trace addresses, to conduct investigations, and to execute attempts. However, the KGB was mostly concerned with the circumstance of having the fewest number of people involved in the attempts. Accordingly, Stashynsky was strictly forbidden to mention the names of Bandera, Rebet, or Stetzko to anybody with the exception of Sergey. He had also no accomplices while executing attempts upon Rebet or Bandera, and he is sure that no attempter will have any accomplices in the future. The attempt on the life of Yaroslav Stetzko was not executed at that time because it was still premature, simultaneous attempt upon Stepan Bandera would have aroused suspicions. All dignitaries of the KGB including Shelepin were unanimous in their opinion that it was necessary to wait until "the grass on Bandera's grave would grow up." Stashynsky has been firmly convinced that he would have got orders to kill Stetzko in winter of 1961-1962 if his wife arrived in Moscow as it was consistently urged by the KGB.

According to Stashynsky, it is difficult to avoid an attempt on life in the long run if it is planned by the KGB. However, he believes that its execution could be made more difficult if some precautions were consistently used, as, e.g., changing names and surnames every three years; frequent changing of residence, and changing at least by leading persons of the OUN, of the countries of residence. Their passport aliases and surnames should correspond to the most popular surnames used in respective countries. Aliases and addresses cannot be entered into any address- or telephone books because the latter are the most important source of information for the KGB organs. Any prohibition by the police organs to disclose the addresses, has no importance at all because Soviet agents would never try to find them out by consulting the police. According to Stashynsky, Bandera's address was established with the help of a telephone book where his surname was entered as Popel (Slavonic surname!) and the first name was not even changed.

In addition to pistols shooting potassium cyanide, which were successfully applied in the case of assassinations of Dr. Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, the KGB organs practice mailing packages with high explosives which tear up victims trying to open them. Also a poisoned needle has been used, which is being shot from a "pistol" with the help of condensed air and which leaves no traces.

On the basis of the fact that Sergey showed him a picture of an unknown person whom he identified as Stepan Bandera, Stashynsky arrived at a conclusion that previously another KGB agent had been preoccupied with the Bandera case.

Stashynsky was also cognizant of the fact that the "Committee for Return to Fatherland" functioning in East Berlin, was subordinated to respective department of the KGB, which was dealing with the emigrés.

BOOK ON UKRAINIAN FREEDOM FIGHT IN SPANISH

The Ukrainian Institute in Buenos Aires has published in Spanish a book by Enrico Martinez Codo dealing with the Ukrainian liberation fight during the last 20 years. E. M. Codo is a well-known writer. He is the author of the excellent article on the partisan

war in Ukraine, which was published in the periodical, *Military Review*, in November of 1960 in the USA. This article was also reprinted in a French military periodical. We can highly recommend this new publication by our friend to our readers.

Anti-Semitic Provocation in Kyïv

In Soviet Ukraine, a work by T. K. Kichko, *Yudaizm bez prykras* (Judaism Unadorned) was published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The author is an expert on atheistic propaganda directed against the Jewish religion. Within the past years he has already published two similar brochures. Between these two brochures and the present publication, however, there is a great difference. This is shown not only by the fact that this work was published by the Academy of Sciences, but also by the whole formulation of the work. Apparently, some circles in the USSR are of the opinion that Kichko has produced a kind of atheistic handbook on Judaism. The world press, including Communist newspapers in Western countries, has appraised this work as an outgrowth of anti-Semitism. A number of Communist parties have protested to the Party Centre in Moscow. In various Western capitals, delegations of Communist, but also of independent, organizations have contacted the diplomatic representations of the USSR and expressed their indignation over this incident.

Communist leadership in Moscow as well as its branch in Kyïv have attempted to detach themselves at least partially from Kichko's bungled creation. In the March 26th issue of *Radyans'ka Kultura* of this year, a fairly extensive critique of the above mentioned brochure appeared. The two reviewers, B. Lobovyk and K. Yampolsky made use of very questionable tactics. On the one hand, especially on **fundamental** questions, they fully supported Kichko. They appraised the work as being "**basically positive**", and criticised only "a few limitations." They criticised Kichko, for instance, for not having sufficiently explained why the Communists regard religion as a hindrance to the construction of Communism in his numerous examples of the undignified behaviour on the part of rabbis or other representatives of the Jewish faith. Kichko was accused of having simplified some problems. He had overlooked a number of factors

which favour the survival of religious remnants. Above all the tremendous losses which the Jews suffered during the Naz persecutions and which led to the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of families were also mentioned.

More interesting are the attempts of both critics to detach themselves from Kichko's attacks, which are an insult not only to the Jewish religion, but also to the Jewish people. But they do not only restrict themselves to the historical role of the Jewish people in the past — they also deal with some contemporary questions. The thesis that Zionism and the Jewish people could be equated, is condemned. They call to mind that Jewish leftist socialistic organizations have carried on and are still carrying on a fight against Zionism. The assertion that the inner political life of Israel has its roots in Zionism is also represented as false.

In Kichko's work there appeared various sinister caricatures, which are reminiscent of the style of the anti-Semitic periodical *Der Stürmer* (The Assailant). And it is precisely these caricatures that have caused the greatest stir in the West. *Radyans'ka Kultura*, however, does not condemn them **fundamentally**: "The formulation of the book raises serious objections. Very many of the pictures that are printed in this book, as well as the cover of the book, are pretentious, slipshod, of a **low artistic** calibre and can only insult the faithful."

At the conclusion of their review, both authors return to their original thesis: **If these shortcomings were removed, then there would be nothing objectionable about the book.**

This review can well serve as a classical example of the ambiguous attitude of the Soviet Communists to the Jewish question. A discussion of **the fundamental questions that are contained in Kichko's book** was carefully avoided, not because both authors wanted to, but because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pursues a definite course with respect to the Jewish question. Only to save the face of the Communists in the West, **a few** negative judgements on **a few**, with respect to the book, non-fundamental questions were passed.

Among the leadership of the **Communist** Party in Ukraine, there is a group of avowed anti-Semites, who have been organizing anti-Semitic provocations for a number of years. There are three influential leading Communists in this group: Georgy Georgievich Shevel, head of the ideological department for industry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine; Lubomir Dmitrievich Dmyterko, chief editor of *Literaturna Ukraïna*; and finally, Trofym Korniyevich Kichko, one of the chief lecturers on propaganda against Jewish religion of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Already in the Stalin era, these three men participated in the anti-Semitic campaigns, launched by Stalin and the Soviet Security organs.

When the arbitrariness of the Security organs reached its point of culmination under Stalin in the Spring of 1953, Shevel, the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine at that time, took the opportunity of the XV congress of his organization to step up the campaign, initiated by Stalin, against "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" and "Zionists." His speech was published in the Party organ *Radyans'ka Ukraïna* of February 12, 1953. At that time, he attempted — and not in the capacity of a youth leader, but in the capacity of a Stalinist agitator — to incite the young people to seek out "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists and Zionists" everywhere and "to unmask" them without mercy. Completely in line with Stalin, he designated this task as the main aim of Komsomol activity in Ukraine.

During Stalin's reign of terror, Dmyterko played an especially harmful role. In the Moscow *Literaturnaya Gazeta* of March 9, 1949, he attacked a number of leading Soviet Ukrainian writers — Holovanivsky and Pervomaysky among them. In his article he advanced the thesis that there was a secret society of "cosmopolitans and Zionists" in Soviet Ukrainian literature. What this meant at that time is clear: In this roundabout way Dmyterko demanded that the Secret Police carry out reprisals and death sentences against numerous representatives of Ukrainian culture — against completely innocent people.

He accused the writer Tokar of glorifying the founder of the Soviet Ukrainian theatre, L. Kurbas. Just how absurd this accusation was can be ascertained from the fact that Kurbas was liquidated as a "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalist", whereas Tokar was labelled a "Jewish cosmopolitan" by Dmyterko. Many of the Soviet Ukrainian literati were actually victimized by these denunciations, for the Secret Police made use of them as evidence for their questioning and reprisals.

Finally, Kichko is a special figure in this group. During Stalin's reign he graduated from the Moscow Party Academy; already at that time he specialized as an official adviser on the Jewish faith. As can be imagined, his reports were not used solely for Party purposes at that time. After Stalin's death, he published two brochures on the Jewish religion. Using his knowledge of Judaism as a camouflage, Kichko appealed to the basest instincts, incited hatred of the Jews and trampled upon the dignity of devout men.

In Soviet Ukraine the situation with respect to anti-Semites is similar to that in Moscow. A number of leading personalities in the cultural sphere who participated in Stalin's anti-Semitic actions and who were responsible for reprisals against innocent men were never called to account by anyone after Stalin's death. At the meeting of Khrushchov and other Party leaders with the cultural

elite in December 1962, the prominent film director, Romm, conjured up those times of the past. A "homeless cosmopolitan", whose features were unmistakably Semitic and who was holding a book entitled **Zhid** (a term of abuse for "Jew") appeared on the title page of the satirical periodical "Crocodile." Romm's statement, made to Khrushchov and the Party leaders who were present, approached an accusation: "Neither the caricaturist who drew this, nor the one who tolerated these utterances were condemned by us." **The fact is that leading anti-Semites from the Stalin era are still influential in Moscow's cultural life today.**

In Kyïv, the Kremlin proceeds in the same way. Today, the film director Kurbas is rehabilitated, but Dmyterko, who caused many writers to be committed to prison by defaming Kurbas' name, is still dictating Soviet Ukrainian cultural policies. In the October 15, 1963 issue of *Literaturna Ukraïna*, which is edited by him, a recently discovered poem by Ivan Franko was published. This poem depicts the social conditions in a West Ukrainian village at the turn of the century. In this poem Franko deals with what was the curse of the rural population of that time — namely, the Jewish village inns, which were not only a temptation for drunkenness; above all, they were responsible for the hopeless indebtedness of the Ukrainian peasants. **Instead of a commentary**, the newspaper published a report on the activities of the Kyïv militia in the same issue. This report was intended to create the impression that the Jews represented an especially high percentage among the criminals. As a fitting embellishment to Ivan Franko's poem, the photograph of a Jewish couple who were taken into custody on a smuggling charge appeared. These are the methods used by the chief editor of *Literaturna Ukraïna* and the former accomplice of Stalin's provocations. Khrushchov equals Stalin — there is no difference!

It is no accident that anti-Semitic publications also appear in Ukraine. Of the 2,268,000 Jews in the Soviet Union, 840,000 (according to the 1959 census — *Pravda*, February 4, 1960) are living in Ukraine. Now there are more than 900,000 Jews living in Ukraine! This figure gives special weight to anti-Semitic publications. **The initiators of these controlled manipulations are to be sought in Moscow.** With this kind of publications they want to compromise the Ukrainian people also and the Ukrainian intelligentsia as anti-Semites in the eyes of the world. This tactic has proved effective. To a certain extent, the world press reports on the recent events in Ukraine included the entire Ukrainian nation in their negative commentaries, i.e., have played along with Moscow!

The Ukrainians vehemently reject this slur on the good name of Ukraine and warn the West from falling into the anti-Ukrainian trap set by Moscow.

IN SUBJUGATED UKRAINE

A REVOLUTION IN THINKING AMONG THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH

Last year numerous Western tourists, primarily from the USA, visited Ukraine. Among them were Americans of Ukrainian descent, some of whom had not forgotten the Ukrainian language. The travel reminiscences of all the tourists that were later published in different newspapers and periodicals all agree on one point: the Soviet Ukrainian youth is gripped in a wave of critical protest. Some observers of this new event in Soviet Ukraine even speak of the outbreak of a revolution in thinking. Most of all this refers to the secondary school and university students. It is precisely this social group, however, that constitutes the milieu from which the rebellious writers and artists stem. Here one finds forces that are making it possible to break through the strong pressure of the Party and the Russian regime.

The official Soviet Press also prints sufficient material that confirms this attitude on the part of the youth. In January of this year, various meetings were held in Soviet Ukraine, among which was also a plenum of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine. From magazine articles it can be seen that the young Ukrainian writers are not silent, that their works are again being printed and that the critical tone of their works is irritating the Party bureaucracy. The young Ukrainian poet, Borys **Necherda**, for instance, was strongly criticized in the *Pravda Ukraïny* of January 9, 1964, for his anthology *Materyk* (The Mainland). Especially his description of the present life of the at one time famous and captivating "Stakhanov" workers created a stir: They get drunk; they are outdated — not only in their dress, but also in their behaviour. At one time they were obsessed with work, which even robbed their sleep — a work that consumed them. This work was a "sweet song" — other than it, they knew nothing. In the case of Borys **Necherda**, this situation is repeated, but various Western critics of Ukrainian literature fail to make note of this in their reviews. The young poet regards his creative activity as a contribution to the modernization of Ukrainian contemporary literature, and just as his fellow artists, he no longer seeks his inspiration in the traditional themes of the peasantry. That he is talented, even his enemies must admit that.

In the cultural institute in Lviv, a student discussion was held one evening in January. It was dedicated to the question, whether the youth should regard the mutual creation of life as their goal, or whether they should regard life as merely a matter of getting along as best one could. Students from all Soviet Ukrainian universities took part in this discussion. Above all, the initiators of this discussion wanted to indicate the role of future qualified specialists.

On the 7th of January 1964, *Molod' Ukraïny* printed a report of this meeting. The report was not complete, but nonetheless it gave an impression of the critical tendencies among the Ukrainian students. On January 8, the Lviv wireless station also quoted several aspects of the discussion, which was conducted exclusively in the Ukrainian language.

It was indicated that among the Ukrainian students there is a strong opposition to the burdening of the youth with various social and political tasks. A participant reported the following: "During the first semester I received very good grades because I did not have any social tasks. Later I became the leader of a literary circle, and I began to take part in the publication of an institute newspaper, etc. Quite frankly I must say that it is very difficult to combine public work with study. Now I receive average and even very poor grades." To be sure, others tried to question this view, but it turned out that many other students had similar thoughts on the subject.

The question of careerism constituted a second critical point among the students. Many were of the opinion that one who was fixed on acquiring a career at the university had increased possibilities of receiving a good grade. As a student of a polytechnic expressed this view, he evoked cries of protest. It was fairly established, nonetheless, that the opposition to careerism is very strong among the students. This is accompanied by another view. Simplicity and an antipathy against pathos arise as a reaction against the efforts of the Party to make Communist heroes out of the students, and many students express this antipathy openly. On the programme that was presented to the participants of the discussion, there was a question, which was formulated somewhat as follows: "Your position with regard to principles, honesty, etc." One student was of the opinion that it would be best not to answer this question at all, for it contained the tendency to self-praise and the singling out of oneself.

During the discussion the serious attitude of the students to their future profession stood out. School is no factory — this was the view of one student. While the Party was concerned that the student should have a clear picture of his future profession, the students expressed the view that this was not at all possible because study, above all, meant the preparation for a profession. It was not possible to formulate just how this was concretely visualized. In his talk to the group, a university professor tried to persuade the students to

demonstrate even more civil courage in every situation that was offered them. He said that the youth's right to free expression of their ideas was not being fully exhausted. When he went so far as to call on the students to criticize their professors if their lectures were not up to the desired level, a retort was evoked: "It is a pity that you yourself cannot try that, for if you could, you would be immediately asked: What is your name? What field are you in? When are your exams? I have experienced this."

A student from the veterinarian institute who came from the country told about the degree of amateurishness of the future veterinary surgeons. On first encounter they created the impression that they were learning diligently, "but a woman who has milked cows for five years knows more about animals than they." He was of the opinion that this circumstance should be a matter of grave concern in the student Komsomol organizations, and that their total activity should be directed toward the improvement of the student educational standards. Fairly sharp disputes broke out concerning the activity of the Komsomol organizations at the universities. They were mostly inactive; only the secretary and two "conscientious ones" did anything.

The discussion in Lviv was an official one, which was to serve the purpose of intensifying the political activity of the students and to stir their enthusiasm for their function as "builders of Communism", according to Party lines. But the critical attitude of the students was impressive. In the Soviet Union today, they are not just a part of things. On many principal questions they represent their own viewpoint, which is strongly opposed to the desires of the Party.

THE STATE PROPERTY THEFT TECHNIQUE

The Soviet Ukrainian Press continually writes about the substantial number of state property thefts. On the front page, *Radyans'ke pravo* (No. 1, 1964) published an article by the public prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR, F. Hluch, who describes the situation on the basis of his own experience. Some sections of the dissertation make it possible to reconstruct the theft technique.

First, by means of various manipulations, one attempts to put aside a portion of the requisitional products and wares. As soon as this is accomplished, the articles are sold at the "regular" price and the acquired proceeds are put into private pockets. Also, the attempt is made from the raw materials that have been acquired in this way; done by economizing on materials and by willfully falsifying the declaration statements with regard to the materials. Articles are then made from the raw materials that have been acquired in this way; they are sold in state stores, and the proceeds increase private riches. In the trading organizations the sale of various articles has been

standardized; the money received for cheaper articles is privately pocketed. Finally, the state funds for the purchase of agricultural machines are embezzled. The above mentioned article points out that various local industrial firms have the authority to obtain raw material from private sources and on this basis they can manufacture articles in excess of the demanded amount. In this way, a wide range of manipulation possibilities arise in these firms. In the hosiery manufacturing plant in Lviv, speculators have purchased large quantities of cotton, synthetic fibres, etc. and have manufactured articles from them, which are nowhere registered. Great dangers arise from this practice because the number of purchases is very high in a "decentralized way." In the trading organization of "Gostorg" in Odessa, the merchandize turnover during the last year was assured only between 55 and 60% by planned deliveries; the remaining sales rested upon "decentralized purchases." A band of thieves was detected there who specialized in the purchasing of articles in other cities of the republic and again by standardation of the prices, they managed to make quite a bit for themselves.

It appears that the theft of construction materials is especially on the increase. Firms find ways of stocking themselves above the permissible norm, and by so doing they have increasing possibilities of selling large quantities of metal construction materials, cement, wood, etc. to private persons under the counter.

In some cases leading employees of individual plants conclude private contracts with employees of trading firms and specialize in the sale of non-requisitioned articles. In Zhitomir, for example, it was established that an illegal syndicate of this sort sold furniture for 13,000 rubles during the last three years.

The collective farm chairman and State farm directors have even greater possibilities. In their farms the control is slacker and private trade has a larger scope. These circumstances are frequently exploited by notorious swindlers to swindle large sums from the kolkhoz chairmen. In the above mentioned article a case was described in which a notorious swindler concluded a contract with two kolkhoz chairmen over the delivery of building materials. After he had collected an advance of 7,000 rubles, he disappeared never to be seen again.

From the article by the public prosecutor Hluch, it can be concluded that various checking and controlling organs in the Soviet Ukraine are performing very inadequate work. If they have not been bribed, then it is often a case of insufficiently trained checkers, who are not in a position to recognize the tricks of the swindlers. The difficulties are to be found in the fact that in the theft of state property, the work is carried out to a large extent by persons who know their job.

AGRICULTURE

On the 26th of January, *Radyans'ka Ukraina* published a report concerning the fulfilment of the plan for 1963. The report confirmed the failure of agriculture in 1963. Only data concerning state requisitions were published, however, and not concerning the entire harvest. The following table represents this data:

		1953	1962	1963
grain	thousands of tons	8988	10650	9667
	million of puds	549	650	590
sugar-beet	thousands of tons	16335	24739	23386
potatoes	" " "	1125	1289	1553
vegetables	" " "	950	2187	2096
sun flowers	" " "	655	1207	1206
fruit	" " "	201	236	383
wine grapes	" " "	65	427	600

Cattle and poultry products in all economic categories, i.e., kolkhoz, sovkhos and private farms, are as follows:

		1953	1962	1963
meat (in slaughter weight)	thousands of tons	1421.5	2319.9	2390.0
milk	" " "	7731.5	14767.6	13269.1
eggs	in millions	4089.8	8057.9	7209.5

State purchases of animal products were as follows:

		1953	1962	1963
meat and poultry (in live weight)	thousands of tons	798	1829	2065
the same in slaughter weight	" " "	481	1155	1305
milk	" " "	2348	6995	6062
eggs	in millions	875	2223	2109
wool	thousands of tons	16.4	25.6	24.6

The number of livestock was given as follows:

		all economic categories		kolkhoz, sovkhos and other state farms	
		1953	1963	1953	1963
cattle	in millions	12.0	19.8	6.8	15.0
(including cows)	" "	5.5	8.6	1.9	5.3
pigs	" "	11.3	12.3	5.5	7.7
sheep	" "	8.1	8.6	7.1	7.9

POOR DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR RESERVES IN UKRAINE

During the last two years articles dealing with the problem of labour reserves have appeared more and more frequently in Ukraine. The reason for this concern is understandable, for, especially in the Western territories, the republic has a considerable surplus of labour reserves, and it was planned that a portion of this reserve should be transferred to eastern regions, a group at a time. At the same time, agriculture in the southern territories of Ukraine as well as industry in the large economic area of Donets-Dnieper is suffering from a lack of manpower. A decisive role is played by the fact that in the last years the limited number of births during the war years is now affecting the manpower situation.

Concerning the matter of labour reserves, *Ekonomika Radyans'koi Ukraïny* (No. 6, 1963) published an article. According to the results of the 1959 census, a considerable number of fit workers is employed in meagerly productive occupations, i.e. on private plots or in households. Women constitute 95% of this number; their incorporation into the regular working process is an important state problem. It can only be solved if measures are taken to alleviate housework and if official firms function without friction. The number of nursery schools and kindergartens must also be quickly increased, for the present number does not meet the demand. The above mentioned article regards the problem with considerable pessimism; it refers to decisive factors like the qualification of the women, possibilities of employment, etc.

Between 1946 and 1962, 2.2 million industrial workers and more than 277,000 rural families were affected by the so-called organized allocation of manpower in Ukraine. For the first time figures concerning the "migration" (i.e., those who have been forcefully resettled) of manpower from Ukraine for this period of time are mentioned in the Soviet Ukrainian Press: 810,000 industrial workers and 88,000 kolkhoz peasant families were ordered to work outside the republic. Following the relaxation of the whole system of the allocation of manpower, which was introduced around 1958, a reverse migration of workers from the eastern regions is to be observed. For Ukraine, for instance, it is known that for every 100 "emigrants" (i.e., those who have been banished) to West and East Siberia, 135 Ukrainians return to their native republic.

From the article it follows that within the organized labour reserve system, 45 to 50,000 industrial workers are brought to the large Donets-Dnieper economic area, and ca. 5 to 9,000 families are brought to the southern districts every year. To be sure, the article praises this number as an accomplishment; nonetheless, it represents *de facto* a numerically very low movement of manpower. Especially

astonishing is the low resettlement in the southern territories of Ukraine. Year for year the Press writes about the catastrophic conditions in the southern territories during the harvest season and during the spring cultivation. In addition the irrigation projects in the southern territories are being continually expanded; this requires additional manpower. In the western territories there is a considerable surplus of manpower, and it appears that the Party bureaucrats in Ukraine are not in a position to confront this problem seriously.

The qualitative changes within the organized allocation of manpower constitutes another problem. Formerly, the unqualified rural population was the dominating concern with respect to this problem; now it is the industrial workers, often experienced and qualified, that are of greatest concern to it. In 1960, 55.4% of the urban workers and 44.6% of the rural workers were encompassed in the framework of the organized allocation of manpower. In 1962, the figures were already 58.3% and 41.7% respectively. Qualified workers constituted 24% of both categories; in their work contracts, their professions were specified more precisely, recently.

The poorly considered location of the technical schools constitute a great obstacle to the rational distribution of manpower. Logically considered, these schools should be located, primarily, in territories that have an especially large surplus of young manpower. At the present time there are 625 technical institutes in Ukraine, of which 350, or more than 56%, are located in the large economic area Donets-Dnieper, and only 186, or 29.8%, in the large economic area, South-West, while the population of the former area represents 39.8% of the total population and the population of the South-West area represents 48%. This means that most of the technical schools are located in territories with severe industrial and manpower shortages, but not in regions that have shown a surplus manpower.

Communist Persecution of the Church

The Association for Helping Eastern Priests held an exhibition in Munich from the 18th of January to the 19th of February 1964 under the title "The Persecuted Church." This exhibition was a documentation of the violent suppression of religious life in 18 Communist countries. The material was collected by the **Centro Studi sul Comunismo** in Rome, under the direction of P. Chianella. This exhibition was a historical show of the persecution of the Church within the Communist sphere of influence.

The Communist persecution of the Church is the greatest tragedy of our time, even if we, or at least many among us, do not want to admit this any more today.

The irreconcilable disparity between Christianity and Communism is the basis of this persecution. Atheism and the fight against religion (in this respect, it does not matter at all whether it is Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Protestantism, Judaism, Islamism or sects) constitute the foundation of Marxism-Leninism. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Catholic Church is the No. 1 enemy of the Communists.

For the Communists there is no God. **"The Sputniks have never encountered god — therefore there is no god."** This is an atheistic slogan of the rocket age.

Matter is the true God of Communism.

Lenin said: **"The Marxist must be a materialist and thus an enemy of religion."**

Khrushchov said: **"The Communist Party is waging an ideological war against religion, because the latter is an unscientific ideology."**

The 10 commandments of Marxist atheism (published by the union of the Communist youth organization (Komsomol) read as follows:

- 1) Do not forget that the clergy is the greatest enemy of the Communist state.

- 2) Endeavour to convert your friends to Communism!

- 3) Advise your friends to avoid priests and Christians!

4) Beware of spies and inform against saboteurs! (According to Communist usage **all** priests, as they spy for the Vatican, and all believers, as they sabotage the construction of socialism by clinging to religion, are included in the terms spies and saboteurs. — Author's note).

5) Distribute atheistic books and periodicals among the people!

6) A good member of the Komsomol fights for the victory of atheism!

7) Fight against members of a religious order wherever and whenever you can!

8) A young atheist must also be a good policeman.

9) If you are not a convinced adherent of the atheistic movement, you can neither be a good Communist nor a good Soviet citizen.

10) Atheism cannot be separated from Communism. These two ideals constitute the basis of the power that Soviet Communism holds in the world.

Of necessity, this militant atheistic attitude leads to a conflict between Christianity and Communism, and on the part of Communism to the conclusion: **God must be annihilated.**

Results of the Persecution

Communism controls one third of the earth's surface, with 1,006,364,000 inhabitants, among whom are over 200,000,000 Christians. These Christians — about a quarter of all Christianity — are suffering under the bitter reality of a brutal fight against the church.

This is what the statistics of this fight look like:

Bishops

55 murdered

109 imprisoned, deported or hindered in their office

90 driven from their dioceses

Priests and members of religious orders

12,800 murdered

32,500 imprisoned, deported or hindered in their offices

15,700 were reduced to laity by the state.

Catholic Laymen

2,500,000 murdered

10,000,000 imprisoned or deported

Catholic Institutions

3,334 seminaries and schools closed

5,000 Catholic schools nationalized

1,600 monasteries closed and expropriated

31,779 churches closed and desecrated

400 Catholic newspapers and periodicals prohibited

All Catholic, social and charitable organizations dissolved.

These are the results of Communism's anti-Catholic activity since 1917. The above statistics do **not** include the other religious creeds.

We have experienced the greater part of these persecutions of the church, for as a result of the enormous increase in power of Communism after World War II, this persecution was mainly carried on within the last years.

Nonetheless the fight against the church continues.

It is true, for example, that the release of all Czech bishops from imprisonment is an alleviation for those concerned, but for the Church, it is not an alleviation. The bishops were not allowed to return to their dioceses and cannot execute their offices as bishops. This step did not result in more freedom of movement for the Church.

Hungary would, indeed, be willing to pardon Cardinal Mindszenty especially as one could blame the outlawed "Stalinists" for his condemnation. But he, too, would **not** be allowed to execute his offices after his pardon.

Archbishop Slipyj, the Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv, was allowed to go to Rome, where he is presently residing, after 17 years imprisonment in Siberia. If he returned to Ukraine, however, he would be allowed, to be sure, to earn his living as a street worker but not to hold the office of a bishop, for the Catholic Church in Ukraine was prohibited, dissolved and incorporated into the Moscow Orthodox Church. On the basis of the existing laws, his activity as a Catholic priest and bishop would immediately lead to his imprisonment again.

Changes in the Persecution of the Church

Today one no longer attacks the Church with machine guns, as was the case in the past: on June 13, 1948, 1,355 people were murdered with machine guns in a single night in Latvia. Today the Church is attacked with psychological weapons, by laws and administrative means, namely, by imprisonment, banishments, as well as the killing of priests and the faithful with the most cunning tortures.

Communist publications are explicit about the unabated, ever increased, persecution of the Church, aiming at its complete eradication. In this connection let us refer to a statement made by Adzhubey, Khrushchov's son-in-law and chief editor of *Izvestiya*, who, referring to his visit to Pope John XXIII, told P. Chianella: **"It was not Communism that was converted but Catholicism."**

GREAT MARTYRS OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

1) Metropolitan and Archbishop of Lviv, **Joseph Slipyj**, the successor of Metropolitan Andreas Count Sheptytsky, was sentenced to hard labour in Vorkuta in the North of the Ural Mountains, where he suffered for the faith for 18 years.

2) **Hryhoriy Khomyshyn**, bishop of Stanislav, died in prison on December 24, 1945.

3) **Ivan Liatyshevsky**, suffragan bishop and vicar-general of Stanislav was sentenced to hard labour in Siberia; died shortly after his release, on November 29, 1957.

4) **Josaphat Kotsylovsky**, bishop of Peremyshl, died on November 17, 1947 in a prison in the vicinity of Kiev.

5) **Nykyta Budka**, suffragan bishop and vicar-general of Metropolitan and Archbishop Joseph Slipyj, and former first bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada, died in prison in Karaganda, Kazakhstan, on October 6, 1949.

6) **Theodor Romzha**, bishop of Mukachiv, Carpathian Ukraine, was poisoned in a hospital on October 31, 1947.

7) **Mykola Charnetsky**, bishop and apostolic Visitor of Volhynia, Kholm region and Polissia, died as a result of long imprisonment, on April 2, 1959.

8) **Ivan Shimrak**, bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Croatia, died in prison on the 9th of August, 1947.

9) **Pavlo Goydych**, bishop of Pryashiv (Prešov), Slovakia was sentenced by a court in Bratislava to life imprisonment. He died in prison on July 19, 1960.

10) **Vasyl Hopko**, suffragan bishop of Pryashiv (Prešov), Slovakia, has been in prison since 1950.

11) **Hryhoriy Lakota**, suffragan bishop of Peremyshl, died in a Vorkuta concentration camp on November 12, 1950.

12) **Mgr. Petro Verhun**, Apostolic Visitor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Germany, was taken prisoner in Berlin and died in the Siberian exile on February 7, 1957.

Dieter FRIEDE

A few Remarks on Jaroslav Stetzko's Article "Ukraine's Invincible Yearning"*

THE NUMBER OF DEPORTED UKRAINIANS

The proportion that Stetzko gives for the prisoners and banished (i.e., those who have been forcefully resettled) is not exaggerated in favour of the Ukrainians — possibly the proportion of 8-10% with respect to the Russians is exaggerated. Indeed, in the concentration camps in which I was, the Russians constituted only 3%.

When I entered the concentration camp No. 9 (No. 8 coal mine) in Vorkuta-Rudnik in April 1950, the number of prisoners was 3,500. Their distribution was as follows:

Ukrainians	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,400
Balts (half of the Lithuanians)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,000
Germans	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300
Russians	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
Jews	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100
Others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	600
Total									3,500

Strongly represented among the others were the Caucasian peoples, Armenians, Georgians, Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, then French, Italians, Rumanians, Czechs, many Hungarians, Norwegians, Finns and Poles.

I have rounded off the figures, for they varied according to the coming and going of transports.

Especially worthy of note is the **unusually small number of Russians**. The relationship becomes even more striking when one considers that the almost three million Jews in Russia were as strongly represented as the 100 million Russians.

The exceptionally high percentage of Ukrainians as well as the large number of people from the Baltic states and from the Caucasus prove that forced labour is used by the Soviet government as a

*) This article was published in German Weekly "Rheinischer Merkur" 1963.

means of "solving" the nationality problem. (One cannot say minority problem because the Russians themselves are the minority. In the only census taken during the time of the tsars, the Russians constituted 34% of the population. Since that time the percentage cannot have changed significantly, for although Finland and a part of Poland are no longer Russian, a part of West Ukraine with roughly 5 million Ukrainians has been annexed to Russia for the first time.)

Among the foreign peoples (Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Caucasian and Asian peoples) the leading personalities (intellectuals, officers, officials, etc.) constituted an especially large number — also the clergy.

For the clergy also, there is a proportion that is worthy of note: During the 6 years that I was in three Russian concentration camps, I encountered only a single Russian clergyman, while there was no lack of priests and monks among the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, etc.

Only Stetzko's assumption that "most" of the Russian prisoners were criminals is incorrect. Among the Russians also, there were professors, scientists, officers.

Apart from the known honourable ones among them, there was in general a great mistrust of the Russian prisoners, if for no other reason than for the reason that the camp administration and the political officers relied mainly upon the small minority of Russian prisoners. Almost without exception the Russian prisoners received the leading posts (as heads of the "employment office", which was supposed to create the impression of self-administration, as brigadiers, etc.).

In addition the Russian prisoners continued the fight against the non-Russian peoples, especially against the Ukrainians, even in the camps.

Above all, however, an especially high percentage of Russian prisoners was active as informers for the officers of the political department.

Summing up, it can be said that the majority of the Russian prisoners, even in concentration camps and prisons, stood up for the Russian state and let themselves be used by it.

Finally, the following can be said with respect to the number of prisoners: In the three camps in which I was in the Vorkuta (Pere-silka, camp of the No. 8 coal mine, penal camp "1st kilometre"), **the Ukrainians constituted the strongest national element.** For this reason, it was self-understood that the other national elements left the leadership of the prisoners to the Ukrainians.

To those who are not familiar with the ways of a concentration camp, this may sound strange. But the truth of the matter is that

the camp administration never succeeded in suppressing the illegal **political self-administration of the prisoners**. In the secret meetings of the prisoners, the Ukrainians, in accordance with their number but also because of their special activities (in which respect only the Lithuanians were comparable to them) had the main say. They held the leading positions of the strike committees. **Only the Ukrainians were deported en masse** (to penal camps or to other concentration camp areas).

During the big strikes of 1953, three large transports of exclusively Ukrainians, who had collectively refused to work in Karaganda, were sent to us in Vorkuta.

In the three camps in which I was, I myself was able to confirm the unusually high percentage of Ukrainians, but also many other prisoners from different concentration camps and concentration camp areas told me about this. Naturally, in one or another of the concentration camps, the number of Ukrainians may not have been so high. On the other hand, there were, especially in Kazakhstan, large concentration camps in which only Ukrainian males and females were imprisoned — as was the case in Kingir, where Soviet tanks were brought in.

The number of **banished** (those who had been forcefully resettled) was also extraordinarily high for the Ukrainians. I myself spoke with many young Ukrainians, who had been deported to perform forced labour, while at the same time their parents had been forced to resettle in the farthest corners of Siberia...

There is no official Soviet figure from which the total number of deported Ukrainians can be deduced. Since the Ukrainians (as "retribution" for their behaviour in 1941) are much more thoroughly and collectively persecuted than the Balts, it must be assumed that from 1944/45 to 1949, **at least as many Ukrainians were deported as Balts**. For the three Baltic nations a percentage of at least 10, but more likely 15%, has been computed as the number of deportations during the war and postwar years. If we base our calculation on the Baltic deportation figure, it turns out that of the 45 million Ukrainians, **at least 4,500,000 to 6,750,000** were deported to perform forced labour or were forced to resettle.

No one should be surprised, therefore, that the Ukrainians constitute the strongest element in the concentration camps and banishment camps.

CATACOMB CHURCHES

With respect to Stetzko's statement about the "rapid increase of religiousness, above all, among the subjugated peoples", the objection can easily be raised that the religiousness of the non-Russian peoples

has never seriously suffered. Bolshevism has not succeeded in uprooting religion among the non-Russian peoples; **it succeeded neither in banishing Christ nor Allah.**

From my own experience I can confirm the **unusually strong religiousness, above all, of the Ukrainians and Lithuanians, as well as the Mohammedans.**

Already with respect to personal confession, the difference to the Russians was noticeable. In the three camps I did not meet any Ukrainians or any Lithuanians who did not wear a small cross against their breast under their shirts, but I did not meet a single Russian who would have worn a cross.

In the concentration camps there were **catacomb churches only among the Ukrainians and Lithuanians.** As I said, the only Russian priest whom I met was inactive — an old, shrivelled up little man who sat in meditation hours on end, but did not have a congregation. On the other hand, the Lithuanian and Ukrainian priests and monks ran the risk of severe and long punishments to help their faithful. For celebrating a mass, a priest could receive 100 days solitary confinement, penal camp or even worse. Nonetheless, masses and divine services were held in secret. Before major church holidays, like Christmas, Easter, etc., the priests made a collection among their native elements in order to be able to bring something to those who were sick in the infirmaries. As true clergymen, they were always ready to offer their services.

From their talks about their native countries and from the letters that they received from back home, I know that **in their native countries also, i.e., in Lithuania and in Ukraine, the churches had a catacomb existence.**

About the Russians and Russia I neither observed nor heard anything similar. In six years I did not encounter Russian religiousness. I must admit, however, that I also did not expect to encounter it. In the higher layers of Russian society, atheism has had countless prophets for more than a century. In substantiation of this statement I will name several examples from the time of the tsars, among which: Dostoyevsky, who certainly cannot be suspected of being anti-Russian.

Dostoyevsky wrote concerning Belinsky, the well-known critic: **"As a Socialist he had, above all, the obligation of overthrowing Christianity. He knew that the revolution would have to begin with atheism. He had to overthrow religion, upon which the moral precepts of society, which he cursed, rested."**

In August 1877, Dostoyevsky wrote concerning the Russian clergy: **"Who is closest to the people? The clergy? But the clergy has long ceased to answer the questions of our people. Apart from the few priests, in whom the fire of zeal for Christianity still glows, apart**

from these, who, as it appears, are unfortunately very few, the others would perhaps answer the questioning ones with a **denunciation**, if an answer were demanded from them too urgently. By a shameful exploitation, the other alienate themselves from their flock to such an extent that no one comes to them with his questions."

Dostoyevsky in January 1881: "I know that our intellectuals draw our attention to the prejudices against and alleged indifference of the people to religion; **many of them even imagine that our Russian masses are simply atheistic.**"

And still another judgment concerning the shaken religiousness — a judgment from the year 1875, published in the book "Our Position" by A. Koshelev. Only a brief quote from his presentation of the situation of the church in tsarist Russia:

"To the affliction of the truly faithful, one encounters **wholly faithless men, pure atheists, among the priests in recent times.** It is sad to see the sacrament being administered by faithless people; to hear them speak lightly behind a glass of wine about the ecclesiastical ceremony in frivolous wordly social circles; to be a witness of their nothing less than edifying way of life and then to consider **how all this is furthering the annihilation of religiousness, which is already shattered enough.**

To be sure, not all the hierarchs and not all the clergy are as we have depicted them here. Unfortunately, however, not many of them are excluded from the general rule, and **if the atheists still do not constitute the majority of the clergy, the number of good clergymen, who are genuinely concerned about their flock, is exceptionally small.**

The main source of the deterioration of religion is to be sought in the fact that our church is becoming **more and more a state institution**, which is foreign to the spirit of freedom and independence."

RUSSIANISM AND BOLSHEVISM

It was an easy matter for Bolshevism to dethrone and even to uproot religion in Russia. And it was hardly more difficult for it to help Communism to victory, for the intelligentsia, the upper ten thousand (as one can also read in Bismarck) and even a portion of the officers corps, have contributed **socialistic pioneer work** for at least a century. A bulk of material can be brought forth to substantiate the statement that **Bolshevism was only possible in Russia.** But we want to summarize briefly. First, again two unsuspected Russians as witnesses.

"**Leninism did not come out of nowhere to Russia**", wrote Prof. Fedor Stepun in his book "Bolshevism and Christian Life." In this work he is concerned with the "**understanding of Bolshevism in its roots**", which, as he proves, are **to a large extent Russian.**

Again **Dostoyevsky** is a crown witness, namely, that for ages the Russians **have been Red, for ages they have been Communards.**

In June 1876 he wrote: "Why is it that almost nine tenths of all Russians, who have taken their culture from Europe in our century, have always embraced that class of European who are on the "left"? **Even more than the Europeans, the Russians, right from the very beginning, have been inclined to embrace the extreme left — in a word: among the Russians there are fewer Thiers than Communards.**"

And Dostoyevsky in 1877: "Even those Russians who were considered the "wisest" at home, **turned Red immediately** as soon as they found themselves in Europe. This too is an extremely characteristic trait. Our estate owners sell their serfs and go to **Paris where they publish Socialistic periodicals**, and our Rudins die at the barricades."

In 1856, following his stay in Russia, **Moltke** wrote concerning **Russian agrarian Communism**: "Until now Russia was the only European state that did not have any proletariat. As a consequence of the highly strange organization of the community, **in which Communism and Socialism have actually existed for years**, a community in which private property and the right of inheritance were not valid, it could indeed happen that there were poor communities but never poor individuals. In the community the individual can never be a private owner."

In addition, an Anglo-Saxon judgment from our own day. In his book **My Three Years in Moscow**, **Walter Beddel Smith**, former ambassador in Moscow, writes:

"**The organizational foundation** of so-called Marxist Communism is **purely Russian**, and it was developed by Lenin and Stalin on the basis of century old traditions of despotic and absolute control in the Russian empire of the tsars. Soviet policy presents a kind of **marriage between Great Russian imperialism and Communist ideology**. Present day Communism is practically identical with Great Russianism."

Point for point every word of Beddel Smith can be proved irrefutably. The continuity is most striking is their foreign policy. Tsarist Russia demanded **Lviv**; Red Russia took it. The tsar demanded **East Prussia**, Stalin took it. Tsarist Russia propagandized for the **Elbe line**; Red Russia marched to it. Elizabeth's Great Chancellor was the first to conceive the plan to **give East Prussia to Poland**, so that **Russia would be able to take Polish territories in the meantime**; Stalin realized the exchange transaction with the Oder-Neisse line, etc., etc.

UKRAINE IN THE OTHER CAMP

In contrast to the Russians, the **Ukrainians are truly religious**; in contrast to the Russians, they are also **bound to their native soil**.

As a people, they are **individualistic** like us, in contrast to the Russians, who (for ages) have been inclined to collectivism. In contrast to the Russians, the Ukrainians have not been standardized into group members, have not been assimilated and have not been alienated from the family and folk traditions. They still love their customs; they still preserve them; even in the concentration camp they followed them as much as possible. They wore Ukrainian costumes there; Ukrainian choirs sang the beautiful Ukrainian folk songs (which are passed off as "Russian" songs in the West when they are sung by the Cossack choirs).

In every connection the Ukrainians **do not belong to the Russians, but to the other camp**. They are **neither aggressive nor expansionistic**. Above all, they were and are **not hostile to Europe**. The tremendous and most cruel persecution of the Ukrainians was introduced precisely for that reason, because they were willing to align themselves with Europe.

A peaceful, quiet and in the bottom of their hearts a joyful people like the Ukrainians should finally be justly judged and evaluated by us. **With an independent Ukraine, Europe would neither have border problems nor neighbour quarrels**. An independent Ukraine would gladly and freely be a part of Europe.

For Germany it should be easier to understand the tragedy and the problems of Ukraine, if for no other reason than for the reason that since 1945, we Germans are **in a similar situation: we too have had our self-determination denied by the Russians**. Also with respect to Germany, **Russian force comes before justice**.

What decision Ukraine would make if it were free and independent is just as settled as the German decision if we were given the right to self-determination regarding reunification.

Of the approximately 120 million peoples who are living under the force of the minority of the Russian nation, the Ukrainian people are most important, not only because they constitute a nation of almost 50 million people, but also because — what is often overlooked today — they are the most **determined nation that is fighting for self-determination**. We who have lived with them for many years have learned this: A Ukrainian would sooner be killed than give up or betray his cause.

If the Ukrainians did not constitute the **main element among the anti-Russian foreign peoples**, then why would the Russians persecute them so relentlessly and mercilessly, as they do?

Metropolitan Archbishop Andreas Count SHEPTYTSKY

“Those Who Support Communists Betray the Church and Their Country”

Pastoral Letter of the Metropolitan and Archbishop of Lviv,
Andreas Count Sheptytsky.

With respect to the attempt of various ecclesiastical circles to establish communications with Moscow, we are publishing the pastoral letter of Archbishop and Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj's predecessor. In 1936, he wrote a moving letter to the faithful in which he warned them against ANY COMPROMISE WITH THE COMMUNISTS. This pastoral letter is a historical document in the history of the Church. All of us, including certain princes of the Church in the West, can learn much from it.

The Editors

The danger of the present moment induces me, my dearly beloved people, to address the following words of warning to you.

Those who support the Communists in their activities betray the Church. Now that the Communists, under Moscow's instructions, are pretending to be religious people and are sacrilegiously partaking of the Holy Sacrament only to deceive and lead astray faithful Christians, it is urgently necessary to impress this truth upon all faithful people and upon the entire Ukrainian Community. **Those who assist the Communists to materialize their plans of forming a so-called united People's Front with Socialists and Radicals — they betray their countrymen.** This truth must be repeated again and again, not only to the faithful, but to all Ukrainians. This People's Front is only a myth created by the Communists in Moscow to secure accomplices from among the Socialists and Radicals to carry out their intention of annihilating the Ukrainian people and wiping them from the face of the earth altogether. Those who assist the Communists in any of their activities and especially in the organization of the so-called People's Front **betray the cause of the poor, the suffering, and the suppressed the world over.** It is urgently necessary

to impress this evident truth upon the entire Ukrainian population, for the Bolsheviks have already reduced the people of Greater Ukraine to a state of abject misery by starving them. Now they are also trying to abuse the poor, the oppressed and the suffering among our unfortunate brothers in the West Ukrainian districts.

Since the beginning of Christianity, there has never been a sect, a religion or a political party in any part of the world, that was as hostile to and embittered against divine revelation and every religion, — but especially the religion of Jesus Christ and His Holy Church, as are the Bolsheviks. As their main goal they have set the annihilation of the Church. The Bolsheviks strive to attain this goal by provoking a revolution, by means of which they are to succeed in reducing the Churches to heaps of ashes, in liquidating the priests and faithful Christians and in killing the belief in God and His Divine Revelation in the souls of men. The Communists are godless. In their whole program, there is no point to which they adhere more sincerely than this one: **Fight against God!**

The Bolsheviks are not honest. On the contrary, their entire system is built upon fundamental, universal and repeated lies. It is virtually impossible, therefore, to give an account of what will emerge from Bolshevism some day. It transforms itself into a religion, a kind of materialistic and pagan religion, to which Lenin and his comrades pay heroic tribute. In actuality, however, the basic principles of his rule are falsehood, deception, force, terror, suppression of the poor, demoralization of the children. It is difficult to comprehend what the Communists hope to achieve, but the almost 20 years of their rule indicate quite clearly, that when the Bolsheviks speak of freedom, they mean slavery; when they talk of prosperity, they are really designating hunger; when they mention the will or the opinion of the people — with these words they characterize a political system in which no one any longer has freedom to express his thoughts. If they speak of the supremacy of the peasants, they mean a system, in which the peasants must drudge and toil without receiving a substantial piece of plain bread — but if they speak of the supremacy of the proletariat, then they mean a caste, which is sucking the blood of the people. Those who investigate Bolshevistic practices know — and it is confirmed by the evidence of eyewitnesses — that this is the way it is.

In one thing only the Bolsheviks are sincere: their hatred of God and of manifest religion. And they are sincere when they declare that in a few years not a single Church will exist in the whole of Soviet Russia and in subjugated Soviet Ukraine.

According to their way of thinking, it would seem, even the brutal persecution of Christians, in which tens of thousands, indeed, perhaps hundreds of thousands of Christians were martyred, many of whom were bishops and priests, is considered in their constitution

as freedom of conscience and toleration of religious convictions. But apart from this crass lie, there is only one really sincere point in their entire doctrine and in all their measures: **Hatred of God and religion.** The Church is also included in their goal to abolish religion. At times, they stage a comedy to make it appear that the initiative stems from the people; more frequently, however, a church is converted into a cinema without any false pretences. And in a community where the people are prepared to maintain a church and divine services, exorbitant taxes are levied, so that the maintenance of the church is no longer possible. Priests are forbidden to teach the children catechism, and from earliest childhood, the young are led into neglect and demoralization by a truly diabolical system.

The whole educational system and all pedagogic practices of the Communists lead to one thing: the corruption of the children; they are taught to lie, to be impure, to disobey their parents, to act as police spies at home, and to report what is talked about. To this end, their young souls are indoctrinated with the idea that God does not exist, that religion is poison, that politics must be built upon the foundations of Bolshevism and that only under its banner, enlightenment can come about, and schools, universities, literature and other arts can blossom.

In order to appear tolerant, the Bolsheviks endeavour to incite one church or one sect against another. In this way, they want to show that a certain church is not only tolerated by them, but is even patronized. This is the way things are done in Soviet Russia and in subjugated Soviet Ukraine. But their practices are not any different abroad. Wherever they succeed in creating confusion and revolution — there the Muscovite program, which is hatched out in Moscow long beforehand, is promptly brought forward.

Wherever the Communists, i.e. the Bolsheviks, appear on the scene — there churches are immediately set to flames and innocent blood flows in fountains. Everywhere the blood of innocent victims marks their path. **Is it not clear that to assist these enemies of Christ also means to betray His Holy Church?** It is necessary therefore, to impress this truth upon the people continually, for there are many, who allow themselves to be misused, who attach credit to Bolshevik activities and think that they can assist them without incurring a heavy sin. Wherever a small sect of Christian Communists pops up, they want to bind the principles of Communism with the basic tenets of the Gospel. As can be imagined, these sects promptly denounce the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Holy Father and the Roman Pope as heresy. These Christians are apparently a new lie of the Bolsheviks. They wanted to win the Christians to their side, but they feared that genuine Christian people would recognize them by some small point in their doctrine or by their general bearing

and would then flee from them as from a terrible plague. Therefore they concocted the following diabolical joke: From Moscow instructions were issued to all Communists throughout the world. The Supreme Government of Moscow commands the Communists to approximate the Christians, i.e., to have themselves baptized and to play the role of good Christians. They should go to confession and endeavour to receive Holy Communion, participate in the congregation and penetrate all societies and functions in which the Christians are active; they should show a pious Christian demeanour in order to deceive and confuse the really faithful Christians more successfully.

The priests, therefore, should heed those people who have not been to confession for a long time but who have become suddenly eager to receive holy confession and Holy Communion. They should keep an eye on those people, whom they know or suspect to be members of a communist cell, but who, nonetheless, appear to receive the sacrament of penance. Unless they openly renounce Bolshevism and are willing to do penance for the harm which they have already done, they cannot expect absolution in confession. Moscow's desires are fulfilled more faithfully by the Communists than those of the Holy Church by the Christians. In Moscow's interest and at Moscow's high command, thousands of Communists have themselves converted and become good Christians, as it were, i.e., they try to appear like good Christians in public. In this way, so say their leaders, you will be able to stir up the people against the priests more successfully and say to them: I am a Christian and a good Christian. I go to confession and to the communion service; but I cannot endure it that we have a parson whom we do not want, a parson who does not act in our best interest, or something like that. In order to deceive the Christians, they do not shrink from using a far greater lie, which could be a good example to pious people: "I am prepared to suffer for you: I am prepared to have myself crucified for the general good, for the people, for you!" And such lies could bear fruit.

In these times and under these circumstances, it is not enough to observe if the people go to confession and to the communion service. Attention must also be given to the way one lives and what one says. Let this be your rule: **If a person professes Communism; if he values Communism; if he defends Communism; then he is not a Christian, but he can simulate a Christian.**

Communist and Christian are like fire and water; it is not possible for them to exist together.

Those who assist the Communists in any of their actions betray their people. This is a truth that cannot be impressed upon you too often, especially now that the Communists have invented the so-called People's Front to enable them to deceive more successfully and to entangle genuinely patriotic people in their net. Simultaneously, with the changing of their tactics in regard to the

Christian Faith and the Holy Sacrament, Moscow devised another way of disguising its will to power, so that it would be able to carry out the subjugation of peoples with greater success.

On Moscow's orders, the Communists in all parts of Europe abruptly change their attitude toward other political opposition parties. Until recently, their attitude toward their former, constant comrades, the Radicals and the Socialists, was very haughty. They talked and wrote about them so derisively that one would have thought they were the greatest enemies of Communism. But even in Russia, the Radicals and Socialists, along with the monarchists and the bourgeoisie, were liquidated by the Bolsheviks as soon as they seized power. They received the same treatment in the other European countries also. But now, a really cunning plan is being concocted in Moscow to help them to dominate all Socialist Parties. This plan is the so-called People's Front.

To judge from appearances, the Communists are becoming moderate and tolerant. They begin to give the impression of being the friends of all those people who are dissatisfied with the present order of things, and also of oppositional parties, whose programs represent the most diverse shades of interest. In order to justify the necessity of unifying all oppositional parties, they hold up Fascism as the greatest danger. Although Mussolini and the Fascists started out by signing a pact with the Communists, now the Communists hold up Fascism as the greatest enemy of the general good, of progress, of freedom etc. Even in those countries, like France and Czechoslovakia, where Fascism does not exist, the Bolsheviks have begun to speak of the danger of Fascism and to tell all discontented people that they must unite themselves against the spectre of slavery, which is hovering over the people of Europe like a dark cloud. With the word "Fascists", the Communists designate all People's Parties, regardless of nationality or country. They avoid the name nationalists, however, mainly because it does not suit them to call things by the name, which everyone else uses. **If they would call their opponents nationalists, for example, they would not be able to enlist anyone for their fight against nationalism.** If, however, they use the name Fascism to designate nationalists, People's Party, Christianity, Church and ecclesiastical authority, then they are in a position to try to organize all dissatisfied social elements against this so-called common foe. And that is all they are concerned about, for they alone want to appear as the champions of the dissatisfied.

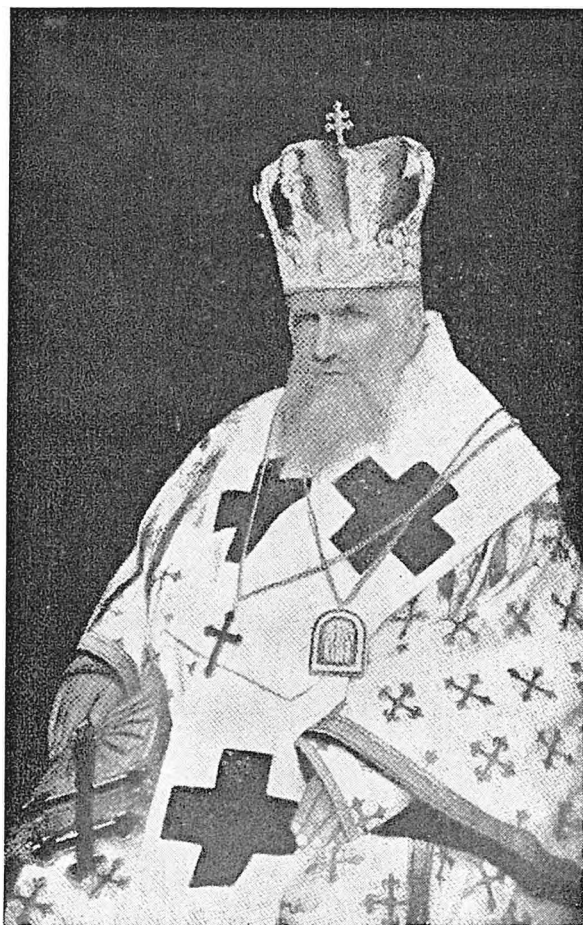
In every country, there are dissatisfied people, especially after a war. Heavy taxation burdens the population; governments commit various injustices, or they carry on trade unscrupulously; in addition, an economic crisis of world proportions afflicts all Europe — indeed, the whole world. Dissatisfied people make up the majority in all parts of the world. A notion is beginning to take shape among them now,

that Fascism is the source of every wrong. This is, to be sure, an ingenious idea to bring all dissatisfied people together in one powerful party, which can be used to serve communist purposes.

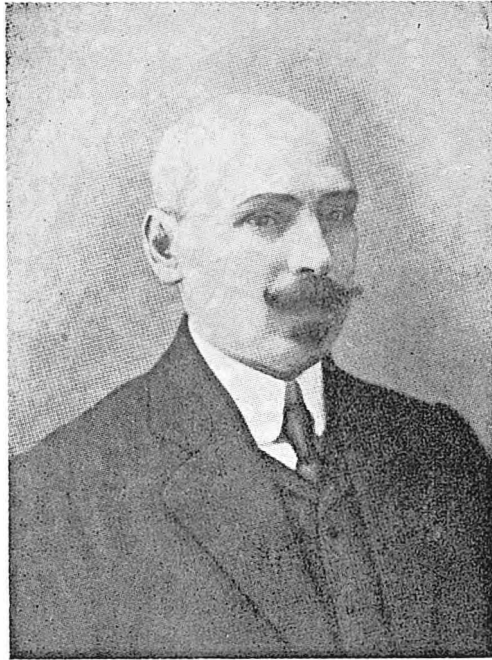
Evidently, the Social Democrats and Radical Socialists, since they have a common theoretical program with the Communists, are to be taken into the Party first. All of them are students of Marx; all of them want to abolish private property; and all of them would like to make the means of production the property of the whole society, i.e., of the state. Nonetheless, there are some fundamental points of disagreement among them. As Marxists, the Socialists and Radicals are not at all adverse to the democratic forms of government by which the people in Europe were ruled before the War. Both parties, it is true, are striving to effect changes in existing conditions but they are doing so in a legal way; namely, by participation in parliament, by legislation, by a gradual transformation of a capitalistic society into a socialistic one. But from the moment the Bolsheviks appeared on the political scene, the Socialists have sensed the danger of losing their footing. Until that time, their Party represented the extreme left, and they had become fairly confident that their policy was as far left as one could go.

They stood in sharp opposition to government, to public order to the rich and the ruling classes, and with this revolutionary program and with resistant tactics, they won the masses to their side. It was only necessary for them to sustain conviction among them that their only hope for a better future lay in Socialism.

From the moment the Bolsheviks brought forward their program of revolution, terror, intolerance, contempt of all freedom of speech and demanded that their plan for the radical and violent overthrow of the existing governments be carried out, the Mensheviks — as the Socialists are called in Russia — had to feel insecure. With the very appearance of Communism, they lost their prerogative of being the sole defenders of the oppressed; they lost the exclusiveness of their extreme leftist position. How were they to bear it, that another party could reproach them, the Socialists, of being mere opportunists in actual practice? Furthermore, terroristic tactics and aggression did not fit in with their democratic views, and consequently made them feel even more insecure. In situations where discussions, consultations, general talks, public meetings and parliaments were called for, the Bolsheviks appeared with their "incontrovertible" standpoint and imposed their will on the rest without further discussion. On the surface, it is true, they upheld the prestige of the farmers' and workers' council. To bring about a revolution was also a Socialist objective. Before the Bolshevik revolution, however, this word must have had a democratic connotation, for who does not believe in democracy, he is just a reactionary, an aristocrat. In short: There is no really humanitarian program other than Democracy.



ARCHBISHOP ANDREAS COUNT SHEPTYTSKY.
Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv.



MYKHAYLO KOTSYUBYNSKY,
famous Ukrainian writer.

The Socialists had good reason to know that it was not possible for them to come together with the Communists in a single Party. But now that the Communists have taken up the cause of the dissatisfied and want to unite them under one banner, the People's Front, what is to keep them from taking part in it? Why should the Socialists pretend to be satisfied, when it is exactly satisfaction that arouses suspicion among the dissatisfied? Even if they should succeed, as in France, for example, in taking over the government and in carrying out all the desired reforms — even then, they would be referred to as the "satisfied." One has to admit that the Socialists have every reason to be dissatisfied with their position and role, for the Communists have decidedly outmanoeuvred them.

Before the subjugation of our country by the Communists, the Socialists and Radicals here in Ukraine stood up for that last bit of national feeling which remained in them: They were afraid to encounter those people whose hands were still red with the blood of millions of our countrymen. Even if they are Socialists and Radicals, they should not forget that their fathers were Ukrainians. In the teeth of these circumstances, the blood-stained leaders of Moscow gave the name "People's Front" to their program, although it should have been named "Anti-People's Front" to be truthful, for its real intent is to impose its will, i.e., the will of its bloody leaders on the people.

There is not the slightest trace of doubt that the Communists are not interested in creating well-being and freedom for the people. The only thing that really concerns them is to be able to push through their own will. The examples of France and Spain teach us that in the so-called People's Front, Moscow rules. And no matter where such a People's Front is organized, the Communists will dominate it. They invite everyone to join the People's Front — the dissatisfied; the Socialists and the Radicals; all who profess to be friends of humanity; all who are dissatisfied with the existing conditions in the world. To all of them, they promise a better life by the help of this organization, this union.

They also invite the young people of our villages to join the People's Front. It must be understood, however, that it is not altogether easy for our lads to find their way in European politics and to resist the temptation of joining the People's Front. They learn about splendid and beautiful things in other parts of the world, but from their own experiences and those of their fathers, they know of many injustices and unpleasantnesses. They have, therefore, every reason to be dissatisfied. Nothing can touch their souls more directly than to address them as dissatisfied people. This is a clear scheme used by the Communists to further communist propaganda. For all propaganda about the People's Front is communist propaganda, even when it is spread by people who have nothing in common with the Communists. The People's Front is a communist organization; it

must serve communist ends exclusively, i.e., it must assist the Communists to subject other nations to their control. If the Communists designate this organization as the People's Front, what they are really saying is that in actual fact it is anti-social, i.e., it is opposed to the interests of the people.

One might easily assume, that the existing majority in the People's Front would have the controlling power, and that our youth, since they make up the majority, could conceivably give it a direction and real meaning. This would certainly be the case if the world were governed according to the democratic principles of majority rule, free elections and similar ideals. But the Communists have stripped themselves of all these ideals and are solely interested in establishing a government, by which a small minority will hold the overwhelming majority in slavery. They have shown that a handful of well organized men can hold thousands in suppression, that by terror, and if necessary even by starvation, people can be turned into a herd of sheep, in which state they will have neither the possibility nor the will to offer resistance. It is true, no doubt, that the dissatisfied masses make up the People's Front, but it is ruled by those who impose their ideas and plans on the organization, and who promptly, ruthlessly and aggressively carry out Red Moscow's instructions. They are the instigators; they have experience in this line. They know how to dominate the organization by their actions. Against the oppositional parties who are attached to the Front, they assume a position of authority, issue instructions, and insist that their will must be carried out. Naturally, they do not say that their will is really the will of the blood-stained leaders in Moscow. But those who know how to observe and to reflect, they soon become aware that in various countries and in various villages and districts here in Ukraine, one and the same tactics, one and the same policy, i.e. a dictatorial policy, is applied.

In France, discerning people have a hundred proofs of the fact that the seat of the French People's Front is in Moscow. It is only necessary to perceive the connection between various things and to view them from the proper perspective to know that in the village of Nahuyevychi, Lviv and elsewhere, the identical goal and the identical tactics point to one central power. When we compare what is taking place here in Ukraine with what is happening in France¹, Mexico², Spain³ and Soviet Russia, we recognize in all these activities a hand, which betrays its foreign leadership. In Galicia also, we have proof

1) Radicals, Social Democrats and Communists formed together the "People's Front", which won the election in April 1936. At the head of the People's Front government was the Socialist, Leon Blum.

2) Calles, the Mexican President of State from 1924-28, carried on a ruthless fight against the Catholic Church which did not end until 1935.

3) The Spanish Civil War 1936-37.

that Red Moscow has possession of the leadership, that the People's Front, whether here in Galicia, in Volynia or in Byelorussia, has the same end in mind that the Bolsheviks had in mind in Greater Ukraine, when millions of Ukrainians were starved to death. In view of all this, it is clear that a time has come which makes it urgently necessary to impress upon you that the People's Front is directed against the people. It must be firmly impressed in your minds: **Those who assist the Communists or collaborate in the organization of the People's Front are traitors to their country, for they deliver it into the hands of their fiercest and most dangerous enemy.**

My words are now addressed to you, my dear young lads in our villages and hamlets. Beware of him who wants to draw you into some organization. Carefully investigate the Front of which you are urged to become a member. Be wary, my dear ones. You want to do good for yourselves, your family, your village, your country — but your young eyes do not see the betrayal into which the enemy is misleading you. They deceive you; come to you with grand promises; speak to you in beautiful words. If you follow them, however, you will fall into a slavery, from which there is no escape.

Worst of all, you will become estranged from your own people. And more: You could become their betrayers. Most likely, you will not be aware that by participating in an organization, which appears to be serving a good cause, you will be stepping into the hands of tyrants, who will force you to serve Red Moscow. You often read letters which are published by Socialists and Communists and in which every idea and the tactics that lead to the slavery of Communism are praised. Be on the watch — but above all, be Christians! Aspire to fulfill the Christian duties: love your neighbour; love your country, the Holy Church and God. When you fall away from God, His Holy Grace, His Holy Laws, you are already half a prey of the godless. You take up a wrong course, from which there may no longer be any salvation. If you have not lost faith, however, then consider that faith also requires obedience to the Church, that you cannot believe in God, without listening to the Church. The Church is that institution founded by Jesus Christ which guides men in the name of God. The Church teaches, warns and admonishes. If you still have faith and want to obey the Church, then go to confession. Take council with your spiritual father, whom you have chosen, and follow the course which he advises you to take. For his advice will not be his own, but the advice of the Holy Church. If he desires you to leave a certain group, or not to read a certain book or periodical, you must understand that he requires this of you in your own interest. He makes this demand upon you because the orthodoxy of the Church requires him to. He must do it. He cannot give you absolution, if you refuse to obey the Church. If you

really want to know why it must be so, read, reflect, and discuss it with him, then you will understand that it is exactly as I am telling you here. You can also be assured that you will certainly bring great harm upon yourselves and our Ukrainian people if you work together with the Communists to organize the so-called People's Front. And they would certainly like to see this.

Those who assist the Bolsheviks in the organization of People's Front, betray not only the Church and their country, but also the cause of the poor, the suffering, and the oppressed. The Communists like to boast that they are the sole defenders of the weak and the suffering. Like everything else they maintain about themselves, this too is a lie. Communism is not the champion of the poor and the oppressed. On the contrary, it is their greatest misfortune, for it plunges them even deeper into the abyss of suffering. If you ask the peasant from Greater Ukraine — or for that matter, one from Russia — what Communism or Bolshevism is, he will tell you that the Bolsheviks are vampires, who are ruthlessly sucking the blood of our poor.

More than anything else, Communism boasts of fighting capitalism. In Russia, it is claimed that Communism has completely crushed capitalism with all its injustices. To this, however, we must answer decisively that the Bolsheviks themselves practice capitalism. They practice the worst kind of capitalism: the monopolization of all capital in one hand. Moreover, they carried it to its furthestmost extremes and intensified all the injustices of that economic or financial system which we call capitalism to an almost unendurable degree. No one denies it; we all know that capitalism has a negative side; that it is the cause of terrible injustices; that it is guilty of the oppressive lot of the poor and the suffering. What is capital really? Without going into detail, it can be said that capital is a large sum of money, not that sum with which small transactions are handled, but that enormous sum with which it is possible to carry on the exchange of goods of great economic value. Hence, the greater the capital, the more enormous is its power. Owing to its superior power and strength, it can easily consume or annihilate small capital. Capitalism, then, is an economic system, which entails injustices and the suppression of smaller and weaker capital. If the capitalist system is used to run a branch of production in the sole interest of capital, a great harm to the well-being of the entire nation can result. Capitalists, for example, in their search for ways of expanding their capital very often go so far as to monopolize entire branches of production by amalgamating their firms. In America, for example, such amalgamations are called "trusts." They have exclusive control of almost every branch of production. In these "trusts", the directorship is assumed by the man with the largest capital. In America, as we know, one speaks of Iron Kings, Cotton Kings, etc.

Who are these "Kings" really? They are capitalists who have succeeded in gaining almost entire control of the iron, cotton, or other industries. Once they possess this control, the entire production of these commodities is dependent upon them. They determine the price of iron and cotton, and in the whole world the buying and selling of iron and cotton must be carried out according to their standards, i.e., those who want to purchase these commodities have to pay these kings a fee. Competition with them is unthinkable, for they could ruin even their greatest competitor, be he the owner of an ore mine or of a cotton plantation who wants to measure his strength with them. To defeat their competitors, they need only a sum of money sufficient to buy them out. The Iron King or the Cotton King would go about it like this: He would begin by selling iron or cotton so cheaply that his competitor would be forced to operate at a loss. But a competitor cannot keep pace with these low prices, for not having a large concern, his cost of production is greater. As a result, he suffers such large losses in a short period of time that he has to discontinue production and either plead bankruptcy or submit his firm to the "King", who thereafter is master of the situation. He sets the prices so high that in a short time he has quadrupled the losses which he suffered in his battle with the smaller manufacturer. Now he has the possibility of harming, not only isolated manufacturers, but entire countries and nations. The price which every consumer must pay for a sickle, a scythe, and knives depends upon the rate which the Iron King in America sets.

Now let us take a look at what the Bolsheviks do. They monopolize production in Russia, Ukraine, and all the other Republics. All these countries, consequently, which are free according to constitutional rights, are, in actual practice, under the heavy yoke of Red Moscow. As controllers of all production, they force all the inhabitants of these countries to pay them an exorbitant tax on everything which people need. This tax, however, is concealed. In other countries, the tax on an article, though it may be high, is not concealed. In the USSR, the tax on iron and cotton corresponds to that price which the people in America pay the Iron or Cotton King for it.

This means that the Bolsheviks make use of the worst kind of capitalism, i.e. state capitalism. When they maintain that they protect small capital, that is true only in so far as they absorb all small capital into their large capital. They drain the capital of each and every Christian to the last rouble. Even if a peasant would earn a hundred roubles, they would still land in the pockets of the Bolsheviks. With their monopoly of all the capital, they are draining the blood of all our people. They also jeopardize the peoples in other parts of the world, for as we have seen in the case of the Iron and Cotton Kings, large capital can and does drive small capital into bankruptcy. The Bolsheviks manufacture all their products very

cheaply; first of all because they possess an unrestricted monopoly; second of all, however, because they employ an enormous amount of workers without pay — prisoners and peasants, who are forced to work their own ground for the state without receiving enough bread to live on. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of people are forced to work gratuitously in the Soviet Union, because the existing circumstances are such, that it is possible for the government to sentence a citizen to prison at any moment without trial. Those who are sentenced to prison or who are deported to Solovki¹ are forced to exert all their energy in work for which they receive no pay. Thus it comes about that production is cheaper in the Soviet Union than in any other country in the world. In order to destroy the economies of other countries, however, the Bolsheviks sell their products abroad at a price which is even less than the cost price, i.e., they sell at a loss. They take this loss upon themselves willingly, only to destroy the economy of some country. No factory or mill of another country can afford to sell its products for less than the cost price. Many people, therefore, prefer to buy the cheaper products which the Bolsheviks sell at a loss.

In the long run, however, this loss pays for itself twice over: First of all, after they have annihilated their competitors, they can make up for this loss; second of all, the ruination of an economy results in unemployment, which the Bolsheviks make use of in their own way. They win disciples among the unemployed by making them great promises. As can be imagined, they are not interested in creating work for them or in fighting for better wages for the workers. On the contrary, they want to destroy the economy of the country concerned altogether. This they accomplish by staging strikes and by stirring up a tumult among the unemployed and strikers in order to precipitate a revolution.

One can see what they are trying to do. They want to set everything upside down, so that the experienced and trained Communists can seize power in order to suck the blood from the poor, just as they did in the Soviet Union. All their efforts are directed toward this end. To achieve it, they promise everyone anything he desires: lower taxes, his own plot of ground, freedom from military duty. In short: they promise him what they know he desires.

They do not intend to keep their promises. They are only interested in sowing division and dissatisfaction to build up the necessary reserve for a People's Front of dissatisfied elements to provoke a revolution.

In the wider sense of the word, all means of production, factories and the land can also be considered capital. Here also, the Bolsheviks go directly to their goal. They monopolize all the land; it becomes

*) The most notorious concentration camp in the Soviet Union.

the property of the government, i.e. the Bolsheviks. In order to achieve this monopolization, they had to carry on a severe, cruel and extended fight with the rural population. Everyone knows that the farmer needs a plot of ground of his own for farming. As soon as the Bolsheviks had seized power, they began a bitter fight against the peasantry. In these 18 years, they left nothing untried in their efforts to overpower the rural population, i.e., to transform them into proletarians, or to express it more clearly: to make beggars of them. We do not dare to describe all phases of that fight. They applied everything possible: requisitions like in a time of war which ruined the peasants; everything was taken away from them; nothing was left over for their own sustenance. The taxes were so exorbitant, that many peasants left their livestock, their farms, their land, and fled from their homes, for they were not able to bear these conditions. Everywhere, the poor rose up against the rich; the youth against the adults; even the children against their parents. Everywhere, the Bolsheviks sowed their diabolical seeds of hatred, discord, quarrelsomeness, godlessness, immorality and calumny. To that, must be added murder, crime and many other deeds of violence. The administration of the villages was put into the hands of the worst elements, whom they trained to be informers and spies, in a word, to be secret police. They organized the youth of the villages into the so-called "Komsomol" and taught them to be godless. That is the ideal of the Bolshevik government.

Finally they began to introduce the so-called "kolkhozes", i.e., collective farms in the following way: All the farm land in a village constitutes a totality, which is administered by the Bolshevik officials according to Moscow's prescribed arrangements. The inhabitants of the village have to submit and to do what is demanded of them. Dare the poor protest! The trial is short: Secret Police encircle the village and set it on fire, and prevent anyone from leaving the burning houses. Or they deport the rebellious village inhabitants to Solovki to drudge in the state-owned woods without pay. In this way, no knowledge of dissatisfaction among the people comes to the attention of foreign countries. After a few years, half of them are dead from starvation and illnesses. When necessary, the peasants who protest against the "decrees" of the government are even deported to Siberia and left there in an unpopulated area without food. When I add to this, that the village churches are often closed, burned, or converted into warehouses and cinemas, that ten to fifteen villages have only one priest — for the others are beaten or reduced to such necessity, that they must wander through the country as beggars — then you have a partial picture of what the Bolsheviks call paradise. This is the goal of the People's Front, of all communist newspapers, brochures, leaflets: They want us too to partake of this paradise.

Those who assist the Bolsheviks in their work, be it by participation in the People's Front, the distribution of leaflets, the editing of their newspapers, the propaganda of their basic principles or in the defense against their opponents are helping them to usher in their "paradise" everywhere. One must be very careful, therefore, not to assist the Bolsheviks in any way. Who, despite all this, assists them, betrays the poor and the oppressed into the hands of the Bolsheviks who will suck their blood, just as they did with the poor and oppressed in Soviet Ukraine. No one can estimate how many volumes would be necessary to describe the whole Bolshevik system.

In this regard, I still want to add the following: The Bolsheviks have declared war on the family. They want to make the women and girls common property. To this end, they have dispensed with the sacrament of marriage and have replaced it with a contract, which is drawn up by a commissioner and which can be arbitrarily dissolved at any time by one party. So it comes about that hapless mothers, who have been left in the lurch by unscrupulous men, rid themselves of their embryo before it is born, or they kill the baby shortly after birth. Infanticide became so common, that even the Bolshevik government was disturbed by this terrible phenomenon and had to seek for a means of restraining it. That under these conditions it is difficult for a girl to maintain her purity and for a young man to maintain his innocence is easily understood. These terrible conditions, however, lead one to reflect upon what will become of a youth, to whom no one speaks of God, whom no one teaches to curb his passions, who is allowed full sway from earliest youth, and who is deliberately corrupted.

What will become of a youth without God? In our Christian communities, the Christian virtues of justice and love of one's neighbour can render corrupt arrangements and systems, like capitalism, for example, ineffective or at least less harmful. For reasons of conscience, feelings of justice, or the love of their fellow man, those who have economic power may not exploit it. In the life of the family and in the education of the young, Christianity is upheld, for belief in the Christian virtues of purity, faithfulness, the oath, sense of duty and others are firmly imprinted in the youth and their baser human passions are curtailed. Only the future can say what a community which neglects all these virtues will be like.

But even today, many signs of destruction in public life indicate how deeply the corruption has already penetrated. In the whole territory which the Bolsheviks control, a class of savage men is being created. Hundreds, thousands, even ten thousands neglected children grow up like savages. Everywhere one encounters this mob of neglected children wandering from place to place. Apparently, they live from what they can find, steal or rob from someone. All kinds of illnesses break out among them, and no one cares how and where

these poor children die. No one knows who they are; no one loves them. These little creatures grow up like weeds in the field; they are surrounded by depravity, bad example; they have unlimited opportunities to express their destructive tendencies. Thousands of them perish, evidently, but their number does not diminish. Perhaps, it even increases, for no one really knows how many of them there are. It is estimated that their number runs into hundreds of thousands. As it appears, they are consumed by vermin. Indeed, being what they are, they are the vermin attached to the body of that society, which is ruled by the blood-stained Moscow regime.

From time to time, you may encounter young people — or for that matter, even older ones — who will tell you that they have been to Moscow and have seen with their own eyes that everything is good there. Take a closer look at the people who make these statements. It may well be that they are paid to make them. It is generally known that the Bolsheviks indoctrinate young people in their schools, where they are preached Communism and saturated with the teachings of Marx, Lenin or Stalin. The libraries in Russia and Ukraine are set up to carry out the same task. Most likely, these kind of schools are also to be found in Carpathian Ukraine, in Prague and other cities. After these young people have been trained to be agents and agitators, they are set to work on the youth in our villages by the Bolsheviks. This is how the Bolshevik system is spread. If you encounter one of these agitators, give careful attention to his hands — look carefully to see whether they are not stained with the blood of the poor and the oppressed, whether they are not smeared with the blood of our country, which they have betrayed to blood-stained Moscow for money. If you really want to know the truth, ask those people who can tell you from their own experiences what it is really like under the Bolsheviks.

As far as the People's Front is concerned, we also warn you, O youth, to beware of Socialist and Radical speakers. We know the Bolsheviks — therefore, we must warn you against them. Is there any reason why you should not believe me? What motive could I have in warning you against the Bolsheviks, if they were really working for the good of our people? The whole world knows that I am telling you the truth. In Ukraine, for example, it is a fact — a fact corroborated by Germans, French and Americans — that more than 3 million people were starved to death, that the Bolsheviks have declared war on the peasantry and that thousands upon thousands of our Ukrainian countrymen have perished unseen in the Solovki Islands. No one denies these facts. They were reported in all the European and American newspapers. Only those people who are in Moscow's pay, who sell themselves and betray their country, who sell Christ like Judas Iscariot — they alone shut their ears to these facts.

But they go to confession and receive Holy Communion, you will say. **If they are Communists, I tell you, their confession is a sacrilege and their attendance of the Holy Communion service is a blasphemy.** If a priest gives them absolution and Holy Communion, he most likely does not know who they really are. **But if a priest knew that they were Communists, then he would not have the right to give them Holy Communion and absolution.** Do not let yourselves be deceived; exert yourselves to find out what the Communists, what the Bolsheviks mean for our poor Ukraine and the whole world.

Even if it may not be so easy for young people to know the truth about a world-wide phenomenon like the Third Internationale or Communism, I am nonetheless convinced, that he who aspires to know about these things in a Christian way, he will realize that I am speaking the truth. I do not ask to believe in my words; implicit belief is due only to the words of Jesus Christ and the Holy Church. When I impart the teachings of Jesus Christ to you and preach about God's revealed truth, I ask of you to believe me in the name of Jesus Christ. In my letter to you today, the teachings of Jesus Christ and the Church are present, but much of my knowledge does not stem from the Gospel. It comes from my long years of experience. Many things I know from my oral or written communications with trustworthy witnesses. At my age it is easier for a man to draw conclusions from his own as well as from other people's experiences. For young people, this is not always possible.

Even if I do not ask you to believe in the words which I am writing to you today as faithfully as in the words of the Gospel, still I ask you to believe in me, not as your pastor, but as an old, experienced man — a man who desires your good and who would like to be a real father to you. If you refuse to grant me this belief, I think you do me an injustice. Nonetheless, I will not refrain from saying this much more: If you do not believe me, go to the people who have really experienced Bolshevism, read the books of those men who have suffered under it. But do not attach any credit to the words of those people who speak favourably of the Bolshevik system. It is known and has been proven that thousands of agents, who are paid by the Bolsheviks, operate in our country. Try to compare their speeches with the truth, and if you really want to know the truth, pray to the Almighty God to give you the power to know it. Pray to partake of the Holy Ghost; pray to receive the Divine Wisdom from Heaven; pray for Light; pray for the power to distinguish between truth and falsehood. I do not doubt that the Almighty God will help you to see the danger, and that you will detach yourselves from activities, which are a betrayal to the poor and the suffering. I shall pray for you.

I began to write this letter on the eve of the feast of the Holy Prophet, Elijah. Today, the day after the feast, I finish it. The Holy

Prophet Elijah was in some respect in a similar plight as we are today. The entire Jewish nation was giving heed to the false prophets of Baal. They embraced false deities and fell away from the Most High God, Jehovah. As we know from the biblical story, the prophet worked a miracle to enlighten the people. He commanded the prophets of Baal to kill a bull and to prepare it as a sacrifice. He promised to do the same. That God, he said, who answers the prayer of the prophets and strikes the sacrificial bull with fire — He will be the true God. The sacrificial priests of Baal prayed from morning until noon and even cut themselves after their custom, but the Heavens did not send forth any fire. When, however, the prophet was to bring forth his sacrifice, he commanded that his altar be surrounded by a trench and to be filled three times over with water. After that, he prayed over the sacrifice. Fire fell from Heaven and burned the sacrificial animal, and the whole nation cried: The Lord, he is God; the Lord, he is God.

Before the eyes of all his people, the Holy Prophet Elijah exposed the false prophets of Baal, and he convinced them that the true God is the God of Abraham and Israel. May the Holy Prophet bid Light from Heaven to open your eyes to the false prophets, who come to you with promises of an earthly paradise, with falsehoods and words of hell. May he give you understanding to know the truth and what is best for the people, whom you must heed in this life and which path you must follow to achieve a better and more beautiful future. May the Almighty God bless all of you; may he protect you against deception and against the teachings of the false prophets. May He give you the grace to remain faithful sons of Jesus Christ and His Holy Church.

The Blessing of God our Lord Jesus Christ be ever with you!

† A n d r e a s

Dr. Karl SIEHS

OLGA KOBYLIANSKA

(27. 11. 1863—21. 3. 1942)

A Portrait

*"Only my work, my pen and my Self made me
what I am: a tireless worker for my people".*
O. Kobyliańska

The widely diverging exegesis of the literary creativeness of Olga Kobyliańska, and above all the extremely popular theory of the complicated nature and in particular of the conflict of her spiritual development, call to mind the words of Schopenhauer — that one can explain a person by means of one single action. Thus, if we adopt the right course in order to understand this writer, it is very likely that we shall be able to reduce apparently contradictory opinions to one common denominator and, moreover, shall succeed in finding the one root of all this controversy.

There are writers whose works and whose personality one can understand even if one considers them completely detached and isolated from their native surroundings. In the case of no other writer, however, does this appear to be so difficult and impossible as in the case of Olga Kobyliańska. Goethe's words:

"He who would the poet understand,
must travel to the poet's land",

certainly apply to Olga Kobyliańska. Not only did she become the bard of her native forests and hills as, for instance, did Adalbert Stifter, and not only did Nature in the manifold beauty of her native Bukovina permeate all her poetic works, but Nature also left its imprint on the poetess herself, and her native surroundings, which she never left, become the only source by means of which one can interpret her contradictory personality on the basis of one common denominator.

The country, in which Olga Kobylanska was born 100 years ago as one of several children of a small civil servant in the little town of Gura Humorului (Hura Humora), near to the larger town of Campolung (Langfelden), in South Bukovina, was not united to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until 1775, and, after having been annexed by Rumania after the first world war, remained outside the borders of the Soviet Union even after the end of World War II. The vicissitudes of history are reflected in the national composition of the population of this region in the East Carpathians. Ukrainians (Ruthenians), together with the ethnically interesting tribe of the Hutsuls (mountaineers), Rumanians, Lipovans (Russian Old Orthodox believers, who emigrated there because their religion was persecuted so cruelly), Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks, Armenians, and above all gypsies make up the colourful picture of a national melting-pot, which forms the ethnographical background of many of the stories written by Olga Kobylanska.

Not only ethnographical but also economic conditions had a decisive influence on the work of this writer. By the time she was thirty years of age one-fourth of the entire country, that is to say 4700 sq. miles, was in the possession of ecclesiastical (Orthodox) domains, which showed a yield of 1,001,769 gulden, of which 500,766 gulden were listed as expenditure under the item "religion". How much was spent for other purposes can be estimated from the fact that of the remaining amount, another 220,089 gulden were paid as surplus to the ecclesiastical fund (Suchava). (Quoted from "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Vol. Bukovina.") It is therefore not surprising that Olga Kobylanska describes conditions such as we find depicted in her "Visit to St. John". Anyone who wishes to study the history of the ruthless exploitation of the rest of the country by the Austro-Hungarian government should read Olga Kobylanska's "The Battle", if he prefers to believe poetic feeling rather than bare statistics.

A third decisive factor, which was not the result of local conditions but originated from the trend which prevailed towards the end of the 19th century, was the social problem in connection with and as a consequence of the increasing industrialization and, in particular, closely allied to this problem, the question of the legal position of women. Olga Kobylanska was a true child of her day like her Polish contemporary Eliza Orzeszkowa, who was however more concerned with the question of the emancipation of women than she was. In 1864 Wilhelm Emanuel von Ketteler wrote his work on "The Question of the Working Classes and Christianity"; in 1865 the women's movement began in Germany with the founding of the first German Women's Union by Luise Otto-Peters, Marx wrote his monumental work "Capital", and Ibsen stirred the moral conscience of society. In 1869 Bebel and Liebknecht founded the Labour Party, in 1871 Dostoevsky wrote the apocalypse of the revolution, his work "The

Possessed" (Besy), and in 1872 Wilhelm Busch's "Die fromme Helene" ("Pious Helena") was enthusiastically acclaimed in anti-clerical circles. One year later Spencer produced his "Study of Sociology". Nietzsche made his appearance, Dostoievsky revealed the roots of atheism in his novel "The Brothers Karamazov", the "superman" who stands above good and evil is created, Bernard Shaw joins Ibsen in his criticism of outmoded forms of society, and Käthe Kollwitz produces her drawings and etchings of social subjects in an era which sees the birth of Hamsun's novel "Hunger", Hauptmann's "Die Weber", and Gorky's "Makar Chudra". The era of "Effi Briest" was doomed to decay, and it was in this period of chaos, the antipoles of which are the "Parnasse contemporain", Verlaine, Swinburne, Brahms, and Wagner's "Parsifal", that Olga Kobylianska spent her youth, which was overshadowed by great poverty, by German literature and philosophy.

The life and work of Olga Kobylianska are inseparably bound up with each other. Her works express either her own experiences or her surroundings, which she has observed down to the smallest detail and describes with masterly realism. Her stories and novels are alive with people, from the poorest day-labourer, shepherd and woodman to the richest boyar and landowner, from the restless wandering gypsy to the farmer who for generations has clung to his plot and land; her works are imbued with the soothing influence of Nature, reflected in its vast, virgin forests, and ancient superstitions and a sound national element permeates the soul of her heroes, whose portrayal is a psychological masterpiece.

The reality of a hard daily life leaves no room for flights of imagination, for her own life permitted no fanciful, ambitious plans. It was extremely hard and subordinated to the iron laws of cruel poverty and dire need. It resembled barren land which only yields a crop after long and difficult labours.

The only schooling which the authoress had was four years at an elementary school; whatever else she achieved she was obliged to struggle for herself. Thus there was little room in her life for flights of fantasy, but it was nevertheless filled with an aim and a longing to attain the light and the beauty of life. This yearning for intellectual and spiritual nobility, for "universal beauty", in which both "values" and present moral principles are submerged, this yearning for a world in which even the bitter tears of sorrow and suffering ("Maty Bozha" — "Mother of God") become insignificant, springs from the circumstances of her life.

But this dream of the "beauty" of life, this striving for higher values, is not fulfilled by castles in the air, but by a hard struggle and tenacity of purpose. And this is a striking characteristic of Olga Kobylianska herself. The grimness of this struggle is determined by the hard circumstances of life, and it is precisely woman, the beast of

burden of an outmoded social order, which refuses to admit equality of rights and remained in the morass of narrowminded, commonplace contentedness, who fights this battle. It is therefore not surprising that Olga Kobylanska excels in her portrayal of female characters and has created a whole gallery of women who are morally strong, even though they are defeated by outward circumstances in the end; for the authoress herself was only too well aware of the laws of life to be tempted to add the victory of a cheap "happy end" to what is good and noble and beautiful. Mankind is hard and cruel: "Expect no pity, my daughter, for no one is compassionate, least of all those who pretend to be so..." ("V nedilyu rano zillya kopala" — "On Sunday morning she dug up herbs"). Thus Olena in "Lyudyna" ("Human Being", 1891) is destroyed by the hopelessness of her narrowminded surroundings, and not all Kobylanska's women are as strong-minded as Natalka Verkovichivna in "Tsarivna" ("The Princess"), who succeeds in breaking through the circle of narrowminded and degrading morals which hems her in.

The longing and striving to attain the higher and nobler values in life — a longing and striving that is always manifest in a soul that reveals its spiritual beauty — is not a quality that is confined to the so-called higher classes alone. Olga Kobylanska in particular deserves especial credit for having endowed the lowest female types of her fellow-countrymen with this spiritual beauty which is free from all raptures of enthusiasm.

"How beautiful she must once have been! Not only beautiful of countenance, though her face still bore traces of a delicate beauty which one so rarely finds amongst the common people. She was also beautiful with another beauty, a spiritual beauty, full of wild, primitive grace and eternal youth, which, undiminished, was still expressed in every one of her words, in every one of her glances, in her intelligent and sharp eyes, in every movement of her slender figure, and above all in every lively movement of her head, which was usually covered coquettishly with a flowered shawl and inevitably attracted one's gaze. There was not the least trace in her person of that coarseness and clumsiness which usually earn those who manifest these characteristics the epithet "country clodhopper", with whose outward appearance beauty of soul and sensitive feelings are hardly likely to harmonize..." ("Nekul'turna" — "The Uncultured Woman").

The woman Paraska, who does menial work, who can neither read nor write, but who possesses a spiritual nobility which raises her above all that is common, is by no means an isolated example in Olga Kobylanska's works.

Certain critics have reproached Olga Kobylanska with having failed to digest the influence of German romanticism and German idealistic philosophy and, by way of a concrete example, quote her

"Nietzsche-ism". It is true that the authoress was directly influenced by German literature and also wrote her earliest works — though these were never published — in German. These works include her earliest stories written in the 1880's — incidentally she began to write at the age of thirteen: "Hortenza, Dolya chy volya" ("Fate or Will"), "Narys z zhyttia Bukovyny" ("A Sketch of Life in Bukovina"), and "Vona vyyshla zamuzh" ("She Got Married"). Whereas the Soviet critics deny the German influence in her works and for instance substitute the influence of Pisarev (Yefremov, on the other hand, affirms that her works reveal the influence of Nietzsche!), Lesya Ukrainka, who until her death in 1913 was a very close friend of Olga Kobylanska, expressed her appreciation of the fact that the latter was influenced to such a marked degree by German literature: "What I really wanted to do, was to show the difference between my criticism and the Galician criticism; the Galician critics reproach you with German elements in your works, whereas I am of the opinion that these German elements were your salvation, for they enabled you to become acquainted with world literature and they guided you into the wide world of ideas and of art, — one is struck by this fact most strongly if one compares your works with the majority of Galician works (I am not however referring to Franko, for instance, in this connection, for he does not belong to the mass of writers); in these (Galician) works one is always aware of the backward province, but in your works one is transported to lofty mountains and vast horizons..." (A letter dated May 20, 1899, and written from Berlin).

This letter was written in the year that Olga Kobylanska moved to Chernivtsi and began to play an increasingly important part in Ukrainian literature. In 1898 she made the acquaintance of V. Stefanyk, and in 1899 she formed a personal and literary friendship with Kotsyubynsky and Lesya Ukrainka. She had fought her own way in life, for we learn from this same letter — the letters written by Olga Kobylanska to Lesya Ukrainka have, with the exception of two, all been lost — that Olga had asked Lesya to introduce her in the literary world, but that Lesya had not complied with this request.

The days in which, spurred on by Natalia Kobrynska and Sofiya Okunevska, she had been politically active in the field of the emancipation of women, now lay behind her. And the "Nietzsche-ism", which Lesya Ukrainka had also criticized, was gradually waning. But Olga Kobylanska's works clearly show that she never abandoned her longing for the spiritual beauty which raises one above the idle masses. And this longing is also expressed in such short stories as "The Visit to St. John" and "Vovchytisia" ("The She-Wolf"). All her characters feel an urge to rise up on powerful wings and strive to reach the light, and hence the critics reproach

the authoress with having fought "not for the general good of the community, but for the improvement of the station of life of the individual" (O. Bilecky).

This, however, is not so. This yearning to attain higher values is, in her opinion, simply connected with human nature and is something rudimentary: "Man is like a rapidly flowing river, that hastens forward, ever forwards — and knows no rest or peace..." ("Pora" — "It is Time").

Those Soviet critics who affirm that Olga Kobylanska has paid homage to personal individualism in certain works and glorified the "qualities of superman", have obviously overlooked the passage in which the authoress says so very aptly: "There is one God above us all and we are all his children — whites and gypsies alike..." ("V nedilyu rano...") If all men are equal in God's sight, then there is no room for supermen, but there is however room for those persons who vigorously strive upwards, not for selfish gain but because they are prompted by the noble desire to perfect themselves and "constantly to strive upwards".

Those who draw the conclusion, after having read the various critics on Olga Kobylanska, that she set herself the aim of developing from a symbolistic (Yefremov) visionary and adherent of Nietzsche, who paid homage to "superman" and individualism, into a progressive and democratic authoress (Bilecky) in the sense of socialist realism, should take into account the fact that all these trends run parallel to each other, or to be more exact, result from each other, throughout her entire life.

In 1890 she wrote her fierce criticism of social conditions "The Visit to St. John", and in 1891 her short story "Lyudyna" ("Human Being") "influenced by Nietzsche." In 1895 her realistic study of social conditions, entitled "Bank rustykal'nyy" ("The Rural Bank"), appeared, and in 1896 she wrote "Tsarivna" ("The Princess"), which, according to the critics, was also influenced by Nietzsche. Her big novel of peasant life, "Zemlya" ("The Soil"), followed in 1901. Of this work Kotsyubynsky said that he had seldom read anything so beautiful or so dramatic as "The Soil", a novel, which, in addition to the theme of fratricide — a theme which had previously been used in "Tsarivna", also deals with the question of landed property and gives a realistic account of peasant life (in this respect her style reminds one of Anzengruber, but her language is not as forceful and dramatic as his). Soviet critics make a lot of fuss about this novel and attack the idea of the possession of private property, for the struggle to secure one's own land leads to fratricide, an idea which is incidentally clearly expressed by Olga Kobylanska. But why, after the authoress had written such a sharp social criticism as this novel, which seems to advocate agricultural nationalization, did her

ideas undergo a "crisis", which prompted her to turn to old anti-social theories in her two big psychological novels "Cherez kladku" and "Za sytuatsiyamy" (1912 and 1913)?

Let us now endeavour to find an explanation for this apparent contradictoriness in the development of the writer's way of thought, as well as a common denominator for this confusion. Perhaps the key lies in the descriptions of Nature which are an essential part of every one of Olga Kobylanska's works.

Nature moulds man, and man with all his many problems is the fundamental theme of the writer's works, and not Nature. "He who has lived in those mountains, who has breathed their air and has absorbed their majestic beauty, is drawn to them again and again like an eagle to its eyrie on a remote crag; who has experienced all this, will all his life remain an enemy of petty, hypocritical unrest and will scorn the noisy life and the way of thinking in the valleys..." ("Pora" — "It is Time").

Nature protects man and endows him with that purity of soul which is revealed by spiritual beauty. "Moreover her soul was as pure and as white as a dove, and all that was evil was unknown to her. For what could young Tetiana know of evil, for apart from the woods, the mill, her father's house with the icons and Mavra, the old nurse, she knew nothing else?..." ("V nedilyu rano...")

But evil even penetrates into the innermost heart of carefully protected and pure Nature, and does not always lurk in the noisy, busy world alone. Nature — like a living being — tries to ward off evil. Nature is an independent component part of a whole and ranks as equal with man. Man is not a part of Nature (Adalbert Stifter), and Nature is not merely a background for feelings and emotions (Chekhov):

"When the whistle of the train rent the air of the wooded slopes in the valleys for the first time, it was as though a flash of lightning passed through the ancient trees on the mountains..."

The air was damp and cool. The resin which had trickled through the fissures in the bark of the trees became hard in the air and filled it with its scent. The moss was so thick that it impeded one's steps. Ancient roots, like coarse hands, crept up out of the moss like snakes, inseparably entwined, and seemed to move, in their strange struggle, into the darkness of the forest, which, concealed in a dim green light, seemed to breathe animosity.

One of the woodcutters, who had just arrived on the scene, brandished his axe against the trunk of an old pine-tree, which was grown over with fungi like large swallow's nests.

The tree trembled. It had never in all its life felt an axe on its body. The blow re-echoed throughout the forest, and all the trees held their breath. A silence fraught with anticipation hovered in the air...

But they had no intention of rustling their crowns, or even of expressing their surprise with the slightest whisper! If only the young ones would keep quiet... If only the young ones would not sway so easily!

And then the assault began.

With a wild shout of "Hurra" the hired woodmen set to work. With catlike agility they surged forward towards the first mountain, each of them trying to get ahead of the other, as if it were a heroic deed for one's whole life to be the first to belabour the virgin forest with one's axe.

But the forest defended itself:

Deceptive, dark green moss slipped from their predatory hands and they slid down into the valley... the young fir-trees stood so close together and spread out their branches so far that it seemed impossible to push forward any further. They pricked one's face, ruffled one's hair, and caught hold of one's clothes...

Feelings became more and more divided and were only held together by the deep silence of the night. The laughter of healthy life, mingled with bitter tears of sorrow, resounded, and melancholy, light as a cloak of velvet, hovered everywhere and suddenly evoked an even greater thirst for life and an even deeper love of life..." ("Bytva" — "The Battle", by Olga Kobylanska.)

Thus evil appears in the noble and pure sphere of Nature. The problem of evil, whether intentional or unintentional, becomes more persistent, however, when the scene is set in the busy life and hustle of the world.

Unintentional evil is punished, but at the price of the suffering of those who are innocent. Mavra's son and Tetiana have to suffer for Mavra's moral slip, even though she is really not to blame for this. The question is left open, even when evil is recognized: "Here something else existed, here evil was to blame, for it concealed itself in this something else and held it back. Evil! It is to blame and must be exterminated..." ("V nedilyu rano...").

Evil becomes problematic, however, when it is intentional, that is to say intended by man, as for instance social injustice. Only those who do not follow the writer's train of thought carefully are likely to come to the conclusion that her sketches, such as "The Visit to St. John" for instance, are atheistic. Actually, the exact opposite is the case. The existence of evil in this world has not been determined by God; evil originates from man and its roots lie in man's weakness:

Right there has never been on earth
As long as it exists!
Wrong thrives amongst the great ones,
Right is beaten with fists...

These are the words sung by the blind bard in front of the monastery. In answer to his grand-daughter's question as to where right is to be found, the old man replies: with God. However much his grand-daughter ponders over this answer, she will not be likely to doubt God; what she does doubt, however, is man who has fallen under the spell of Ahriman's rule on this earth. Together with Ivan Karamazov, she will reach the following conclusion: "It is not that I do not accept God. Please understand me rightly. It is the world, the world created by Him, this world of God, that I do not accept and I will never be prepared to accept it".

Here the authoress brings up the main problem of her creative work, the problem of evil which is not atoned for, — a problem which thousands of persons, like Ivan Karamazov, fail to solve. Can we ever really hope to accept and solve this problem as long as we only ponder and doubt?

Olga Kobylanska gives the reader an answer in her story "The Uncultured Woman" ("Nekul'turna"), which reminds one of Leskov's "Enchanted Wanderer". It is the striving for a spiritual equilibrium, attained after tireless labours, a divine serenity, which gives Paraska her beauty. One must never abandon the fight, for, as Lesya Ukrainka writes to Olga Kobylanska, "the Russian (and also the Austrian) part of Ukraine is not likely to train angels... (it is hardly necessary to stress that this is nowhere the case on our earth)".

Nothing on earth is likely to make angels of us *eo ipso*. For, as the Berlin poet Geucke says:

"You cannot attain what you do not possess in your heart,
Happiness does not come to us from without,
But we must carry it in our own soul..."

Hence we must strive from within our own hearts to reach the spiritual purity of light and must not capitulate to the evil which approaches us from without.

By reason of her treatment of the problems which seek to find and to overcome the root of "emotional atheism", and also on the strength of her purely literary achievement, Olga Kobylanska certainly deserves to occupy a foremost place in world literature.

Prof. Wolhodymyr SHAYAN

MYKHAYLO KOTSYUBYNSKY

On the centenary of his birth

(B. 17th September, 1864 — D. 25th April, 1913)

One of the greatest artists of Ukrainian prose, — and, no doubt, the greatest master of the impressionist style of his age, whose prose is indiscernable from poetry, the richest and most picturesque, formidable in expression like the chiselled haut reliefs on Greek temples.

The one who knew the deeper layers of human psyche, and yet searched for the ultimate truth of the unfathomable depth of the archetypes of our soul, undaunted in expression of the truth he discovered.

A man with vivid and sharp reactions towards any injustice, sufferings or subjugation in the world, and especially towards the social and national subjugation of Ukraine in his and in our time a colony of Russia, suppressed and exploited.

To the history of the world's impressionist literature he contributed his unsurpassed mastery of a large gallery of pictures, where landscapes form a perfect unity with personages, or, indeed, where personal emotions of his heroes create the colours of a landscape, and all the surrounding world.

At the end of his life, on the ruins of the city of Messina, completely "shaken off from the surface of earth as if the dog would have shaken off the waterdrops from his back after a bath in the sea" — to use the picture from Kotsyubynsky, — he still finds the mysterious, recreative power of Life to which he sings his sublime hymn entitled "The Praise to Life."

Indeed, Kotsyubynsky has a complete answer to the problems and defeatism of the modern European existentialism, and I only wish that its exponents could read him. Then the surprised European critics would discover how far in advance of his age was Kotsyubynsky.

Similarly to the modern existentialists he clearly sees the action of power of Fear in the broad world of both the human affairs and human psyche. But for him Fear never becomes a kind of metaphysical absolute as for the modern existentialists. In fact he shows in a kind of mythological concept this Fear to be only "The Old Man Kho", feeble and tired, seemingly "powerful" only through the myth of his allmightiness, — the myth being so skillfully supported until now by the existentialist shallow art and philosophy.

This "Shadow of Power" as spread by universal Fear has to be overcome in order to unveil the more deeply lying layers of joy, nobleness, and courage of the real Human Nature.

Kotsyubynsky is a challenge for the modern novelists of Europe.

"The Old Man Fear" has to be overcome and thrown entirely away of our soul, if there is any hope for real freedom. The awareness of a complete victory over any fear in human life was the commandment for the Ukrainian National Revolution to come.

His historical novel "At a High Price" shows how aware was Kotsyubynsky of what a tremendously high price had to be paid for the freedom from the Russian imperialism. A young married couple of Ukrainian peasants tries to escape from the Russian slavery in 1830 to Turkey, beyond the Danube, where there was a hope for a relatively more free settlement for the descendants of the formerly free Ukrainian Cossacks. The colony was then known as the Cossacks beyond the Danube. Their endeavoured escape is described in the most fascinating manner, and presented again in a gallery of pictures of Danubian landscapes, most realistic in well studied details of history and nature, and at the same time most impressionistic in the manner of painter's artistry.

But the highest glory he deserves in the world literature will bring him his chef d'oeuvres written in the 20th century like "Fata morgana", "Intermezzo", "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors", "The Dream", or the already mentioned "Praise to Life." The two last mentioned masterpieces have for their background such a suitable scenery for impressionist's pictures as Capri and Messina.

"Intermezzo" is a courageous confession of faith of a humanist who tries to escape from the evils and devils of our world into the beauty and sunshine of Ukrainian nature, but even there, in the solemn solitude of the steppes he meets the Human Being, who reveals to him the revolting nakedness of misery of the peasant life under the colonialist oppression of Ukraine by Russia. And his hero, or he himself, rejects his escapism and accepts the tragic world into his heart... as his own.

And here again Kotsyubynsky scores a triumphant victory over... the European escapists of our days.

It is a pity that the Western critics so scornfully ignore one of the most humanist literatures in the world, just because it happens to be the literature of a subjugated and colonial nation.

The recent discovery of Shevchenko as a great poet of freedom, translated into about 90 languages of the world, might well induce them to have second thoughts about the whole continent of the Ukrainian literature to be discovered.

Then Kotsyubynsky will emerge as one of the greatest humanists in the world literature whose humanism is not a flat and shallow

sentimentality but a vital and creative power both in human soul and in the world history.

But that is to come.

He was born at Vinnytsya, a picturesque Ukrainian town, amidst the bounteous wheatlands of Podolia, on the 17th of September, 1864, into the family of a civil servant. Moving from one little town to another according to his father's assignments, the young Mykhaylo finished primary schools and entered the so called Theological Seminary, i.e., a kind of college, in 1881, at Kamyanets Podilsky.

But, — and that was not an unusual fate of Ukrainian patriotic youth, — after a short time he was evicted for... political activities of a small students' group into which he was involved. As the one, who... was "dangerous for the state", he received the so called "wolf's ticket", and as blacklisted one could not be admitted to any school of higher education. So he had to finish higher studies on his own. He plunged headlong into a fantastically extensive reading of the main European literatures both in originals and in translations.

He then earned his living as a private tutor. Later, however, he became a schoolteacher for a short time, and in 1892 was employed as a member of the Commission for the Elimination of Philoxera, which was ruining the vineyards in the South of Moldavia and Crimea. This employment in picturesque hills and valleys of Moldavia and Crimea gave him plenty of opportunities to study the life and folklore of these regions. In fact his first impressionistic pictures, mature in style, are connected with the landscapes of these regions overflooded by sunlight. ("Under the Minarets", "In the Chains of Devil", etc.)

But his description of the rather questionable methods of destroying the philoxera together with the vineyards, as criticized in his story "For the Common Good" brought him again into strong disfavour with the government.

Later he was employed as a statistical accountant in Chernyhiiv. This kind of work was directly contrary and inconsistent with his emotional character and vivid imagination. It became a real torture for him at a time when there were no counting machines in the office. The job was killing his creative work and caused a serious breakdown of his health. Specialists in Berlin prescribed for him as a cure a long journey through the South of Europe, mainly Italy and Switzerland, for a year or so, in 1905, which restored his health and especially the state of his nerves.

The period which followed this journey until his death in April 1913 was the most creative in his life.

He was then able to finish his famous "Fata morgana" a picture of expectations, unrests, and revolutionary movements in 1905.

Between 1909 and 1911 he created his unique panorama of life of the Ukrainian highlanders in Carpathian Mountains under the title

"Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors." The folklore of the highlanders reflects the very archaic stage of the Ukrainian ethnic life, and provided Kotsyubynsky with opportunities to display a fantastic panorama of a lost world... of our own ancestors. That is the spirit of a unique style of "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors" which forms a kind of synthesis of both impressionism and neoromanticism.

Since 1911 Kotsyubynsky received a grant from "The Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Literature" which enabled him to live independently and dedicate himself to his creative literary work only. Unfortunately this crown of his life came very late. The state of his health was rapidly deteriorating, and in 1912 he returns from Italy to Kyiv and Chernyiv... to die on his beloved native soil.

This is the story of the life of one of the giants of the Ukrainian literature, who well deserves his place in the future Ukrainian Pantheon.

Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky

T O T H E S U N

Oh, sun, my gratitude to thee! Thou sowest into my soul thy golden corn, — and who knows what will grow out of the seed — belike the flames?

Thou art dear to me, I drink thee, o sun, thy warm and healing drink, I drink thee in as a child drinks the milk from its mother's breast as warm, as dear as thou. Even when thou burnest, I pour into myself the fiery beverage, and am intoxicated with it.

I love thee. For... listen!

From the unsearchable darkness I came to the world, and my first breath, my first movement was in the darkness of my mother's womb. And until now this overwhelms me, — all darkness of the nights, the half of my life it stands between me and thee. Its servants are clouds, mountains, gaols, — they hide thee from me, and... we know, that time is inevitably coming, when like salt in water I will dissolve in it for ever.

You are only a guest in my life, o sun, the desired one, and, when thou departest, I desperately try to detain you. I catch the last beam on the clouds, I prolong thy presence in the fire, in the lamp, in the fireworks, I gather thee from the flowers, from the smile of a child, from the eyes of my beloved.

And when thou art gone and leavest me alone, I create thy image, I call it "the Ideal", hide it within my heart.

And there it burns.

Translated from the Ukrainian by WOLHODYMYR



Né à Stockholm (1682). Roi jeune et aventurier. Vainqueur des Danois, il écrase l'armée de Pierre le Grand à Narva (1700), les Polonais, à Küssow et fait élire Stanislas Lecinski. Il soumet la Saxe, à Altranstad. Vaincu à son tour par le Tsar, il se réfugia à Bender. Trahi et pris par les Turcs, il s'échappe et regagne la Suède en 1713. Mais la Suède était dans un état si déplorable que toutes ses victoires furent inutiles. Il fut tué à Frederiksha'1, en 1718.

CHARLES XII, King of Sweden (1697-1718),
ally of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetman, Ivan Mazepa.



IVAN MAZEPA, Hetman of Ukraine (1687-1709), ally of the Swedish King, Charles XII, in the war against Peter I, Tsar of Russia, for the liberation of Ukraine from Russian overlordship.

Angelika von Schuckman

Anti-Khrushchov Actions in Scandinavia and the Echo which they received in the World Press

On the occasion of Khrushchov's visit to the Scandinavian countries, the Central Committee of ABN felt called upon to reveal Khrushchov's true face by a campaign of enlightenment, and at the same time to raise an admonishing voice to the Scandinavian public to warn those countries that live in dangerous proximity to the aggressive Russian imperium against the acute danger which threatens them.

In co-operation with the Danish youth organization, *Demokratiske Allianz*, under the chairmanship of Soren Steen, as well as with the June Committee, which was formed in Sweden under the direction of the well-known Professor of Archeology, Birger Nerman, a number of demonstrations were held in both Denmark and Sweden. The exemplarily organized "Baltic Centre", which is under the direction of General Secretary, Dr. Arvo Horm, and which includes numerous emigrants from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, gave the ABN delegation especially active support.

Representing ABN, President Jaroslav Stetzko, Secretary General Prince Niko Nakashidze, and the editor of ABN-Correspondence, Mrs. Slava Stetzko, travelled to Scandinavia to participate in the protest actions.

IN DENMARK

On June 17, Khrushchov arrived in Denmark. It was an ill-humoured, tired, no longer vigorous, but plodding Nikita who stepped ashore from the German-built Soviet ship "Bashkiriya"; a man in whose face worries concerning his economy, his Berlin policies, degraded to the erection of the Wall, his Rumanian wire-pullers and the Chinese rebels were only too visible. By their partially indifferent, disinterested and partly hostile behaviour, the population contributed but little to raise the spirits of the world's most feared man.

On June 18th, as Nikita Khrushchov started in on his official programme, the above-mentioned *Demokratisk Allianz* arranged a large-scale press conference for the ABN delegation. Over 50 representatives from the local and foreign press, from television and almost all news agencies, as well as representatives from several foreign embassies attended this conference, among others: Associated Press (AP), Reuter Bureau, the large Danish newspapers, *Berlingske Tidende*, *Aktuelt* and *Politiken*, the Italian newspapers, *Gazetta del Popolo*, *La Stampa*; in addition, the editor of Holland's 5 largest newspapers, H. A. Lunstrof, a representative of the US

Embassy Information Center, the Press Secretary of the German Embassy in Denmark, correspondents from "Radio Free Europe", the German Television and the West-German Radio etc.

Among others, the former Danish Foreign Minister and present Vice-President of Parliament, Ole Bjoern Kraft, was also present at the conference.

The main substance of the press conference was a speech by ABN President, Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, which culminated in a devastating accusation of Nikita Khrushchov:

"We accuse him not only of the mass-murders in Lviv in June 1941 and of having been responsible for other mass-murders at that time in numerous towns and villages all over Ukraine, but also of the mass-murders in Vinnytsia in 1938/40 where over 10,000 Ukrainians were massacred at his orders. Khrushchov is one of the most ruthless hangmen of the Ukrainian people, and it is this policy of extermination pursued by him in Ukraine that has fitted him so ably for the post of hangman of the entire Soviet Union."

Jaroslav Stetzko also warned against the illusions and dangers of the so-called coexistence and *détente* policy on the basis of the *status quo*.

Preceding Mr. Stetzko, Secretary General, Prince Niko Nakashidze, discussed the ideas of the ABN and presented a historical survey of the formation of the Russian imperium by the forceful annexation of foreign countries and by the subjugation of non-Russian peoples.

In the ensuing discussion, the press representatives demonstrated a lively interest in all problems and questions that had been brought forward. The press conference found a wide-spread echo in the entire Danish press.

Reports on the conference appeared in *Jylland-Posten*, *Aktuelt*, *Extra-bladet*, *Land og Volk*, *Berlinske Tidende*, and the leading newspaper, *Politiken*, featured an article headlined, "Hard Accusers on Khrushchov's Heels." The Communist press, on the other hand, expatiated in severe

attacks against the President of ABN and against the Vice-President of the Danish Parliament, Ole Bjoern Kraft, owing to his participation in the press conference.

On the following day, Mr. Kraft received the ABN delegation in the Parliament building and showed a keen interest in ABN's concepts and activity.

IN SWEDEN

Toward 12 o'clock noon, on June 22nd, Nikita Khrushchov arrived in Stockholm. If the atmosphere in Denmark was cool, then it was certainly frosty in Sweden: Indifference or even hostility, torn-down flagstuffs, posters against the mass-murderer, leaflets...

In co-operation with the June Committee, the "Baltic Centre" held mass-rallies, street demonstrations and church services in protest against Khrushchov's visit. In the course of these rallies, the public's attention was focused on the tyranny behind the Iron Curtain, a tyranny which makes use of Russification policies, mass-expulsions, deportation, religious persecution and economic exploitation to dominate non-Russian peoples. These rallies were held in Stockholm, Uppsala, Malmoe, Eskilstuna, in Boras, Oerebro, Goeteborg and Joenkoeping.

Here, too, as in Denmark, leaflets were distributed on a mass scale — more than 100,000 leaflets were handed out and many posters were put up. ABN leaflets written in English warned the public of the Scandinavian countries in particular against the danger of the relentless Bolshevik expansionism which threatens them. Today, under Khrushchov and his peace policies, this expansionism is just as acute as it was under Stalin yesterday. In the ABN leaflet we read: "Russia's coexistence policy is a lie and a deception and the greatest swindle and bluff in the history of the world. It is precisely such a policy that Moscow needs, however, until it is economically and militarily strong enough to initiate an offensive farther toward Europe. It will be the Scandinavian countries — Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark —



Mr. JAROSLAW STETZKO, President of the ABN, and Mrs. Slava Stetzko, co-editor of "The Ukrainian Review" holding the wreath which they afterwards laid at the sarcophagus of Charles XII, King of Sweden and ally of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetman, Ivan Mazepa. The wreath was laid at the Riddashalmskyrka church in Stockholm.



FROM THE STAY OF THE ABN DELEGATION IN STOCKHOLM.

Standing from the left: Mr. Watson, Canadian; Mr. J. Stetzko; Mrs. S. Stetzko; Dr. Arvo Horm, Estonian, General Secretary of the Baltic Centre; Prof. Birger Nerman, Swede, chairman of the "June Committee"; Mr. Per-Eric Jangvert, Swede, Secretary of the Student Organisation INFORM.

that the Russian hordes will overrun first, in order to break through and occupy the north flank of West European defence. Then Western Europe would be firmly gripped in her clutches and farther forging ahead on the part of Russia from the Balkans over Yugoslavia to Italy would no longer be preventable...

"In actual fact, the Soviet Union is a Russian colonial empire in which foreign nations have been robbed of their national sovereignty and the citizens of their most elementary human rights. It is an empire of brutal slavery. To celebrate the dictator of such an empire is more than an humiliation — it is a disgrace for the Christian-European world!

"The free World must not rock itself to sleep in the prosperity of a welfare state and enjoy a deceptively secure life. Every man must be aware of his human responsibilities and stand up for the rights of those whose rights have been robbed. Indifference with respect to those who have been subjugated would be disastrous for you!"

At the same time that Khrushchov arrived for a lunch of sole and fillet steak at the invitation of the Swedish King and Queen, Jaroslav Stetzko placed a wreath of beautiful yellow roses on the sarcophagus of Charles XII. The ribbon of this wreath bore the inscription: "To Charles XII in respectful gratitude from the Ukrainian People." This took place at the stroke of 12 noon, in the *Riddashalmskyrka* in Stockholm, in the cool shade of the blood-stained banners of brave regiments which were marched across Europe 250 years ago. With the explicit permission of the Swedish Lord Chamberlain, Jaroslav Stetzko, accompanied by his wife and the Georgian Prince, Niko Nakashidze, and followed by approximately 50 local and foreign reporters, entered the church and at the sarcophagus of Charles XII gave a brief speech in the language of Mazepa: "In this place here today, in the name of the Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Georgians and other East European peoples, we wish to express our respect and gratitude

to the people of Sweden for the sacrifices they made in the Battle of Poltava in 1709, and in numerous other battles fought on East European battlefields for our freedom and independence." A "grand gesture" — or was it more?

Not only the light comes from the East, but also the darkness. Charles XII may well have realized this when he resolved to form a friendly alliance with the Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa against Tsar Peter the Great. The Battle of Poltava was lost; the attempt to rescue Ukraine from Russian darkness failed. But the intent itself is what is important — it goes beyond error, failure and guilt.

The English historian, Sir Edward S. Creasy, holds the view that Europe's fate was sealed at Poltava. If, on June 17, 1709, the Swedish-Ukrainian alliance had succeeded in conquering Tsar Peter I, then the Russian empire, which is today the world's largest colonial imperium, would have sunk back into that chaos from which it had once fought its way out.

And the outstanding military authority, the British General Fuller, calls the Battle of Poltava one of the most decisive in world history.

On the same day, a well-attended press conference was arranged by the June Committee for the ABN delegation. President Stetzko repeated his accusation of Khrushchov at the conference. ABN's Secretary General, Prince Niko Nakashidze, spoke about the bloody suppression of the Caucasian peoples' revolts and the incorporation of their countries into the so-called Soviet Union. Mrs. Slava Stetzko warned against Moscow's hypocritical coexistence policies and against the sham liberalization in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence.

SPEECH IS SILVER — SILENCE IS GOLDEN

Nikita Khrushchov will have cursed the 24th of June more than once. On this day he held a speech in Goeteborg before a gathering of prominent citizens and in the presence of Prime Minister Erlander. Abruptly breaking

the thread of his speech, he thundered: "I wonder whether I haven't been lured into a trap! While I am staying here, Stetzko places a wreath on the sarcophagus of Charles XII. What am I to make of it?" And turning to Erlander: "I ask you in all seriousness: Do you want to wage war on the Soviet Union or not?"

Just as Charles XII is a symbol of the West's extended hand to the peoples of East Europe, Jaroslav Stetzko symbolizes their revolutionary principle: freedom for all subjugated peoples.

The wreath-placing ceremony was a reaffirmation of the mystical ties that have existed between Ukraine and Sweden throughout the centuries.

Khrushchov is the symbol of violence, tyranny, enslavement, exploitation, bondage. Ukraine represents here all the non-Russian enslaved peoples of the USSR and its satellites — Sweden the West. Now, if these two were to march hand in hand toward Moscow as they did 250 years ago, the Red imperium would be lost.

Khrushchov's burst of anger demonstrated that he had interpreted the wreath-laying correctly. He is very well aware of the danger threatening him on the part of the subjugated peoples, and he knows that he will be finished if the West should ever come to its senses and support these peoples with active liberation policies — as Charles XII did in the 18th century.

And something else was proven by the episode in Sweden — namely the fact, that the emigrants constitute a potential political power factor that is not to be overlooked. The West, if it were sensible enough, would engage the leaders of these emigrant groups in an advisory capacity. The East acts — the West reacts, and does so mostly in a quite amateurish way. For centuries the political emigration from East Europe has lived with and next to the Russian conquerors or neighbours and knows how and where they are vulnerable — the West still has to learn this and has already paid dearly for its lack of knowledge in this respect.

That the West does not know how to handle the Russian giant cannot be held against it; that, however, it does not have enough modesty and insight to be advised by a competent authority, be it "only" the political exiles, that the West does not, to the best of its ability, support the political activity of the exiles, which indirectly is to its own advantage — that is tragic for the exiles and greatly damaging to the West.

WORLD-WIDE ECHO

All leading newspapers of the world press immediately reported on Khrushchov's reaction to the wreath-laying ceremony, which naturally overshadowed all other ABN actions. The most important newspapers are as follows:

In the United States and Canada: *New York Herald Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Stars and Stripes*, *Chicago Tribune*, *The Washington Post*; the Ukrainian newspapers appearing in both the United States and in Canada: *Svoboda*, *Homin Ukrainy*, *America*, *Narodna Volya*, *The National Word*, *The Way*.

In England: *The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*.

In France: *Le Parisien*, *Le Nouveau Rhin Francais*.

In Germany: *Die Welt*, *Die Sued-deutsche Zeitung*, *Der Spiegel*, *Der Volksbote*, *Der Tagespiegel*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Darmstaedter Echo*, *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*.

In Switzerland: *Neue Zurichser Zeitung*.

In Denmark: *Jyllands-Posten*, *Land og Volk*, *Berlinske Tidende*, *Aktuelt*, *Information*, *Politiken*.

In Sweden: *Vaegen Framat*, *Dagens Nyheter*, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, *Snallposten*, *Expressen*, *Svenska Dagbladet*.

In Norway: *Morgenbladet*.

Even Moscow was not able to hush up the incident in Sweden. Radio Moscow transmitted Khrushchov's speech in Goeteborg, and on June 26, the main Russian newspapers, *Izvestiya* and *Pravda*, printed a report,

completely contrary to the facts, which stated that Khrushchov's forced burst of anger aimed solely at ridiculing the ABN delegation's action. The Kyiv newspapers, on the other hand, proceeded much more forcefully. The articles which appeared in *Literaturna Ukraina* of June 30 and July 3d were written in undisguised hatred; the latter under the title, "Agony of a Corpse."

In general, all Soviet newspapers wrote about ABN's action in Sweden, or at least about the wreath-laying. They could not conceal their disappointment that the Swedish government remained faithful to its principles of freedom and did not respond to the Bolshevik request to have the anti-Communist emigrants confined to prison for the duration of Khrushchov's visit.

Upon the ABN delegation's return to Munich, a press conference was arranged by the ABN press bureau on the 30th of June. Representatives of the telegraph agencies, local and foreign press, wireless stations, as well as editors of exile newspapers were present. While Mrs. Stetzko presented a detailed report on the rallies which were held in Scandinavia and emphasized with gratitude the understanding attitude toward the problems of the subjugated peoples on the part of the Scandinavian public, Prince Nakashidze interpreted Khrushchov's insulting attacks on ABN's President as a convincing proof of the importance which Moscow attaches to the subjugated peoples as a potential factor in the future political developments of the world.

COMMENTS IN THE WORLD PRESS

BERLINSKE TIDENDE

June 28, 1964:

UKRAINIAN SMILES OVER KHRUSHCHOV'S LONG AND IRRITATED SPEECH

Jaroslav Stetzko, who placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII, was in Copenhagen yesterday en route to the U.S.A.

The Ukrainian, Jaroslav Stetzko, who as a symbol placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII during Khrushchov's visit in Sweden, passed Copenhagen Airport en route to Washington yesterday. He had to smile at the thought of the many words that Khrushchov vented upon him in his speech in the Goeteborg Stock Exchange on Wednesday. "But I am not surprised that my action inspired Khrushchov to three fourths of his speech", declares Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). "The question of national self-determination for the many nations who are subjugated by Russia's military power,

is the thing that troubles Khrushchov the most. He knows very well that there is a great underground movement in the Soviet Union and he is also afraid of it."

Jaroslav Stetzko lives in Munich and his only business in Stockholm was to place his wreath. "I made a short speech at the tomb and I know exactly which part of it irritated Khrushchov the most. I said about Charles XII: '250 years ago this great statesman and European foresaw the danger Russia would be and tried to thwart it. Charles XII fought together with the Ukrainians against the Russians.' My speech concluded: 'Today we are speaking on behalf of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia and many other nations of Eastern Europe by voicing our appreciation of the Swedish people and our gratitude to them for their sacrifices on the battle field of Poltava in 1709 and many other European battle fields for our freedom and independence.'"

Jaroslav Stetzko works in Munich for the national independence, not only of Ukraine, but also for the many other old and young nations, now belonging to Russia. He knows that this fight may seem rather hopeless to the disengaged, but he knows also how many are engaged in it and how strongly they want their countries back. Neither in Ukraine, nor in the other nations, he says, is the incorporation into the Soviet Union considered to be the final word. For these nations, the matter is quite simply that they consider themselves occupied by the Russians.

Khrushchov is a Russian.

For centuries, the Russians have attempted to conquer the lands surrounding them. Many people think Khrushchov is an Ukrainian, but he is a Russian and he has said so himself: "I am a Russian and I am proud of it", he declared in Leipzig in 1959.

Jaroslav Stetzko is former Prime Minister of Ukraine, but he was in office a few days only when the Germans invaded his country in 1941, an Ukrainian National Assembly appointed him and several other ministers and proclaimed the restoration of a free Ukrainian Republic. At the time, partisan warfare was made against the Russians as well as the Germans. Stetzko and most of his ministers were soon taken prisoners by the Germans and brought to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen.

Yesterday he went to Washington where tomorrow a monument will be unveiled to the honour of the Ukrainian Freedom Poet, Taras Shevchenko, who died in 1861.

POLITIKEN, Copenhagen.

An article entitled "Emigrants leader holds press conference in Copenhagen and intends to follow Khrushchov through Scandinavia", appeared in *Politiken* of June 19, 1964, in Copenhagen.

The following is a brief summary of the points which were made in this article: A press conference was held in Copenhagen, at which a protest was made against Khrushchov's subjugation of numerous countries and their population. "The speakers were the delegates of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN): President Jaroslav Stetzko, Mrs. Stetzko and Prince Nakashidze, who represented the Georgian emigrants. All three came from Munich and intend to follow Khrushchov during his Scandinavian trip. Representatives of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Committees in Denmark participated in the press conference also. The first Vice-President of parliament Kraft, and many foreign correspondents attended. The West German radio and television was likewise represented at the conference. An appeal was directed to Khrushchov. Prince Nakashidze called to mind, that it must by no means be forgotten, that not only Russians make up the Soviet empire, but that numerous peoples are brutally subjugated in it. Among others, he cites Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as the so-called satellite states such as Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Thousand upon thousand of these countries' inhabitants who wanted to live in freedom and under democratic conditions were deported to Siberia and Central Asia.

Prince Nakashidze stressed that his organization (ABN) fights for freedom and the right of self-determination.

Jaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, stated that Ukraine had to fight two enemies simultaneously: Nazi Germany and the Soviet Russians. Stetzko and many others were interned in Nazi concentration camps. In this way he survived World War II.

Stetzko accused Khrushchov of mass murders in Ukraine. As Khrushchov carried on his activities under a pseudonym also, it is difficult to say just how many bloody murders are to be attributed to him. His crimes should be carefully examined and recorded. Perhaps a day will also

come when Khrushchov (and not only Stalin by Khrushchov) will be judged. Stetzko demanded the right of self-determination for the peoples subjugated by Khrushchov. Just like other empires, the Soviet Russian empire will one day fall.

DAGENS NYHETER, Stockholm.

The June 24, 1964 issue of the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, the liberal newspaper with the largest circulation in Sweden, printed pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Stetzko as they placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII, an ally of Hetman Mazepa during his military campaign against Russia in 1709.

The Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter* of June 23, 1964 published a short notice entitled: "A wreath placed on the tomb of Charles XII — an act of protest by the Ukrainians."

The newspaper reported about the placing of a flower wreath on the tomb of Charles XII by the last Prime Minister of Ukraine and his wife Slava Stetzko.

"This was done on the occasion of Khrushchov's visit to Sweden. At a press conference the Communist regime in Ukraine under Khrushchov was accused of mass murders in Ukraine.

Both Mr. Stetzko and his wife play a leading role in the Ukrainian refugees' movement in West Europe.

The motive behind the placement of the wreath was to emphasize the fact that it was no other than Charles XII who held very close relations with the Ukrainians. And this is true. Poltava is in Ukraine and Charles XII and the Cossack Hetman Mazepa from Ukraine were allies."

The newspaper also published pictures showing the demolition of the flagstaffs, upon which Red banners in honour of Khrushchov were to wave.

The Copenhagen newspaper *Aktuelt* of June 25, 1964 printed a report about Khrushchov's burst of anger at the Goeteborg Stock Exchange.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
International Edition, Paris,
Thursday, June 25, 1964:

**KHRUSHCHOV TWITS HOSTS
IN SWEDEN**

**Tells Lunch Guests About 1709
Defeat at Poltava
by Werner Wiskari**

Special to the *New York Times*.
Goeteborg, Sweden, June 24 — Premier Khrushchov paid a jovial visit today to this westcoast ship-building center.

He regaled a luncheon audience with an expanded version of his favourite Swedish story — the disastrous defeat of Sweden's King Charles XII in 1709 at Poltava in the Ukraine.

Grinning broadly, he said he was no longer sure that Sweden had "really renounced going to Poltava" despite assurances he had frequently requested and received from Swedish diplomats in Moscow.

The reason, he said, is that he has heard that Jaroslav Stetzko, a Ukrainian leader in exile, has marred the current Khrushchov visit to Sweden by laying a wreath at the grave of King Charles.

Then, clearly enjoying himself, he asked: "What does this mean? Maybe I have been trapped there in Sweden", he went on. "Maybe you want to keep me a prisoner."

Still speaking in a light vein, he said that the roads to Poltava were many but that they all were dangerous. Look what happened to Napoleon and Hitler, he said.

"So I ask you point blank", he said with a big grin to Premier Tage Erlander, who was among the luncheon guests, "do you want to make war on the Soviet Union or do you not."

The Swedish Premier replied that he was a bureaucrat and so had to think about it.

Silence Develops

There was plenty of laughter up to this point. But when the Soviet Premier asked whether it would

really be safe for him to go on vacation after his Scandinavian tour and when he made still another reference to Charles XII the luncheon guests became silent.

Mr. Khrushchov was in high good humour from the start of his Goeteborg visit. He joined a shipyard men's chorus in singing the Russian ballad "evening in the Harbour" after his wife had launched a 7,800-ton refrigerator ship built for the Soviet Union. She named it the Carl Linne, after the 18th century Swedish botanist more commonly known in the English-speaking world as Linnaeus.

Commenting on his tour of the shipyard, Mr. Khrushchov said he had once been a shipyard worker himself — in Archangel and Lenin-grad. This appeared to be a surprise to many Russians in his party.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

European Edition, Paris,

Thursday, June 25, 1964:

KHRUSHCHOV JESTS IN SWEDEN: "DO YOU WANT TO GO TO WAR?"

By the Associated Press, Goeteborg,
Sweden, June 24.

Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchov today taunted East European refugees in Sweden and jestingly asked Swedish officials if they planned to join the exiles in a war against the Soviet Union.

Despite the jest, the visiting Soviet leader displayed irritation at anti-Soviet demonstrations during his visit and growing impatience with his tight police guard during a tour of shipyards in this major industrial port in southwestern Sweden.

In a speech at a luncheon, Mr. Khrushchov recalled past wars waged by Sweden's King Charles XII against Russia.

He reminded the Swedes that they and rebellious Ukrainians under Hetman Mazepa had been defeated in the battle of Poltava in 1709.

Wreath-laying

Then he referred to a wreath-laying ceremony by exiled Ukrainians

at the statue of Charles XII yesterday. The ceremony was organized by Jaroslav Stetzko, head of the anti Communist Ukrainian Resistance and Liberation Movement..."

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

No. 153, Friday, June 26, 1964:

Hans Ulrich Kempfski Accompanies

Nikita Khrushchov

"DO YOU WANT TO WAGE WAR
ON US OR NOT?"

With taunting remarks the Soviet guest of state gives vent to his ill humour.

Stockholm, June 25

Although the voice in the background is only a whisper, it is clearly audible: "That was before our reign." The ministers of the Swedish monarchy have taken up places in the background. Khrushchov's prolix fabulation about Charles XII still amuses them. He gives the campaign of the Swedish King, who came to the help of the Ukrainians in their revolt against the Tsar in 1709 and was later completely defeated in the Battle of Poltava, a harmless overtone with the remarks: "Charles XII had a desire for *halushky*, a Ukrainian national dish." The amusement of the listeners vanishes, however, as Khrushchov seizes upon the whispered objection from the background and declares: "Exactly right, but now I'll tell you what takes place under this government."

The Soviet Prime Minister does not want to give the impression of being really angry. He is more concerned with demonstrating how much fun an incident which took place a day before in Stockholm arouses in him. A man by the name of Stetzko had placed a wreath on the tomb of Charles XII. With this gesture he honoured the memory of a hero who 250 years ago defended the freedom ideal of the peoples enslaved by Russia. Khrushchov pretends never to have heard of Stetzko. He says that he inquired among some of his fellow-countrymen who Stetzko might be, and they asked in return: "Who is Stetzko? What kind of zoological species is that?"

His sarcasm becomes more and more gloomy. To be sure, he puts on a comical front — the bitter tone of his words, however, reveals the depth to which he has been hit: "I begin to ask myself whether I have not been lured into a trap by coming here at the same time as Stetzko is making his appearance — perhaps with the intent of taking me prisoner, so that then Sweden can march into Ukraine." The last traces of embarrassed grins disappear from the faces of the listening ministers as Khrushchov adds: "Seriously, such things have happened in history before. We know how matter ended for Charles XII, for Napoleon and for Hitler. I mean, it is not necessary to make any further references to it."

The Question About the Wreath

He cannot manage to rid himself of the oppressive subject, however. He turns to the Swedish President of State, Tage Erlander, and asks: "I want to ask you a serious question: Do you want to wage war on the Soviet Union or not? What is the meaning of this wreath? How am I to explain it after my return to Moscow?" Erlander, who is taller than Khrushchov by a head, stares fixedly ahead, his face expressing indignant disturbance. The general embarrassment increases as Khrushchov taunts further: "Actually, I had planned to take a vacation upon my return. Now, however, I don't know whether I can risk it." He waves his forefinger about in front of Erlander's breast and repeats: "I want a serious answer. Will you support Stetzko in a war against the Soviet Union or not?" The constrained laughter of the listeners swallows Erlander's answer. He stammers a forcefully funny reply, by which he seems to say that he would still have to think about it.

It is hardly to be assumed that Khrushchov does not know who his fellow-countryman Yaroslav Stetzko is: a former Prime Minister of Ukraine who is now living in Munich as the President of an anti-Soviet emigration organization. In Sweden, Stetzko joined in with the *June Committee*, a committee which took it upon itself

to spoil the Soviet Prime Minister's visit in Sweden: with leaflets which called upon the people to turn their backs on the guest of state; with demonstrations at which Khrushchov was accused of being a mass-murderer; with harmless pranks, which are printed as headlines in the newspapers. Every night the flagstaves, upon which Red banners were to wave within the city limits during the day, are demolished. And a pig, which had been sprayed with red paint, was driven through the garden of the government building where Khrushchov talked over coexistence with the Swedes...

Possibly, the present course of world politics diverts him, so that he regards the obligations of his Scandinavian trip as a matter of secondary importance that appears to tax his elasticity unnecessarily. One thing is certain, however: Sweden gets on his nerves: the supercilious metropolis whose inhabitants ignore him without even showing the natural indifference of the Danes...

...Even the working masses whom Khrushchov encounters in his visits to factories, receive him stiffly — entirely untouched by the appearance of the famous champion of the workers.

In addition there is the unfriendly press campaign...

Last not least, the frosty reception of the guest arises from Sweden's bond to the Baltic countries. Ten thousand refugees from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have found a new home in Sweden...

A Tired Man

It appears that the Soviet Prime Minister has already forgotten about Charles XII and Stetzko, but no, he takes up this subject once again. He does so by repeating the complaints of Soviet specialists who are working in Sweden — complaints of the inhospitable weather of the north. He speaks about the rain and the hazy sky, about the cold water and the wind. He himself shivers as he talks about it. Then he confronts this picture with a lively description of

the sunny bathing joys in the Soviet Union. The specialists, therefore, as Khrushchov maintains in a not very logical and convincing connection of thought, will do everything to nip

the war planned by Stetzko together with Sweden in the bud: "For the climate is not good here." Shaking himself, he repeats: "It is a cold climate."...

ECHO IN THE SOVIET PRESS

THE STECHKO MYSTERY IS "EXPLAINED"

D. Hnatenko, "The Agony of a Corpse", *Literaturna Ukraina*, 3 July 1964, p. 4. Excerpts.

"...Recently a certain nonentity with the name or alias Stechko wished to become famous under the Scandinavian skies. At a solemn moment, when the heads of neighbouring nations, the Soviet Union and Sweden, were conducting good and wise talks on how to continue living in peace and friendship, so that war would never break out, this outcast and clown decided to draw all the attention to the saddest page in the relations between the two nations: he placed a wreath at the monument to Charles XII...

Who is he, this Stechko? Naturally, they don't remember him in our glorious Ukraine. But a friend of mine, an elderly Galician, who at one time had been duped by the local adherents of Mazepa, shared his conjectures with me and led me to some clues among the garbage printed abroad. This man, who until recently had dwelled in the nationalist snake-pits of West Germany, answered the riddle without any hesitation: "Oh, I can well recognize him, this is Yaroslav Stetzko. There is such a treacherous fool in Munich. And in Scandinavia they spelled his name their own way, Stechko..."

After Hitler's empire was shattered to pieces, the entire "leadership" of the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) went into the service of the West German revanchists and the moneyed overseas masters. True, this is not easy work, because they must keep in mind night and day that if a dog stops barking, he is driven out...

Let us take, for instance, this ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations). What kind of a bloc was it, if nobody would join it?... So, Stetzko went roving, all the way to Taiwan to pay homage to Chiang Kai-shek himself. The corpse of Taiwan was at first not aware from where the colleague had come and kept asking him where this Ukraine which he and the guest were to liberate, was. However, as a "communique" noted, Chiang Kai-shek recognized Stetzko as an equal partner and promised to help him "to defeat international communism."

His prestige heightened by his "success" in Taiwan, the chief of the ABN had audiences with the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, the Bulgarian king-without-a-throne Simeon, the daughter of the former Italian king, Victor Emmanuel, and the club of the Turkish militarists. Everyone who opens the door to him, gets a promise from him of something from Ukraine. Thus, in Turkey, Stetzko promised a group of reactionary industrialists who loaned the ABN a radio station, to place Turkish experts in Ukrainian enterprises after the "liberation" of Ukraine.

However, even those who finance his wanderings around the world, have little faith in the importance of Stetzko's international activities.

And so, the height of the "self-appointed Prime Minister" was the noisy honouring of Charles XII, and his clowning in the countries where the working people today are so avidly accepting the ideas of peace and friendship among nations..."

Khrushchov's Speech at the Luncheon at Goeteborg Stock Exchange, Sweden, June 24, 1964.

(Excerpts)

(*Editor's note.* The major part of Khrushchov's speech at the luncheon in Goeteborg, Sweden, was devoted to the incident of the laying of a wreath to Charles XII by the President of the A.B.N., prominent leader of the O.U.N., Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko. The Soviet press, in publishing Khrushchov's speech, misspelt Stetzko's name as "Stechko", thus pretending that it is not known in Ukraine. In our translation of Khrushchov's speech we deliberately reproduced the incorrect Soviet spelling.)

"...True, while staying in your country, I came across one circumstance that I found rather puzzling. I feel, however, that this dark cloud will disappear and that there will be no thunderstorm after all.

There was one painful event in the history of our nations. I had really no intention of mentioning this here, but I have been forced to do it, so you have to take the consequences if I recall this unpleasant page in the history of the relations between our countries.

Charles XII — if I remember rightly, King of Sweden — all of a sudden felt a desire to taste the Ukrainian "halushky" (dumplings — Ed.), a Ukrainian national dish. So he appeared on the territory of our country as an ally of Mazepa — the then Hetman of Ukraine — and began a war against Russia. How all this affair ended you know. It ended with a disaster both for the Swedes and for us, because, in fighting against the invasion, many of our soldiers laid down their lives.

You, probably, know it exactly, but, as far as I remember, Charles XII fled from Poltava to Sweden through Turkey. However, all this happened a long time ago and I do not find it at all pleasing to recall these things.

(*Tage Erlander, the Swedish Premier:*) Yes, this happened long ago, before our Government.

(*Khrushchov:*) Quite true, but now I am going to tell you what happened under this government.

Some time ago, on many an occasion I asked your ambassador, Mr. Sohlman, who for many years represented Sweden in Moscow: Mr. Sohlman, I told him, have you, Swedes, really given up the idea of marching on Poltava? He assured me that they had, and I believed him. But now that I am here in Sweden, I have come across a fact which made me wonder whether I did not make a mistake when I took your ambassador at his word.

Your Swedish newspapers reported yesterday and today that a Ukrainian corpse by the name of Stechko appeared here and laid a wreath at the monument to Charles XII as a token of gratitude of the Ukrainian people. Now I am sitting and wondering what can that mean? Have I, perhaps, been lured into a trap when I came here as a guest, since Stechko has made his appearance at the same time, and, perhaps, he is plotting against our country. Put yourselves into my situation, after all I might find myself your prisoner, should you begin a war against the Soviet Union.

To try to conquer Ukraine nowadays would mean a path lying, so to speak, not through Poltava. There are many paths here, but all of these paths are

dangerous for him who would wish to conquer our land. You know that Charles XII waged war against Russia, Napoleon marched on Moscow, Hitler tried it; it is well known how it all finished, let us better not remind ourselves of it.

Now I here put the question, so to speak, bluntly: Do you want to wage a war against the Soviet Union or not, Mr. Prime Minister?

(*Erlander:*) Even though a bureaucrat, I do not have to waste time to ponder on this question. Of course not.

(*Khrushchov:*) Well, then what does this wreath mean? How am I to explain the report about it in the Swedish press when I return home to Moscow? I had the intention to go on holiday after I got home from Sweden, but now I do not know, if I dare go away or not.

(*Erlander:*) Charles XII was an inhabitant of Stockholm and not Goeteborg

(*Khrushchov:*) But will you support Stechko in a war against the Soviet Union or not? tell me frankly.

I also laughed when they read the report about that fact to me. How things happen sometimes. People say that the dead do not rise from their graves, but here is a confirmation of the contrary. Sometimes they appear and show themselves in such a clownish situation which they create by their action. The place of the dead is in the cemetery, and the business of the living is to live and to work. I will therefore talk about life, about our affairs.

Our affairs are going well. We live in peace and friendship, the trade between the Soviet Union and Sweden is developing. Recently, we again ordered a large number of ships in Sweden. After all, this is to the advantage of you, as well as of us. We get fine ships, and you can for this money buy more products you need from us.

The *Karl Linney* was launched at your shipyard today. Soon the floating dock built in your works will set out on a journey towards our shores. When I visited the shipyard I had a conversation with our engineers and workers. I asked them:

How are things with you, haven't you heard that apparently war is being plotted against us here? Stechko has appeared here.

They looked at me and laughed, for they did not know who that Stechko was, what kind of animal.

We can say one thing, they replied. It is all right here, but we would like to return home from here as soon as possible. In accordance with our standards, it is very cold here. The Swedes, our comrades said, in our opinion, are people who have no summer.

Why did they say to me like this? Because they came from Novorossiysk to fetch the dock, and the temperature there is up to 40 degrees centigrade. The temperature of the water in the sea there is perhaps 25 to 26 degrees centigrade. And when they look on the water here they shiver from cold.

This means that when these people return home, they will, in spite of this attack which was made against us by Stechko together with the Swedes, nevertheless dissuade their countrymen from war, in order to extinguish this war somehow, so that a war between us and Sweden does not occur. For your climate does not suit us, it is a cold climate.

Once again I wish to address you, esteemed Mr. Chairman of the Council of Town Plenipotentiaries, come to visit us in our country, take your wife and daughters. Then we shall have a debate with you. Of course, I shall go on holiday to the Black Sea coast with my grandchildren only if I am certain that you will not start a war against us. Then I shall be able to receive you and we can swim in the Black Sea, we shall enjoy the warm sun and the southern sea.

However, it seems, we have talked enough about military subjects. Let us talk about peaceful coexistence instead..."

American Press Reports on Unveiling of Shevchenko Statue in Washington

THE NEW YORK TIMES
June 28, 1964
EISENHOWER RAISES ISSUE
OF FREEDOM

by Ben A. Franklin

"Washington, June 27 — Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower called today for "a new world movement" to work for "the independence and freedom of peoples of all captive nations" under Communist control.

He thus appeared to revive the "captive nations", issue that figured large in his presidential election campaign of 1952. The issue arose again in 1959 when General Eisenhower signed a Congressional resolution authorizing an annual Captive Nations Week.

The former President addressed a gathering of thousands of Ukrainian-Americans, here for the dedication of a monument to Taras Shevchenko. The 19th century Ukrainian poet and patriot is regarded as the George Washington of his country but is not widely known in the United States.

The Shevchenko statue and the weekend events marking its dedication were sponsored largely by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a coalition of Ukrainian nationalist societies. The committee's goal is the liberation of Ukraine from "Soviet imperialism."

The general's speech, delivered in the 98-degree heat of the shadeless monument grounds, and the remarks of three members of Congress were broadcast by Radio Liberty, a privately financed propaganda organization. The Congressmen called for Ukrainian independence. Much of the speech-making was in Ukrainian.

More than 30,000 members of the Ukrainian groups in the United States marched up Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House to a Federal park at 22nd and P Streets, N.W., for the unveiling of the 14-foot bronze figure of Shevchenko.

The ceremony was the climax of a long and sometimes bitter dispute over Shevchenko's role in the cultural and political cold war with the Soviet Union over "the captive nations."

Former President Harry S. Truman, chairman of an honorary sponsoring committee of 170 persons, received the Shevchenko Freedom Award at a banquet in the National Guard Armory here tonight. On his doctor's advice, Mr. Truman did not attend the banquet, which was addressed by Senator Thurston B. Morton, Rep. of Kentucky, and by six other present and former members of Congress..."

THE SUNDAY HERALD TRIBUNE
New York, June 28, 1964
IKE UNVEILS UKRAINIANS'
ANTI-SOVIET STATUE

"Former President D. Eisenhower yesterday unveiled a bronze statue of a 19th century Ukrainian hero that bears an anti-Russian slogan, designed to make Soviet Premier Khrushchov see red.

At the base of the 14-foot statue of Taras Shevchenko, poet Laureate of Ukraine who died in 1861, is the following inscription:

"Dedicated to the liberation, freedom and independence of all the captive nations... and the freedom of all mankind under foreign Russian imperialist tyranny and colonial rule..."

The inscription was carefully worded by the sponsors to embarrass the Soviet Union and to discourage Soviet delegations from laying wreaths at the memorial site...

In the march were persons from a dozen foreign countries and a group of Negroes honouring the poet's friendship with Ira Aldridge, an American Negro actor of his day. Police efforts to keep the marchers in line and rerout heavy tourist traffic were complicated by the fact that many spoke little or no English.

Finally, a corps of volunteer Ukrainian "police" went through the crowd shouting translations of the marching orders...

The statue's inscription points up a tug-of-war between Moscow and Washington that has gone on since Congress authorized the memorial to Shevchenko in 1960.

At a recent unveiling of a Shevchenko statue in Moscow Mr. Khrushchov said "socialism is the true heir" of the poet's treasures. But the poet's anti-Communist supporters here hailed the bard as a "freedom fighter" and a Ukrainian George Washington.

Former President Truman, honorary chairman of the event, received one of "six Shevchenko Freedom Awards" at a banquet.

Others honoured were Senate GOP leader Everett M. Dirksen, Ill., Speaker John W. McCormack, D. Mass., the Rev. Dr. Bernard Braskamp, chaplain of the House, the Rev. D. Frederick B. Harris, Senate chaplain, and Robert J. Lewis of the Washington Evening Star.

THE JERSEY JOURNAL

June 29, 1964

IKE UNVEILS STATUE HONOURING SHEVCHENKO, UKRAINIAN HERO

by Richard Sapir

Former President Eisenhower unveiled the 14-foot high statue of Shevchenko in the 98-degree Washington heat as the crowd sang "Testament", a Shevchenko poem calling for the liberation of Ukraine from Czarist Tyranny.

"When we sang we cried", said Mrs. Helen Bilyk of 378 Palisades Ave. Jersey City. "Everyone was crying. It was a great day for Ukrainian and Americans."

The thousands of Americans who marched under the sweltering asphalt of 23rd Street to Northwest P Street where the memorial was dedicated came to give symbolic support to millions trapped behind the Iron Curtain...

The Jersey City branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee hired

seven buses for the trip. Many drove down in private cars bringing box lunches with them.

Leo Fedak led a delegation of more than 150 Bayonne residents to the ceremonies.

Some came by airplane, some by train. A college student from Montreal hitch-hiked to Washington. For many, the weekend expenses meant months of saving and scrimping. It was a family affair. It was a Ukrainian affair. It was an American affair.

Girls marched in brightly coloured Slavic costumes. Bands of boy scouts, predrilled in hundreds of communities across the nation, paraded in neat columns beneath the sweltering Washington sun, American and free-Ukrainian flags aloft.

Grown men cried. Children stood patiently beside their parents as the speeches droned on. A woman in the thick packed crowd fell to her knees and kissed the granite base of the statue dedicated to a man born in a poverty few Americans will ever know.

Shevchenko was a serf by birth, a painter by trade, a poet by inspiration and a Ukrainian nationalist by determination..."

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

June 28, 1964

UKRAINIAN STATUE DEDICATED BY IKE

"Washington (AP) — Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower dedicated a controversial statue to 19th century Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko Saturday and called it "a shining symbol of his love of liberty."

The sponsors of the statue call Shevchenko who died in 1861 an original "European freedom fighter", while the Soviet Union considers him a forerunner of communism. Born a serf, he won his freedom at the age of 24 and went on to become the Ukraine's greatest poet.

Mr. Eisenhower said Shevchenko "expressed... eloquently man's undying determination to fight for freedom and his unquenchable faith in ultimate victory."

SHEVCHENKO CELEBRATIONS ABROAD

(As reported in the Soviet press.)

In the March 12th, 1964 issue of *Radyanska Ukraina*, the General Director of UNESCO, René Mailliot, published an informative article about UNESCO's contribution to the Shevchenko celebrations. In 1961 an extensive article dedicated to the Ukrainian national poet appeared in *UNESCO Courier* for the first time. At the XIIth UNESCO General Conference there was an exhibition of Taras Shevchenko's works; a motion picture of the ballet "Lily", which was filmed according to motives from the poet's works, was also shown. In 1962 and 1963 several documents and articles appeared in the publications of *UNESCO Information* and *UNESCO Chronicle*. In 1964 additional material on the poet will again appear in *UNESCO Courier*. This publication will appear in 8 languages; a total number of 400,000 copies will be printed. Three parallel wireless broadcasts on Shevchenko are being prepared by UNESCO in the French, English and Spanish language. At poetry readings Shevchenko poems which have been put to music will also be offered. In co-operation with the UNESCO Soviet Ukrainian National Committee, UNESCO has compiled a monograph of the poet, the preface of which was written by Maksym Rylsky and Alexander Dage.

In the March 7, 1964 issue of *Radyanska Ukraina*, the British author Herbert Marshall published a very personal essay "Shevchenko in England", which mentioned numerous sources and references that are not generally known. In England the first notice on Shevchenko appeared in 1877 — namely in "All year round", a periodical edited by Charles Dickens. In the years 1880 to 1903 the Oxford Professor of Slavicism, Prof. W. R. Morefill, published the first extensive articles on Shevchenko. The first translation of his poetry into English

appeared in 1911. Marshall gives information about the further development of Shevchenko scholarship and recounts how he himself became familiar with Shevchenko's work. In 1930 Marshall studied at the Moscow State Film Institute, the director of which was Sergey Eisenstein. At that time he came into contact with Russian literature; he heard nothing about Shevchenko's work, however. In Moscow he became acquainted with the negro singer, Paul Robeson, and through him he heard about the negro tragedian, Ira Aldridge. At that time the latter's 80 year old daughter was still alive and Marshall conversed with her extensively, for he wanted to film Aldridge's life. When he found out that Aldridge had been a friend of Shevchenko, he was attracted by Shevchenko's life and by his works. Shevchenko painted a portrait of Aldridge which is presently exhibited in the Kyiv Art Museum. Herbert Marshall has made a large contribution toward the diffusion of Shevchenko's works in England and has translated several dozens of his poems into English, *Radyanska Ukraina* stated.

In March of this year, the Soviet Ukrainian Press reported on numerous Shevchenko celebrations abroad. The celebrations held in Poland and in the Czecho-Slovakian Soviet Socialist Republic were held in an especially grand manner. A delegation from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic went to Poland to participate in the various celebrations in Warsaw, Cracow and other Polish cities. In the countries mentioned above there are a number of Shevchenko scholars — for example, Marian Jakubiec in Poland. In the March 5, 1964 issue of the Warsaw weekly *Nashe Slovo* one is informed that a scholarly session commemorating Shevchenko's 150th birthday was held in Warsaw. The

Polish scholars are mainly interested in Shevchenko's connections with Polish writers and Polish circles.

In Prague and Bratislava in Czechoslovakia the poet's 150th anniversary was celebrated in an especially festive way.

On March 11, 1964 *Radyanska Ukraina* printed reports on several meetings, exhibitions and concerts. It appears that in Slovakia these events were arranged in an especially effective manner. They took place even in smaller towns. In Bratislava a film festival commemorating Shevchenko was held.

From other press reports it can be gathered that Shevchenko celebrations were also held in Bulgaria, in Mongolia and in North Korea. On March 15 of this year, *Literaturna Ukraina* reported on celebrations in Canada, the USA and Australia.

On March 29 of this year, *Nashe Slovo* reported on the Shevchenko celebrations in Yugoslavia. They were concentrated in the settlement area of the Bachka Ukrainians (Bachka Rusnaks). The anniversary was celebrated together with the 20th anniversary of the Shevchenko Cultural Society.

New Rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich

On the 21st of December of last year, Prof. Dr. V. Oreletsky was elected Rector of the Ukrainian Free University. Prof. Dr. V. Oreletsky graduated from the German-Ukrainian Gymnasium in Chernivtsi, Bukovina, on July 2, 1914. During the war confusion of 1916, he began to study law at the Franz-Joseph University in Chernivtsi. But only after the 1st World War and the Ukrainian War of Independence, he was able to continue his studies at the University of Prague in 1921. In 1931, he graduated from the Prague Academy of Political Science. At the same time he studied at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. In 1939, under the scholarly tutelage of the German international lawyer, Prof. Dr. Otto Eichelmann, he wrote his thesis on "The International Law Theory of S. Puffendorf". For this scholarly work, he received the right to hold lectures at the Ukrainian Free University.

During the 2nd World War, Prof. Oreletsky published a handbook on international law for the students of the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute. Following the relocation of this Institute to Regensburg in 1945, Prof. Oreletsky was also active in this school as a professor of international law.

As a member of the Faculty of Law of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich (in 1945, this University was also moved to Munich from Prague), Prof. Oreletsky was elected Dean of this faculty many times. Here he wrote a new handbook on international law for students and also wrote a book on international civil law. In the scholarly publications of the Ukrainian Free University, he wrote numerous treatises: "The Diplomatic Ceremonial", "Modern International Law", "The Modern International Criminal Law", "Concerning the Problem of Sovereignty and the Penal Responsibility in International Law", "The Post-War Problem of International Law", "The Positive and Natural Law in International Law". For some years a more comprehensive investigation under the title, "Ukraine at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919", has been in preparation for publication. In addition, Prof. Oreletsky writes treatises on international law for non-Ukrainian periodicals. At the same time, the new rector is a staff member of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science, Prof. at the Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute, member of the Ukrainian Scientific Association, of which numerous well known German scholars are members, etc.

In his capacity as rector, he wants to attract young scholars to participate in the work of the Ukrainian Free University; to maintain scholarly relations between the Ukrainian Free University and other institutes in and outside of Germany in the way of lectures, scholarly conferences and similar forms; to stimulate the publication of the scholarly works of the Professors of the University — works which were not published as yet due to insufficient funds; to establish a closer connection to the Slavic departments of the universities in Canada and the USA and to raise the esteem of the University.

As a long-time chairman of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students of West Ukraine and in emigration (CESUS), the new rector maintained friendly contacts with foreign student bodies.

In conclusion, it might be pointed out that the relations of the new President of the Ukrainian Free University to the English world were especially friendly and successful in the period 1921-1933. At that time he was President of the Ukrainian student organization of the entire emigration and of West Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, Kholm Province, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine). As an indication of his activity, let us mention just a few dates in this connection.

As a member of the International Confederation of Students *Confederation Internationale des Etudiants* — generally known by its French abbreviation, CIE), the Central Union of Ukrainian Students had a very close working relationship with the National Union of Students in England and Wales. Many matters and problems pertaining to international co-operation were often the subject of mutual discussions between the English and Ukrainian student confederations.

In 1924, a member of the English student delegation at the international CIE conference in Warsaw persisted for about a week in defending the rights of the Ukrainian students, until the Polish government, under English

pressure, could not but grant the delegates of the Ukrainian students an entry permit to Warsaw.

In 1926, the leaders of the National Union of Students from England and Wales were guests of the Ukrainian students at the Ukrainian Institute of Technology in Podebrady, near Prague.

In London, in 1925, the "National Union News" published several articles and translations from Ukrainian literature by Vasyl Oreletsky, the President of the Ukrainian Central Confederation (generally known in the CIE and elsewhere in its Ukrainian abbreviation, CESUS).

In 1928, the President of the Ukrainian student organization was received by the Lord Mayor of London; subsequent to which he was festively received, in the name of the English King, at a banquet by Lord Robert Cecil, England's representative in the Geneva League of Nations.

At the forum of other international student and non-student organizations also, the co-operation and understanding between the English and Ukrainian students was a very cordial one. Above all, mention must be made of the International Student Service (ISS), which each year held a conference in a different European cultural centre (Geneva, Prague, Elmau etc.) and published extensive literature on various student problems, but chiefly on economic, social and moral questions.

The then President of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS), V. Oreletsky, also maintained active relations with the individual centres of English cultural life. Above all we would like to mention the School of Slavonic Studies at London University. There was a rather keen correspondence and exchange of publications between the English scholars and the CESUS. It is with special gratitude that we mention here Professor Seton Watson (Scotus Viator) and Professor Pares from London School of Slavonic Studies.

The possibility of granting scholarships to several Ukrainian students (partly to be financed by the English

and partly by international organizations) was also considered in England. Unfortunately, this high-minded intent had to be dropped, for the development of the world political situation at that time was not propitious to the granting of such scholarships.

From these brief indications of the extremely cordial co-operation of the

Ukrainian students under the leadership of the present President of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Prof. Dr. V. Oreletsky, it follows that the relations between English and Ukrainian students were very friendly and successful in the years 1921-1933.

W. Kapotivsky

Obituaries

PROFESSOR VOLODYMYR DERZHAVYN — RENOWNED UKRAINIAN SCHOLAR

The death of Professor Dr. Volodymyr Derzhavyn, who, at the age of 65, died after a protracted illness in a hospital near Augsburg on March 1st, 1964, is a bitter loss to Ukrainian scholarship. The deceased was a great Ukrainian scholar and man of letters. As the philosopher Leibnitz, Professor Derzhavyn could justifiably be called omniscient, for his universal knowledge almost bordered on the incredible. Prof. Derzhavyn was truly a man of outstanding encyclopaedic knowledge. He knew almost all European and several oriental languages. He translated many literary works, mainly from the German, French and English languages, concentrating especially on the symbolists and neo-classicists, into Ukrainian. Prof. Derzhavyn also translated classical Greek poetry into Ukrainian. His translations of Homer must be mentioned in particular.

In 1940, the deceased held a professorship at the University of Kharkiv, Ukraine's second largest city. After World War II, Prof. Derzhavyn emigrated to the West and was given a professorship at the Ukrainian Free University as early as 1946. As Professor of Ukrainian Literature, he had many young Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians among his students. Prof. Derzhavyn was a well-known authority in the field of general and comparative literature, of classical philology and orientalism. After the Ukrainian scholar, A. Krymsky, he was the best Ukrainian orientalist. Owing to his broad and universal knowledge and to his pedagogic capacities, the deceased Professor was elected Dean of the Philosophy Faculty of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich almost continuously. He held this honourable academic office until his paralysation and the protracted illness that followed. As Dean of the Philosophy Faculty, Prof. Derzhavyn was a permanent member of the Ukrainian Free University's senate, in which capacity he was one of those responsible for the fate of this university — the only one in emigration — existing since the year 1921. The deceased Professor left the Ukrainian Free University a tremendous amount of scholarly material, which must be carefully studied, edited and classified accordingly.

In addition, the deceased was a highly gifted critic, as well as a writer, publisher, editor and contributor to numerous Ukrainian periodicals, although he never directly participated in the political life of the Ukrainian emigration. Prof. Derzhavyn was always a great Ukrainian patriot, however, and by his emigration to the West, he gave poignant expression to the fact that he in no way accepted the Russian-Bolshevik occupation and subjugation of Ukraine.

With respectful gratitude, the readers of **The Ukrainian Review** will certainly recall Prof. Derzhavyn's incomparable article on the various aspects of Ukrainian literature in both past and present. Owing to the Professor's death, our quarterly also has suffered a great loss. It will take us quite some time to fill this painful gap, for Prof. Derzhavyn was closely connected with our periodical ever since its appearance, and he was always concerned about its fate.

The deceased lived under rather modest material conditions; he refused to accept any well-paid work from the so-called American financed, institutes, however. Any co-operation with these lavishly financed institutes for the study of the USSR, he regarded as incompatible with his Ukrainian conscience.

Representatives of Ukrainian cultural, communal and political organizations accompanied the late Professor to his last resting place in the Augsburg Nordfriedhof.

In his funeral oration, the President of the Ukrainian Free University, Prof. Dr. V. Oreletsky, also a co-editor of **The Ukrainian Review**, called the deceased Professor one of the greatest Ukrainian scholars of modern times.

Honour to the memory of the great Ukrainian scholar!

SERGE LYTVYNENKO, THE SCULPTOR

Serge Lytvynenko, well known to almost all Ukrainians in the United States as well as those abroad, died of a heart condition on June 20 in New York City hospital.

Mr. Lytvynenko, known to Ukrainian population in the USA for his immortalization of Ivan Franko at the UWA Resort Center, was born in 1899.

Following a career in the Ukrainian National Army, Mr. Lytvynenko studied at Cracow Academy and graduated in 1929. His love for sculpting and his great ability to grasp an exact likeness of his model, prompted him to teach others the art he had mastered. He did this for many years, and in 1950 came to the United States with his wife and settled in New York City.

He was buried in the Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery at South Bound Brook, N.Y. on June 24th. The Ukrainian people have lost an artist of magnitude in the person of Serge Lytvynenko.

Ukrainian Chronicle

KYIV POET ATTACKS FRENCH ACADEMICIAN FOR ARTICLE ON SHEVCHENKO

The March 31, 1964 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina* an organ of the Union of Writers of Soviet Ukraine, brought a blistering attack by Volodymyr Sosiura against André François-Poncet, noted French literary figure and member of the French Academy, for his penetrating article, "Shevchenko: An Apostle of Liberty", which appeared in the March 12, 1964 issue of *Le Figaro* of Paris.

Entitled, "Not from These Sources", Sosiura's article read, in part:

"The French bourgeois newspaper, *Le Figaro*, printed on March 12 an article by André François-Poncet, entitled, 'Shevchenko: An Apostle of Freedom.' François-Poncet takes his information from dirty and muddled sources, when he writes nonsensical and baseless things about the enslavement and dependence of Ukraine... The fact alone that we are freely developing and continuing the tradition of the Shevchenko Muse should attest to the fact that the spiritual and economic life of Ukraine is independent..."

And yet François-Poncet sings with somebody else's voice: 'Sufferings! There will come a day when the dream of Shevchenko will be realized!' You are mistaken, Monsieur! This day already came forty-six years ago. Under the leadership of the great son of Russia, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the dream..." etc.

MAKSYM RYLSKY, PROMINENT UKRAINIAN POET, DIES IN KYIV

The Poet Maksym T. Rylsky, one of Ukraine's most outstanding neoclassicists, and member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR since 1963, died on July 25, 1964 after a long illness, according to an official TASS communique.

A son of Thaddeus Rylsky, the well-known Ukrainian cultural leader, Maksym attended the University of Kyiv, and in 1917-1929 he taught in Ukrainian schools. His literary activity began in 1907, and the first of his collection of lyrics, *On the White Island*, was published in 1910. Mr. Rylsky acquired a place in Ukrainian literature in 1918-1926 with a series of poetic collections, such as *The Blue Distance*, *The Thirteenth Spring* and others. In the 1920's he was a leading member of a group of Ukrainian neoclassicists, to which also belonged such known Ukrainian poets as Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, Mykhailo Dray-Khmara, all of whom were "liquidated" by the Soviet regime. At the end of the 1920's Rylsky became a glorifier of Stalin, the Communist Party, and later, of Khrushchov, and became a "poet of the regime." In his later collections, however, he turned to descriptions of Ukrainian nature and to generally-human topics.

Maksym Rylsky was also an outstanding translator of Dante, Shakespeare, Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Pushkin into Ukrainian.

THE FIGHT CONTINUES

In its 3rd issue of this year, the Communist newspaper printed in Winnipeg, *Ukrainske Slovo*, published reports on a trial held in an Ukrainian city, the name of which was not disclosed, at which members of the OUN were sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment. Supposedly, the trial was held in February of this year; the chief defendant was Dmytro Luhaniuk.

*

Quoting information obtained from the Soviet Teachers' newspaper, the Toronto Catholic weekly, *Nasha Meta*, reported that religious leaflets were discovered in Ukrainian schools recently.

CULTURAL NEWS FROM HOME

From the Kyiv newspaper *Radyanska Kultura*, we learn that the Ukrainian theatres are performing the works of Ukrainian classics in recent times and are avoiding the works of Soviet dramatists. The newspaper does not consider this a very happy event and attacks the responsible theatre directors. With certainty we can assume, however, that the public holds a contrary view and that the theatre programme is chosen to correspond to its desires.

*

The Kyiv People's Conservatoire has completed the second year of its existence. This Conservatoire has 7 faculties, in which 130 professors and lecturers are engaged.

*

In its May 3rd, 1964 issue, the weekly *Homin Ukraïny* (Toronto) printed a list of the books that had recently been published by "Krym" (Crimea) and "Donbas" publishing houses. Of the "Krym" publications, only two out of eight are in the Ukrainian language; of the "Donbas", only one out of six. All other publications are in the Russian language. Both publishing houses are the property of the Ukrainian Republic.

*

In April of this year, the Kyiv press reported that a reorganization of the publishing houses is being carried through in Ukraine. Many publishing houses are being liquidated and incorporated into the larger existing publishing firms.

*

The Kyiv Shevchenko University will celebrate its centenary this year. On this occasion a museum of the history of this university was set up.

IN BRIEF FROM UKRAINE

There were catastrophic floods in large areas of Southern Ukraine in the Spring of 1964. The Communist press completely hushed this up, however. Not until the end of May was there a notice reporting about awards that were given to more than one hundred men who had helped

with the "active combatting of the Spring flood and with the evacuation of the population."

*

The new decree, issued by the occupation regime in Ukraine, which reduces the acceptable size of a garden lot in the villages from 0.15 to 0.08 hectares was received with indignation. This decree mainly affects families which are living in the country and are not employed in kolkhozes.

*

The February 22nd, 1964 issue of *Radyanska Ukraïna* states that the mineral oil from the Carpathian Mountains contains a very high percentage of paraffin, i.e. 14%. The mineral oil from Bashkiria contains only 8-9% paraffin.

*

Economic experts of the Academy of Sciences in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic computed that in the years 1959-61, Ukraine remitted 5,004,900,000 rubles in taxes to the USSR treasury annually. From this sum only 1,095,800,000 rubles were paid back to Ukraine for its own expenditure.

*

The following is a comment on the conditions and life in subjugated Ukraine as depicted in a letter written by a Ukrainian woman to her relatives in the United States. (Published in the newspaper *Lemkivski Visti*, June 6, 1964): "Here people are beaten and punished. You cannot imagine how difficult life is for us now. One cannot judge from films, wireless transmissions, etc. Nor is our lot truthfully represented in the newspapers, which write that we are rich... It is as Shevchenko said — slavery, hard work, and even prayer is forbidden... We are not at all masters of our own soil. Ukraine is a colony in which a terrible Russification is enforced... Truly, we live in Nero's times. The churches are liquidated one after the other, the priests are driven out of their dwellings, and they are not even permitted to walk behind the coffin at funerals. And as far as the material conditions of life are concerned, they are simply shocking. The worker is living in abject misery.

THE SILENT CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN EXILE

From May 29-31st, 1964, the Ukrainian Christian movement in Germany held its third conference in the country. Prof. I. Martynetz was re-elected chairman.

*

Pope Paul VI has appointed the protoarchimandrite, Atanasiy Velyky, as an advisor to the papal commission, which is to reexamine the codex of the canon law.

*

To detain the faithful in Ukraine from their religious observances, the regime compels the citizens to work on Christian holidays. New holidays, however, are to be created, i.e., so-called labour and prosperity holidays. This can be deduced from a book, recently published in Kyiv, dealing with these holidays.

*

Upon the death of the Roman-Catholic Archbishop of Yugoslavia, Ujic, his office was taken over by the Ukrainian Archbishop, Bukatko.

*

In May of this year, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA, Metropolitan I. Teodorovych, celebrated the 40th anniversary of his activity as chief pastor. The Orthodox Church in the United States numbers 98 parishes and in South America there are 20 parishes, all of which are attended to by 130 priests.

*

In a public lecture, the Jesuit father, W. Ciszyk (USA), who was recently released from 15 years internment in Russian concentration camps, stated that the majority of the internees were Ukrainians.

*

The Exarch of the Ukrainian Catholics in France, Bishop Volodymyr Malanchuk, was admitted as a fully authorized member to the French episcopacy.

UKRAINE LISTED IN REPUBLICAN PLATFORM'S FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

"Republicans reaffirm their long-standing commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America, including the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Yugoslavia, and its Serbian, Croatian and Slovene peoples, Cuba, mainland China, and many others. We condemn the persecution of minorities, such as the Jews, within Communist borders."

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION RIPS THE ADMINISTRATION ON ABANDONMENT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS

The Republican Platform Committee criticized the Democratic Administration for turning "its back on the captive peoples of Eastern Europe" and affirmed Republicans' "long-standing commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist-dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America."

The 1964 platform specifically commits Republicans to work for the freedom of "the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and its Serbian, Croatian and Slovene peoples, Cuba, mainland China, and many others."

Rejecting the "notion that Communism has abandoned its goal of world domination", the platform declares that "Republican foreign policy starts with the assumption that Communism is the enemy of this nation in every sense until it can prove that its enmity has been abandoned."

Policy planks adopted by the Platform Committee commit Republicans to:

Oppose the recognition of Red China and the entry of Red China into the United Nations.

Continue negotiations with Communists, always insisting on advantages for the free world.

Work for the Open Skies policy proposed by President Eisenhower in 1955.

Judge the merit of trade with Communist countries on the basis of whether it would enhance Communist power and influence, or whether it would diminish their power.

Support the United Nations, continually seeking to revitalize its original peace-keeping purpose.

Congressman Edward J. Derwinsky (R., Ill.), Chairman of the Nationalities Division, Republican National Committee, declared that "This is the wording which nationality leaders, including Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Vytautas Abraitis, George Mardikian, Dr. Fernando Penabaz, and myself have fought for and which reflects the Republican commitment to freedom of all peoples."

UCCA REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT VIEWS TO REPUBLICAN PLATFORM COMMITTEE

On July 9, 1964, papers were presented to the Foreign Policy Section of the Republican Platform Committee by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky and Walter T. Darmohray.

Dr. Dobriansky spoke as Chairman of National Captive Nations Committee. He forcefully demonstrated the great need for a permanent sub-committee on Captive Nations in the Congress citing specific examples and reasons. Dr. Dobriansky also stressed the vital importance of specifically naming each and every one of the captive nations in the platform Resolution.

Mr. Darmohray presented his paper on behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Strong recommendations were made for supporting the Congressional sub-committee on Captive Nations; continued resistance to Red China's admission to the U.N.; limitations and restrictions on the recent Consular Treaty with USSR and trade with USSR and its Satellites and proposed Amendments to the Immigration and naturalization Act.

Question were then proposed by members of the Platform Committee which were readily answered by the speakers. The reception of the points raised was excellent.

A Captive Nations Salute was held at the Convention on Wed., July 15, 1964. Stepan Skubik, public relations aide for the Nationality Group Section at the Convention, and Don Miller, Executive Director of the National Captive Nations Committee have been most active in securing the success of this affair.

("Svoboda", Saturday, July 18, 1964)

XVth ANNUAL RALLY OF UKRAINIANS IN USA AND CANADA

Over 4,000 persons from the United States and Canada, most of them members of the organization of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, gathered on Saturday and Sunday, August 1st and 2nd, 1964, at the SUMA resort, "Kyiv", at Whitmore Lake, near Detroit, for the XVth Annual Rally, dedicated to the 150th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth.

Michael Duziy, chairman of the rally committee, opened the programme. Among the speakers were two guests from Europe: Jaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and Stepan Lenkavsky, chairman of the OUN Units Abroad.

In a brief address, former Congressman Alvin M. Bentley assailed the State Department for the absence of US officials at the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument on June 27, 1964, in Washington. He stated that at the dedication of the site on September 21, 1964, both the White House and the Interior Department had sent representatives, while this time none had shown up for fear of "offending the Russians." He also castigated the *Washington Post* for waging an unbridled campaign against the Shevchenko monument with the same zeal and devotion as *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, which Mr. Bentley called "three of a kind."

The entertainment programme included choral numbers by the SUMA Choir of Chicago, under the direction

of Prof. M. Fedoriv; the SUMA Band "Trembita" of Cleveland, under the baton of Prof. R. Lesyk; the Female Bandurist Ensemble of Detroit, under the direction of P. Potapenko and the SUMA Dance Ensemble "Kyiv", under the direction of Miss Joan von Draganda. V. Shcherbiy was master of ceremonies, assisted by Taras Kohut.

The Very Rev. Volodymyr Gavlich, OSBM, of Hamtramck, Mich. held a Mass at "Kyiv", assisted by Msgr. M. Bochnevych and the Rev. J. Habru-sevych of Windsor, Ont.

CONGRESSMAN FEIGHAN POPULAR CHOICE

Congressman Michael A. Feighan is a candidate for renomination at the Democratic primaries in the 20th Congressional District in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Feighan represented the district for 21 consecutive years. He is Chairman of the Joint Committee (Senate and House) on immigration and Nationality Policy and Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality. In addition Mr. Feighan is the ranking Member of the powerful Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives.

In seeking re-election to his twelfth term in Congress, Mr. Feighan made the following statement:

Foreign aid, now in its sixteenth year, has strayed far from its original role as an emergency measure to aid in the recovery of Western Europe. Under the present program Members of Congress have been put in the position where they are required to authorize assistance to communist regimes in order to provide help to our allies and to needy friendly countries. This package deal program is in need of a complete overhaul. I have supported this program for fifteen years, but will oppose it unless drastic reforms are made and the package deal choice is dropped.

Peace with justice and freedom has always been the unqualified goal of our people. Experience has taught us that the only way we can maintain

the precarious peace with international communism is to maintain the military forces and capabilities to deter aggression and war. I will continue to support programs necessary to maintain our military superiority.

PITTSBURGH HONOURS JAROSLAV STETZKO

On August 7, Jaroslav Stetzko arrived at the Pittsburgh air terminal, where he was met by 25 representatives of Ukrainian organizations and institutions. A press conference was held upon his arrival and a social gathering with representatives of the Ukrainian organizations in Pittsburgh and vicinity followed in the evening.

On August 8, Jaroslav Stetzko held a speech before the followers and members of the Liberation Front — a meeting that was organized by the 21st branch of ODFU (Organization for the Four Freedoms of Ukraine). In his speech, Jaroslav Stetzko discussed Ukraine's mission and role in the conflict with Moscow. On the express desire of the participants, he also talked about ABN's action in Scandinavia.

On the morning of August 9, the President of ABN gave an interview to Mr. W. Mazur, the director of the broadcast, "The Song of Ukraine." Above all he discussed the present-day Ukrainian liberation policies and ABN's action in Scandinavia.

This interview was broadcast all over Western Pennsylvania. Mr. J. Stetzko gave a second interview to the editor of the newspaper, *Ukrainske Narodne Slovo* (The Voice of the Ukrainian People), the official organ of the Ukrainian National Aid Association of America whose 50th anniversary is presently being celebrated.

Over 3,000 Ukrainians from Pittsburgh gathered in West-View Park on Sunday August 9, to celebrate the traditional "Ukrainian Day." This year it was celebrated under the watchword "Fight — and you will be victorious" by Shevchenko. Jaroslav

Stetzko's presence gave these national celebrations an especial meaning for he represented the will of the Ukrainian people to freedom during and after World War II and was the last Prime Minister of a free Ukraine. This day was not only a demonstration of the inner solidarity of three Ukrainian generations, it also found a wide echo in the press. *The Pittsburgh Press* and *Post Gazette* published extensive reports on the celebrations, together with two photographs of Jaroslav Stetzko and biographical data pertaining to him. The city of Pittsburgh provided Mr. Stetzko with a police escort and treated him as a highly esteemed person. No other Ukrainian politician has ever been so highly honoured.

The "Ukrainian Day" was filmed and was shown as part of the news on TV Channel 4. In his welcoming address, the Mayor of Pittsburgh, Joseph Barr, proclaimed this day as Shevchenko Day. Congressman Fulton also gave a talk. Artistic entertainment was provided by the Ukrainian Orthodox Choir, a mandoline orchestra, reciters, solo-singers and dance groups.

CLEVELAND HONOURS PRESIDENT STETZKO

From the 14th to the 19th of August, President Stetzko visited Cleveland, Ohio. Upon his arrival a press conference was arranged for him in the Hotel Sharaton. Cleveland newspapers like the *Plain Dealer* and the *Cleveland Press* printed reports of this conference three days in a row. The importance of Jaroslav Stetzko's international activity for the liberation of the subjugated peoples was given particular stress in these reports. The *Plain Dealer* pointed out that by his action in Sweden, Mr. Stetzko drew the attention of the world press.

On the 16th of August the Ukrainian Organization in Cleveland arranged a reception for the President of ABN. The major of the city, R. C. Locher, and his wife participated in this reception in honour of Mr. Stetzko. In his welcoming address, major

Locher paid tribute to the successful international activity of the Ukrainian politician. In the name of the city of Cleveland, he awarded Mr. Stetzko a special distinction for his services in this field. On the following day, *Plain Dealer* printed a photograph of the Cleveland major and President J. Stetzko. At this reception Mr. Stetzko delivered an extensive talk in which he analysed present-day Ukrainian liberation policies in its fight against Communism. In addition, he commented extensively on international policies in general.

Later, the President of the Central Committee of ABN was interviewed by Dr. J. Smetona of the Lithuanian weekly, *Dirwa*. On August 17, "The Baltic Echo" broadcast a 40 minute interview with journalists from Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian groups. During his stay in Cleveland, Jaroslav Stetzko held a series of conferences with representatives of the peoples that are represented in ABN, as well as with the organization of the Ukrainian Liberation Front. His visit in Cleveland greatly activated the work for the liberation of Ukraine and other subjugated peoples.

ABN PRESIDENT STETZKO MEETS MEMBERS OF TUSM

On July 25, 1964 Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), met in a brief conference with members of the executive board of TUSM (Mikhnovsky Ukrainian Student Organization) and its respective representatives of different branches.

The conference, held at the Ukrainian American Youth Resort Center in Ellenville, N.Y. was attended by members of TUSM branches from Philadelphia, New York, Newark, Syracuse and Washington. Also present at the conference were the editors of "Student Thought", Mr. W. Budziak and "Phoenix", Dr. M. Bohatiuk.

Mr. B. Kulchycky, TUSM president, gave a short report outlining the present state, objectives and operations of TUSM.

Subsequently, Mr. Stetzko delivered an excellent talk touching on a number of problems pertaining to Ukraine, especially in the domain of foreign affairs, and the role of the ABN at the present time.

After his address a brief question-and-answer period followed in which many participants took part, and Mr. Stetzko provided cogent and convincing answers.

Considering the time of summer vacation, this conference was well attended and gave a new stimulus for the active work of TUSM.

UKRAINIAN PLANS TRIP TO MOON

The American periodical, "Missiles and Rockets", printed a report about a special commission, appointed by President Johnson, whose task it is to explore interplanetary fields, as well as to design the plan of a rocket which is to be shot to the moon. Owing to his expert knowledge and authority in this field, a Ukrainian scientist, Dr. Mychajlo Jarymowych, was selected to head this six-man commission.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE UKRAINIANS ABROAD

At the end of May, 1964, the executive board of the Ukrainian National Organization (an Ukrainian insurance company in the U.S.) held its annual meeting to hear the directors' statement of account and to decide on the policies for further activity. It was resolved to donate 13,000 dollars, taken from the receipts of the organization, for various Ukrainian national purposes.

*

On May 30th of this year, the 11th annual conference of the Association of Ukrainians in America, *Samopomich*, was held. This Association was founded by the new emigration to the U.S. after World War II. Of the 18 branch establishments of the Association, 10 were represented at the conference. The Association totals over 10,000 members and supervises 16 co-operative credit associations. It also has a press organ, *Nash Svit*. Y. Revay was again elected chairman.

*

At a conference of the Association of European Journalists, held in Florence on May 29-30, the Ukrainian journalist from Rome, Dr. Vasyl Fedoronchuk, was elected to the executive board.

*

According to the data of the Office of Statistics in Ottawa (Canada), 46,650 Ukrainians were living in the city of Toronto in 1961. Among these, 24,849 were males. According to religious beliefs, 16,865 are Catholics; 11,574 belong to the Orthodox Church; 7,469 profess Roman Catholicism; 4,631 belong to the Protestant Church; 2,153 Anglicans; 1019 Presbyterians; 770 Baptists; 270 are of Jewish faith, and the rest belong to various smaller sects. There are 16,000 Ukrainians living in Quebec at present.

*

Over 500 Ukrainian veterans of the Canadian and Ukrainian Army participated in a meeting that was held in Winnipeg from May 16-20th. The meeting was arranged by the Association of Ukrainian-Canadian Veterans.

*

The 8th Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Students (TUSM) was held in New York on June 13th and 14th. In addition to reporting on their activities, the participants, who had come from Washington, Chicago, Montreal and Toronto, also gave talks on Russian nationalism, American foreign policy and Ukraine.

*

The Ukrainian-American Athletic Club in the United States held football finals in Chicago on May 16th. The first place was won by the "Lev" athletic club. An athletic contest for the Ukrainian Youth League in the USA was arranged by the Ukrainian National Federation at a recreation centre on May 22-24th. Contests in various sports were held.

*

In April of this year, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association held a plenary meeting in Paris and in New York to discuss the educational problems which are current in the organization and to pass important resolutions.

ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

In March 1964, the Shevchenko Research Society in the USA published a "Short History of the Free Ukrainian University", written by Dr. S. Holiat.

*

The study group of the Association of Ukrainian Librarians, which carries on its work at the University of Illinois, decided to edit a complete bibliographic reference work on Ukrainian scholars and other personalities from cultural, political and religious life.

*

As far back as 1960, in Washington, D.C., several Ukrainian emigrants founded a society for the promotion of Ukrainian historical research from the period of the Kyiv Kingdom. The society named itself "Fund of the Historical Truth about Ukraine." A similar research society, the "East European Research Institute W. Lypynsky" is working in Philadelphia since 1962. The Institute numbers 88 members. 17 of them have donated 1000 dollars each to the Institute.

*

In the first months of this year, numerous art exhibitions featuring Ukrainian artists were arranged in Canada and in the United States. In April, Prof. D. Horniatkevych exhibited 70 paintings in Toronto. W. Balas, a master of decorative and graphic arts, had his first exhibition in Los Angeles in March and April of this year. In the gallery, "We and the World", in Toronto, the painter, Halyna Novakivska, presented her works to the public in April of this year. On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the world federation of the Ukrainian women's associations, another large exhibition was arranged in this city, in which the artists Daria Yemets, Nina Mudryk-Mryts, Chrystyna Nawrotska-Kudryk, Halyna Novakivska, Iryna Nosyk, Lida Paliy, Ariadna Stebelska, Maria Styranka, Vira Lubyńska-Yurchuk, Iryna Shumska-

In the Literature and Art Club in New York, J. Hnizdovsky, J. Vyshynsky and B. Tetla presented their works to the public. At Fordham University in New York, 27 Ukrainian artists exhibited a total of 42 works.

*

In connection with the celebration of Shakespeare's 400th anniversary, the presidium of the Ukrainian Research Council in Canada awarded silver Shakespeare medals to Prof. Dr. Konstantyn Bida, Prof. Dr. Jaroslav Rudnytsky and to the author, Ihor Kostetsky, for their outstanding service in the field of research on Shakespeare's posthumous works and in the translation of his works into Ukrainian.

*

The Ukrainian Medical Association in the USA purchased 100 Ukrainian encyclopedias, which were published in English by the University of Toronto, and donated them to the senators of the U.S. Congress.

*

Of the 973 graduates who will be graduating from the University of Saskatchewan this year, 105 are Ukrainians. 15 Ukrainians will receive awards for outstanding work.

*

On June 18th, the Free Ukrainian University in Munich sent several of its professors to Tuebingen University as guest lecturers.

*

A new Catholic encyclopedia is presently being prepared for publication by the Catholic University in Washington. 10 Ukrainian scholars have been admitted to the editorial staff.

*

The University of Indiana has resolved to include the Ukrainian language in its curriculum in the academic year 1964/65.

*

After a lecture held by Slava Stetzko, co-editor of the Ukrainian Review, the Swedish youth decided to pay a special tribute to Stepan Bandera, murdered by a Russian agent, by placing a wreath on his

UKRAINIANS IN NEW ZEALAND PROTEST AGAINST RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

The Ukrainians living in New Zealand organized several mass-meetings during 1963. At a meeting in Wellington they passed a resolution of protest against the Communist Russian Colonialism and against the acts of murder perpetrated by the Moscow government. Among other points it states: "...To maintain the said dictatorial system, the Soviet Russian Government would not even refrain from using political assassinations as a weapon to liquidate the anti-communist National leaders exiled in the West. In the past 36 years, the Soviets have assassinated the President of the Ukrainian National Republic, Symon Petlura, (assassinated in Paris, 1926), leader of Ukrainian Nationalists, Colonel E. Konovalets (assassinated in Rotterdam, 1938), a noted Ukrainian journalist and politician Dr. Lev Rebet (assassinated in Munich, 1957), and lastly the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, Stepan Bandera (assassinated in Munich, 1959)..." This resolution was sent with accompanying letters to the Prime Minister of New Zealand Rt. Hon. K. Holyoake, to the leader of the opposition of New Zealand, to the then Prime Minister of Canada, Rt. Hon. J. Diefenbaker and to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization Mr. U. Thant.

They received very kind answers two of which we publish here:

"I wish to thank you and other members of the Ukrainian Community in Wellington for the letter which you sent me on 29 March, enclosing the text of a resolution adopted at a meeting of New Zealanders of Ukrainian descent on 3 March.

Yours sincerely,

Keith Holyoake"

"Thank you for the letter which you sent me on 29 March on behalf of the Ukrainian Association in Wellington bringing to my attention the position in which Ukrainian people find themselves by reason of Russian

that Russia is protesting from time to time about what she calls class imperialism and colonialism when in fact she has already enslaved a number of countries which, if the people had their way, would certainly wish their independence.

Assuring you of my understanding of your problem, and with all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A. H. Nordmeyer"

A NEW BOOK ON SHEVCHENKO PUBLISHED BY PROF. SMAL- STOCKI

The Slavic Institute of Marquette University, USA, headed by Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America, has published a new book, entitled, *Shevchenko Meets America*. Authored by Prof. R. Smal-Stocki, the book contains 71 pages and is dedicated to the late President John F. Kennedy and former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who signed Public Law 86-749 authorizing the erection of a statue of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's poet laureate and fighter for human freedom, on public grounds in Washington, D.C.

The book deals with a brief history of Ukraine and Taras Shevchenko, "Europe's Freedom Fighter" (pp. 1-40), and with views of Shevchenko on the American Constitution, of which he learned from his association with Ira Aldridge, American Negro actor whom Shevchenko met in St. Petersburg. Chapter III is dedicated to the "Present Marxist-Leninist War against George Washington" (pp. 45-58) and Chapter IV deals with "America Meets the First Shevchenkoite: Father Honcharenko."

This timely and factual book on Shevchenko will be a substantial contribution to the American literary world on the meaning and significance of Taras Shevchenko on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument in his honour in Washington, D.C.

BRADFORD COMMUNITY CELEBRATES ABN ANNIVERSARY

Many East European emigrants of various nationalities live in the English town of Bradford. All of them are well organized and maintain friendly relations among each other. Some groups have their own club rooms, or even their own buildings. Much of their attention is dedicated to the preservation of folklore. Political meetings are of course also arranged. One of these was the celebration of ABN's 20th anniversary. To this purpose, an organizing committee was formed, which consisted of Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian representatives. The imposing celebration was held on May 23rd. Dr. Ilić, the representative of the ABN delegation, was the official speaker. The opening speech was given by the chairman of the organizing committee, L. Molnar (Hungary). Representatives of all nationalities were invited to the honorary presidium, among others also Father G. Kereny (Hungary) and the priest M. Chutoryny (Ukraine).

The over 600 participants in the rally adopted a resolution, excerpts of which are as follows:

"WE REQUEST the United Nations to put the problem of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cossackia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan, North Caucasia and other countries subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, on the agenda of its General Assembly, to condemn said colonialism, to exclude all Communist governments from the United Nations, and in their stead to admit the freely elected representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;

WE WARN the free world against the demobilization of the free world by means of the campaign of the so-called positive neutralism in the interests of Moscow by Yugoslavia, whose Communist regime has subjugated the Croats and other peoples who yearn for their national independence;

WE WARN the governments of the free world against the policy of the so-called co-existence which aims at the recognition by the free world of the status quo of Russian and Communist conquests as basis for the subversive action in the free world, and for their further expansion;

WE APPEAL to the free world to give wholehearted, active support for the revolutionary fight of the peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba, subjugated by Russia and Communism, for the restoration of their freedom and national independence and for the establishment of democratic systems in the Communist dominated countries."

Rev. Father Dr. G. Kereny

Chairman

J. Deremenda

Secretary

UKRAINIANS IN POLAND

According to official Red Polish calculations, there are 450,000 national minority members in Poland and the occupied East German provinces. Recently, this information appeared in the Warsaw Communist Party newspaper *Życie Warszawy*. With 180,000, the Ukrainians are on top, followed by the Byelorussians with 165,000, the Jews with 81,000, the Slovaks with 21,000, the Russians with 19,000, gypsies with 12,000, Lithuanians with 10,000, Greeks with 5,000, Macedonians with 5,000, Germans with 3,000 and Czechs with 2,000.



The
UKRAINIAN
REVIEW



IV

1 9 6 4

RECENTLY PUBLISHED!

ORDER NOW!

A book packed with hard facts and revealing unpleasant secrets hidden behind the façade of the USSR

RUSSIAN OPPRESSION IN UKRAINE

Reports and Documents.

This voluminous book of 576 pages + 24 pages full of illustrations contains articles, reports and eye-witness accounts drawing aside the curtain on the horrible misdeeds of the Bolshevik Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian Nation.

*Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
200, Liverpool Road,
London, N.1.*

Price: 36/- net (in USA and Canada \$8.00)

Just published:

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

by

Natalia Polonśka-Vasylenko
Ukrainian Free University

Published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2.,
1964, 47 pp. + 16 pp. of illustrations.

This lucid treatise by Professor Dr. Natalia Polonśka-Vasylenko on the little known relations between ancient Ukraine and Western Europe in the Middle Ages provides fascinating insight into close political, dynastic and cultural ties of the Kievan State with the countries of Western Europe.

Price: 12 s. net.

*Printed in Great Britain by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,
200 Liverpool Road, London, N.1.*

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XI. No. 4

Winter, 1964

A Quarterly Magazine

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky, Mrs. Slava Stetzko

and

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk

Price: 5s a single copy

Annual Subscription: £1. 0.0. \$4.00

Six Months 10.0. \$2.00

Cover designed by Robert Lisovsky

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.,
49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2.

C O N T E N T S

THE FALL OF A TYRANT	3
A. Mykulyn: RESISTANCE IN UKRAINE DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS	7
Jaroslav Stetzko: THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN	10
Dr. Dmytro Donzow: THE FORCES OF THE ANTICHRIST	14
Evhen Malaniuk: THE WAY TO THE TRUE SHEVCHENKO	27
Evhen Malaniuk: THE LIVING SHEVCHENKO	39
Evhen Malaniuk: A RÉPLIQUE	42
Bohdan Krawciw: TARAS SHEVCHENKO'S POETRY IN FOREIGN TRANSLATIONS	47
Dr. John P. Pauls: MUSICAL WORKS BASED ON THE LEGEND OF MAZEPA	57
Taras Shevchenko: THE DREAM, and lines from THE PRINCESS; poems translated by Vera Rich	66
Vera Rich: HARALD HARDRADE, ROGNVALD BRUSASON AND THE "CITIES OF CHERVEN"	67
"COMPEL THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION TO LIQUIDATE ITS IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM", Excerpts from the Speech by Hon. Paul Yuzyk in the Canadian Senate	73
<u>Documents on Ukrainian-Jewish Relations:</u>	
Philip Friedman: UKRAINIANS FRIENDLY TO JEWS	79
Lew Shankowsky: TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE UPA AND THE HELP IT EXTENDED THE JEWISH POPULATION OF UKRAINE (1941-1944)	84
AFFIDAVIT by Bohdan Kruk (On Jews in the UPA)	87
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 10px auto;"/>	
OHIO IN COMMEMORATION OF STEPAN BANDERA. By George Kulchytsky, B.A.	89
A GLANCE AT THE FOREIGN PRESS	91
UKRAINE'S CONTRIBUTION TO POLAND'S ECONOMY	93
BOOK REVIEW	94

The Fall of a Tyrant

On the 5th of March 1950, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, General Taras Chuprynka, was killed in battle against MVD troops.

On the 5th of March 1953, Stalin was murdered in his sick bed by his best friends, Khrushchov, Mikoyan, Malenkov and Voroshilov.

On the 15th of October 1959, Stepan Bandera was treacherously murdered at orders received from Khrushchov, Shelepin and Voroshilov.

On the 15th of October 1964, the world was informed of the political death of Nikita S. Khrushchov.

The nemesis of history, God's hand, still rules over the world.

Why does the official Western world mourn the fall of the tyrant?

In another place we will recall the crimes of the faithful Stalinist, Khrushchov, so that the world will not forget that it was precisely the greatest criminal of modern times after Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, and Mao, who met his political death. This is not at all purported to mean that the new men in the Kremlin are better, for the essence of the matter does not lie so much in this or that person, but in the Russian character and in the Communist system itself. A dictatorship has always been an inevitable appearance in Russian history and its imperium. To this day, Russia has never had a democratic government and it will never have one under any form of Communism. For the time being, the imperium can be held together only by the use of terror and tyranny. An oligarchy of tyranny must of necessity devolve into the autocracy of one man. This is the law of the imperium of yesterday and of today. It is embodied in the Russian people, who as a myth, need a tsar, a Peter, a Catherine, a Nicholas, a Lenin, a Stalin, a Khrushchov, a Malenkov or Shelepin — a cruel Little Father. Consequently, the trend will of necessity again lead to the autocracy of one man, or a process of disintegration will proceed more rapidly until the final dissolution of the imperium is brought about by a violent overthrow as a result of the national liberation revolutions. In the long run, however, neither the oligarchy of tyrants, nor the autocracy of one man can preserve the imperium and the Communist system.

Why Did Khrushchov Fall?

As a boastful autocrat he proved too weak to control the precipitating events within and outside of the imperium. As a mythical figure he was not able to replace a Lenin or a Stalin for the Russian people, which is no longer in a position to hold its imperium together.

The spontaneously revived national liberation fight during the years 1953-1959, found its expression especially in the insurrections in the concentration camps. This revival of the freedom fight is to be traced back especially to the tenacity of the Ukrainian freedom fighters, as well as to the uprising in Hungary in 1956, in Poland, and in the period from 1959-1964, to the armed and unarmed mass demonstrations of the workers and the youth in the cities of Ukraine, the Caucasus, Turkestan, the Baltic states and Byelorussia. Evident of a firmly concentrated force, these uprisings have aimed at the dissolution of the imperium and at the destruction of the Communist system, and have demonstrated Khrushchov's powerlessness to cope with them.

The ideological and political fight of the young generation in Ukraine and the other subjugated countries in literature, art and science proves that the idea of nation, religion, tradition, human dignity and love of freedom has remained vitally alive. On the whole, the Russification and Sovietization process has proved a failure. No Soviet man or Soviet youth has arisen from this process, but there has remained an Ukrainian, a Georgian, a Turkestanian, etc. man and youth.

As Stalin's most faithful disciple and his governor in Ukraine, Khrushchov ordered the murder of OUN leader, Colonel Evhen Konovalets, in Rotterdam in 1938. In 1950, General Chuprynka was killed in battle against MVD troops, which had been sent by Khrushchov. In 1959, Bandera was murdered. Now Khrushchov has disappeared, without his having been able to weaken our liberation fight with his deeds of cruelty. Neither in Ukraine, nor in the other subjugated countries, was he able to become master of the situation. The re-introduction of the personality cult was not the main cause of his fall, for as history teaches, a personality cult is second nature to the Russians. His coexistence policy was not a consequence of a desire for peace on his part, but a result of the inevitable necessity of obtaining the West's support for the stabilization of the imperium. Nor was he the prime originator of the dissension with Red China, which can be traced back to Stalin's policy in World War II. As a consequence of Russia's inner weakness, he was not able to cope with all the obligations which the world situation demanded of him. It was also clear that the boastful Khrushchov would sooner fall than that a final break with Red China would come about. For every Russian it is more important to save the imperium than to worry about Khrushchov's head. It is true, that the failure of his economic policy (agrarian, industrial, etc.) contributed to his fall, but it was not decisive either. In view of the Communist principles regarding economy and especially regarding agricultural economy in the subjugated countries, it is clear that the Russian policy had to fail, for it is contrary to human nature. Only on ethnographic Russian soil can Communism thrive in every respect, because as Bolshevism,

it is a typical Russian phenomenon. Stalin's agricultural policy was also false and contrary to human nature. Stalin knew how to find a scapegoat in time. In Khrushchov's case, however, he himself was selected as a scapegoat by the Party.

ABN's action in Scandinavia and the great echo which it received in the whole world compelled Khrushchov to a reaction, which exposed him in all his nakedness to the free and subjugated world, for this action demonstrated the strength and invincibility of ABN's ideas.

Perspectives

With Khrushchov's fall a whole class of leaders, who no longer meet contemporary Russian needs, are being systematically replaced. A younger class of leaders will seize power, a class which did not go through the October 1917 Revolution, but which will endeavour to vitalize and enlarge the imperium anew. The Khrushchovian class of leaders was neither better nor worse than the new one which is coming. In the end it had simply become rotten, lazy and outdated and was therefore driven out by others. There is no special meaning in the fact that Kosygin is a technocrat or that Brezhnev is an *aparatchik* and that both of them are momentarily in power. They are both temporary appearances. The generation of Shelepin, of Semichastny and younger Russian military men are forcing their way into power. The renewal of the Russian tyranny class is a new endeavour to save the imperium. A reconciliation with Red China will take place, though the disparity, Moscow-Peking, will continue. In accordance with the intentions of the tyrants, however, it will not be deepened until "the West has been buried." Only then, are Peking and Moscow to spring at each other's throats. But now the attention of the new men in power will be concentrated on Ukraine and the other subjugated countries to neutralize their fight — for they constitute the Achilles' heel of the imperium and Communism.

Prospects For The West

The Russian Communist system, whether under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchov, Brezhnev, Suslov, Malenkov or Shelepin, remains unchangeable. Neither a boastful nor a silent man can touch the central core of this system. The violent overthrow of the whole system is the only solution. In this respect, the main role is played not by the Peking-Moscow conflict, but the Kyiv-Moscow conflict. Kyiv is the key position, not Peking. The West, therefore, must promote a disintegration process in the Russian and Red Chinese empires and help to unfold a national and social liberation revolution from within, and not repeat its error of World War II (joining forces with Moscow against Berlin). Instead it should take up the fight against Moscow and Peking in a common front with the subjugated peoples and transfer the liberation war to the enemy-dominated

territories and smash and annihilate both empires and the Communist system from within.

To mourn for Khrushchov shows that one has no understanding of the social conditions in Russia and of Russian social organizations. A predatory, rotten class of leaders goes to pieces, another younger band of gangsters, which will be neither better nor worse than the overthrown, rises to the top. And, as always, a young band of gangsters will be more dynamic and more aggressive in the beginning. It is clear, however, that this Stalinistic, de-Khrushchovized class of leaders will fall even faster than the former Stalinistic, Khrushchovian class of leaders, and this not so much in competition with Red China or with the West, which does not comprehend the organic weakness of the imperium and of Communism, but under the constant pressure of a liberation fight on the part of the subjugated peoples and people.

Red China's Atomic Bomb

The Red Chinese atomic bomb would not present such a great threat, as everyone assumes, if one had not overlooked the most important aspect of the whole thing. Even those who work in the Red-Chinese factories, the manufacturers and creators of the atomic bomb, do not as a whole venerate Lenin and Marx, but Confucius and Sun Yat-sen. If the National Chinese alternative is ignored and Taiwan is regarded solely as a US military base, and not as a freedom-radiating island, which inspires hundreds of millions of people on the Chinese mainland, then it is clear that Mao Tse-tung and his atomic bomb represent a threat. As long as Taiwan is not given a free hand to unfold its liberation war on the Chinese mainland, just as South Vietnam and South Korea do not have any possibility of initiating a military offensive toward the North, the curtailment of the so-called red-yellow danger remains unsuccessful. The United States waited until Peking had an atomic bomb; the United States also waited until the Russians stole thermo-nuclear weapon from the Americans, and now one demurs: *What now?* Free hand for Taipei, Seoul, Saigon and all offensive liberation forces of the world! It is neither Moscow nor Peking, both of which are too weak, that are leading the world into the abyss, but lack of determination and indecisiveness on the part of Washington, which, with its enormous power, coupled with the subjugated peoples' thirst for freedom, has never demonstrated the courage to apply its superiority in time, to exert pressure and to exercise force against the criminal system! A year ago, it would have been easier to bring about a National Chinese landing than now. If Mao Tse-tung continues to perfect his atomic power, which did not even exist a short time ago, then it will be even more difficult to land in a year from now. With such a weak policy, the West digs its own grave. Let us hope, however, that reason and faith in higher values rather than the golden calf will be victorious in the West! May Heaven help!

A. MYKULYN

RESISTANCE IN UKRAINE DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS

Five years ago, on 15 October 1959, Bohdan Stashynsky, an agent of the K.G.B., murdered the leader of the OUN Stepan Bandera. This was a great blow to the Ukrainian national anti-Russian revolution, which is headed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. At his trial in Karlsruhe Stashynsky said clearly that the aim of the action of the Kremlin murderers against the Ukrainian people is to destroy the leaders of the Ukrainian fight against Moscow, to liquidate the Nationalist movement. Moscow had hoped that the death of Bandera would be the death of the fight for liberation. But Moscow has not succeeded in weakening the fight of the Ukrainian people either in Ukraine or abroad. In spite of the great blow, the Ukrainian people has been continuing its fight against the Russian Bolshevik oppressors. This is attested by the Russian press itself, as well as by the Western press.

On 11 December 1959, the Soviet newspaper "Trud" No. 287 stated that the KGB had arrested some members of the local Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists at the village of Nyzy, region of Lviv, who were hiding in forests and attacked Russian soldiers and frontier guards.

The Soviet newspaper in Ukrainian language "Robitnycha Hazeta" No. 12, of 15. 1. 1960 wrote that at Belz (region of Lviv) "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists Dubetsky, Kobak, Mukha, Mykhaylyuk and others were on trial for 4 days... The court committee of the Lviv region condemned them all to death."

The paper "Literaturna Hazeta" of Kyiv informed on 22. 1. 1960 that at the second plenum of the Union of Ukrainian Writers problems of the fight against Ukrainian nationalism especially the "Bandera movement", were dealt with.

At the CP congress in Ukraine (1960) the first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine N. Podgorny emphasized in his speech the firm intensification of the struggle "against any manifestations of bourgeois ideology and Ukrainian Nationalism"

and against religious convictions of the Ukrainian people. The plenum of the CC of the CP of Ukraine (May 1960) passed a resolution, which was printed in the newspaper "Radyanska Ukraïna", insisting that the local subordinate units of the party and the Komsomol should lead a wider and sharper propaganda against Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalism.

The Austrian "Salzburger Nachrichten", No. 107 of May 1960 informed that Moscow had started a new wave of persecution against secret movements, chiefly against 3 groups: Ukrainian Nationalists, Soviet citizens who had returned to the USSR from the West and "unreliable" persons from Baltic countries.

German "Westdeutsche Allgemeine" of 7. 5. 1960 wrote: "Today it can be clearly seen that Ukraine is still the most formidable enemy of Russia"... The newspaper stressed the fact that a huge amount of anti-Bolshevist literature calling to the resistance against Communists had been distributed among the population of Ukraine.

"Trud" of 12. 7. 1960 informed that "Ukrainian Nationalists" were hiding at Pochayiv, an ancient Ukrainian religious centre, and conducted anti-Soviet activities there. The same newspaper affirmed that the KGB arrested the members of the religious sect "Jehovah's witnesses" who actually belonged to Ukrainian nationalists.

"Molod' Ukraïny" wrote on 12. 7. 1960: "Mad remnants, Bandera's bands of Ukrainian bourgeois Nationalists" have increased their activities both on Ukrainian territories and abroad.

In January 1961, well-informed French circles received the news that Ukrainian Nationalists had several fights with KGB units on the line Ternopil—Drohobych—Uzhhorod. The battles lasted from 5th to 11th November, 1960. The Russians used artillery and light tanks against the Nationalists.

In spite of the cruel persecutions by the Russian authorities, the Ukrainian Catholic church still exists clandestinely in Ukraine — wrote "La France Catholique" of 25. 11. 1960.

"Abendzeitung" of Munich wrote on 24. 8. 1961: "M. I. Sereda, a Soviet scientist, who escaped from the USSR to the West, told the Austrian authorities that there is an anti-Russian resistance movement in Ukraine."

The Soviet newspapers "Lvovskaya Pravda" No. 18, 1961, "Robitnycha Hazeta" No. 198, 1961, "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of 18. 8. 1961, "Radyanska Ukraïna" of 12. 7. 1961, "Molod Ukraïny" of 2. 7. 1961, "Kolhospne Selo" of 8. 10. 1961 wrote about the resistance of workers, farmers and young people of Ukraine against Russian authorities.

On 20. 2. 1962, at an ideological discussion of CC of the CP of Ukraine, N. Podgorny strongly emphasized the need for a bitter struggle against the Ukrainian Nationalists. ("Radyanska Ukraïna", 21. 2. 1962).

"Paris Presse" of 25. 7. 1962, "Daily Telegraph" of 7. 8. 1962 and Munich newspapers wrote about mass strikes and disturbances in Ukraine (Donets basin, Kramatorsk) which were cruelly repressed by "special units" of the Russian KGB.

"Nasha Meta" of Toronto (24. 11. 1962) received news from Ukraine that at the village of Bortnychi, Lviv district, there had been formal battles between collective farm workers and the KGB.

The "Sunday Telegraph" of 25. 11. 1962 and "Le Monde" of Paris informed that Moscow had tried to close the Assumption monastery at Pochaïv, but met with sharp protests from the Ukrainian population.

"Radyanska Ukraïna" wrote on 24. 1. 1963 about the trial of Ukrainian religious believers at Uzhhorod. The article stated that there is a strongly developed secret religious and political movement in Ukraine, directed against the Russian oppressors.

Dr. O. Rathaus, who escaped from the USSR to the West, wrote in the review, "Ukrainian Quarterly", that "the successors of UPA now are living at their homes and working as farmers, drivers, factory and building workers, teachers, mechanics, accountants etc. They are living as any ordinary citizen of the USSR. But some night, at an agreed signal, they come together in a forest, take weapons and carry out a task assigned to them by their secret leaders. At dawn they return to their homes, come to work in time, and, if necessary, they even "protest" against crimes perpetrated by "American spies" (this is how the Ukrainian nationalists are called by the Russians).

"Pravda" of 4. 5. 1963 wrote that there is "bourgeois nationalism" in Ukraine, and "the remnants of Ukrainian nationalists still resist the socialist society of the USSR."

"Le Figaro" of 4. 10. 1963 wrote that in the Donets region a "public committee" for combatting secret radio transmissions in Ukraine had been formed. "Le Figaro" states that these transmissions are a form of the anti-Russian resistance. The existence of secret radio broadcasts in Ukraine was confirmed by the Bolshevik humoristic magazine of Kyïv "Perets" of 7. 4. 1964, in particular, in the regions of Poltava, Kharkiv, Lviv, Odessa and Donets.

"Pravda" wrote on 7. 10. 1963 that Moscow is closing churches as a measure against the religious resistance of Ukrainian population in Volhynia.

The Moscow magazine "Ogonyok" No. 46, of November 1963, reported on a secret convent in Lviv. The nuns had worked as nurses at a hospital. In their flat the KGB found "Bandera's blue-and-yellow flags, sprinkled with naphthalene, anti-Soviet leaflets, foreign passports in boxes"...

The weekly paper "Vilna Dumka" of 1. 3. 1964 (Australia) received from Ukraine a local newspaper "Nove Zhyttia" (district of Bere-

zhany). The paper says that the Russian KGB partly liquidated the Nationalists, the rest of them were imprisoned in concentration camps. But later "Nove Zhyttya" reported that at the collective farm of Rohachany a protest meeting against Ukrainian "bourgeois" Nationalists was recently held.

The Communist paper "Ukraïnske Slovo" (Canada) reprinted on 3. 6. 1964 an extract of an article from "Prykarpatska Pravda" about a political trial of members of the OUN who continually acted against Russia. (The trial took place on 28. 2. 1964.) The chief accused was Dmytro Luhanyuk.

Even this brief survey of the facts during 5 years after the murder of Stepan Bandera confirms that Ukraine continues its persistent fierce fight for its political, national, religious, social and cultural liberation from the Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

Jaroslav STETZKO

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Without doubt, the greatest event in the history of the world was the birth of Jesus Christ. Notwithstanding the differences that exist among the Christian churches, the attention of the faithful, as well as of the faithless, is focused on the happenings that transpire in the Church of Christ. All this occurs, in spite of the fruitless attempts on the part of the unbelieving world, which, out of fear of the militant Christ, acts as a luring devil to suppress the victorious emergence of Christ from the underground of the subjugated world. Truth cannot be vanquished by the forces of evil and of destruction.

Many hopes are attached to the Catholic Church's Ecumenical Council, which has become a major event in the life of the entire Christian world. Representatives of other churches are also present at this Council in the capacity of observers.

So far, however, the hopes of the Martyr Church have not been entirely fulfilled. The fight against bellicose and aggressive godlessness, however, should be a matter of supreme importance, not only for the Catholic Church, but for this era as a whole. This extremely important matter has not yet been put on the agenda in

all its momentous significance. **The fight against militant godlessness should form the most permanent common basis for a unity of action on the part of all Christian, and not only Christian churches.** What is essential about this unity is not only a formal approach and ritualistic assimilation among the churches — these are unessential matters. What is of fundamental importance is the common fight for the belief in God-Christ. For this reason, the merely formal reforms would have no permanent success, unless all Christian churches were united in, and sparked by the spirit to fight for the victory of belief over unbelief, of Christ over the anti-Christ.

Now, the people are not only interested in knowing whether Ukrainian Catholic bishops have the same insignia of their Supremacy, as the Orthodox bishops have, or whether they should kneel during Holy Communion, or whether they should use bells or not. They are interested in much more momentous matters, — namely in the essence and rebirth of a deep belief in Christ and in the realization of Christ's truths in all aspects of life.

The victory will be carried by that Church which will produce more ascetics, martyrs, apostles of faith, more militant crusaders. Like the early Christians, the priests of this Church will live exemplary lives, both for the ideas of Christ and in the ardent service of their contry. The attractive and captivating power of the Church, and the unity of all Christian churches, depends on the rebirth of deep faith, on high ethical values, on self-sacrifice, on the willingness to make sacrifices in daily life and on the realization of all that which Christ demanded of us. The heroism and martyrdom of our two underground churches — the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church — have a strong appeal to all truly faithful and genuine Christians; the battle cry of these fighters, who die but do not submit, acts as an inspiration to a moral and spiritual rebirth.

In my opinion the central aim of the Council should be: the rebirth of Christian faith in the spirit of the first centuries of Christianity, austerity of the priests, apostolic activity by daily deeds, and finally the revival of the inspiring forces of faith and of a strict moral life.

Our Metropolitan confessor, Great Archbishop Joseph Slipyj, has rightly raised the matter of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, which our church has long deserved. Our Bishop Sapelak has also rightly demanded that the Council speak up on behalf of those who are persecuted and martyred for Christ, and that it condemn Moscow, which is suppressing our Churches. It is to be hoped that the Council will speak out emphatically against godlessness, against the persecution of the Church and against genocide. It would be very sad if this were not done. It is possible that the Council will reserve

such a statement to the very end, to forestall a premature ushering out of Alexey's Russian observers, or perhaps there are fruitless and hopeless negotiations being carried on with the tyrants behind the scenes, in the naïve hope of obtaining concessions. Everything is possible, even the most bizarre.

It is, however, by no means exclusively a question of the Council condemning Moscow once. We do not doubt that this will be done, for how could it be omitted, when even some Marxist Socialists condemn Moscow for its persecution of the Church. What is most essential, however, is that all the decrees of the Council, that every step which it takes, reveal a new spirit, which will give new life and new vitality to the fight against godlessness, which will activate the assistance to the churches fighting in the underground, to the martyrs, to the persecuted and to those who are punished in the service of God and their country. A spirit of active offensive must radiate from the Council. This spiritual offensive must be directed against those who commit homicide and genocide (exactly as Christ will speak out against them on the Day of Judgement), those who are responsible for the death of 7 million people by causing starvation in Ukraine, who have exterminated dozens of millions of people in concentration camps, who have crucified bishops, monks, priests and the faithful, who have robbed, desecrated and destroyed the churches, as well as murdered the wives and children of those men who fought for the independence of their countries and the freedom of man.

A fighting spirit should emanate from the Council. This militant spirit should be directed against philistinism, hedonism, materialism, egoism and against religious indifference and atheism, for these vices are spreading on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The deficiencies and frailties of the free community, but especially of misplaced priests — even prelates — shall also be strongly stigmatized by this spirit.

If legal stations are not permitted to transmit radio programmes to the East, then dozens of underground radio stations should be set up in the free world to transmit programs directed against the tyrants behind the Iron Curtain in the name of Christ, the Christ of the Day of Judgement, to instill the peoples with hope and to call them to battle with their cross in their hands. Hundreds and thousands of priests and monks — new Peters of Amiens — should voluntarily step forth to the fight of the spirit and of the idea against the godless; they should make use of illegal means to gain access into the empire of the anti-Christ; there they could fight fearlessly for their faith and for God's word, just as the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul did; they should announce the Day of Judgement to the tyrants. To this end, monasteries with hundreds of heroic monks of Christ's teachings, should be set up in the free world, on the initiative of the Council. For there cannot be a rebirth of faith, as long as the various camps of faith are not inspired by a mission and a mystic sense, and as long

as these do not become a reality. The power of Christianity lies in its offensive promulgation and propagation of the eternal and infallible truth. This campaign of the spirit, of the idea, of faith, launched by thousands of preachers of Christ, is to be like a guilt appeal to man's conscience, an appeal that shall proclaim the great mission of the fight against egoism and hedonism to the individuals and to nations. Its emanating force shall reach into the realm of anti-Christ.

It is such a fiery impetus that the world awaits from the Council.

A Council, whose daily press reports do not leave meaningful imprints on man's consciousness, would be only too reminiscent of the United Nations.

The Council should be a secret clerical assembly, at the final session of which, great truths, which will awaken man to a new sense of life, must be proclaimed; new ways to fight philistinism, injustice, evil, godlessness and crime, new ways to protect the subjugated, the righteous and the persecuted must be shown; and the eternal truths of Christ must be given fresh vitality to enable them to revive nations and individuals. The world is yearning for such a proclamation by the Council.

The peoples need a lofty, holy secret, a lofty, mystic sense of life; they are tired of being intimately exposed, day by day. The "Councils" of the godless, whether they take place in the Kremlin, in Peking, in the headquarters of the masonic lodge in Washington, are always secret, "mystical". They do not want to become a part of daily affairs.

The great offensive of the spirit, of the idea, of the belief in Christ must begin with the cross and then it must be followed by the sword.

The great offensive of Christ, courageous, fanatical, launched in the name of eternal truths at the risk of individual lives of the missionaries at this and at the other side of the Iron Curtain, will unhinge the foundations of the Communists and Antichrist himself will be thrown into the eternal fires of hell.

We are awaiting an idealistic, spiritual and moral offensive from the Council, and not solely prayers for peace. The highest purpose is not peace, but the victory of Christ's truths, of the justice for nation on earth. This is also God's truth, for it cannot be the will of God that the Ukrainian nation should languish under the yoke of the godless and the tyrants who are crucifying Christ anew.

Dr. Dmytro DONZOW

THE FORCES OF THE ANTICHRIST

Ukraine, Europe and, indeed, the whole world is dominated by the sign of terror. This terror, created in the year 1917, has not descended upon the world unexpectedly. Our age is one of those eras of which it is prophesied in the Gospels: "And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars... For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places. But all these things are the beginning of travail. Then shall they deliver you up unto tribulation, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all the nations for my name's sake" — for the name of Jesus Christ. "And then shall many stumble, and shall deliver up one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall lead many astray. And because iniquity shall be multiplied, the love of the many shall wax cold... and there shall be terrors and great signs from heaven... and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity... men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world" (*Matthew, Ch. 24; Luke, Ch. 21*).

Even the time when such catastrophes happen is, it is true, not expressed according to man-made calendars, but nevertheless clearly predestined, as, too, is the place: "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." And that is always the case. Wherever there is a smell of carrion, wherever and whenever society begins to rot, the vultures flock together in order to tear their victims to pieces.

And is not that era depicted in the Gospels which began in the year 1917? Are not wars being conducted everywhere in the world between nations and are not civil wars being waged within the nations? Are there not amongst us false prophets from the East, holding swords in their hands? Are we not witnessing the paralysation of the thoughts, heart and will of many of the mighty of the free world? Is it not evident that only a few have resisted temptation, whilst many, however, "as in those days which were before the flood were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage,... and they knew not until the flood came, and took them all away" (*Matthew, Ch. 24*).

May it be left to those born blind to search for the fundamental cause of this terror in the material and visible world, — namely in the conflict about state frontiers, countries, worldly wealth, and in the rival struggle between various imperialisms; the cause lies

elsewhere. And we Ukrainians know that "God gave His Son, Jesus of Nazareth, an invisible sword. And since then Jesus has drawn a dividing-line between the gods with His sword"; and He caused "the great division between the gods and man, inasmuch as He divided the realm of the spirit into two and dissolved all human life into two halves, a pure and an evil one... The harmony of the universe was disturbed in heaven and on earth. It is impossible to foresee the end of this struggle which has come down from heaven to the earth, from the gods to man" — this is the lesson which the great Ukrainian poetess, Lesya Ukraïнка, teaches us in words that strongly remind us of the 12th chapter of the Revelation. And those who understand these words will likewise comprehend that the fight between the pure and the evil began in the realm of the spirit; and that it is not a question of dividing-lines and systems, but a struggle between the ancient Christian civilization of the West and the forces of the Devil, which are preparing their last onslaught on the former; not a struggle for territories or party programmes, but a struggle for the soul of man created in God's likeness. If it were not so, why should the false prophets — the Frenchman, Rousseau, the Jew, Marx, and the Russian, Lenin, strive, above all, to effect the severance from Christ? Why should such an intensive attempt be made to destroy the idea of God in man's soul, to infect man's mind, his heart and his will with rottenness? Why do the "counsel of the ungodly" in the Kremlin as well as their emissaries in the free world pursue this as their main aim?

For the simple reason that they know that wherever this aim is achieved, the deceived peoples will become the willing and obedient tool of the power of darkness and their blind slaves, they know that their satanic power, the power of the false prophets, will then rule the world unchallenged; that this power will assume its rule as soon as the masses and the peoples believe its doctrine, — its doctrine that one should worship the material things in life, mammon, profit and pleasure. If one believes that the false prophets have the power to change stones into bread, one must likewise believe that happiness and well-being will be achieved by undisciplined human reason and by human instincts; one only needs to let the peoples detach themselves from the chief commandment "thou shalt not make thee any graven image" in place of God, they will then bow down to and worship the evil power and will promptly become a pack of wild beasts or a herd of domestic animals and will willingly allow themselves to be pushed into an iron cage or into a pen.

Ukraine was the first to take up the fight against this evil power. For this power had, in the first place, emanated from Moscow and then remained invisible for a long time; it subsequently, during the fire and smoke of the so-called "October Revolution", showed its grim countenance and its red banner with the invisible inscription:

"Falsehood instead of truth! Evil instead of good! Ugliness instead of beauty! Antichrist instead of Christ!" And though there were many wise, courageous and noble-minded persons who did not hesitate to oppose the emissaries of the Devil, there were far more who allowed themselves to be deceived, bribed and intimidated by the Devil, just as there are many weaklings on this side of the Iron Curtain who allow themselves to be deceived, bribed and intimidated by the envoys of the Red Star, inasmuch as they establish a regular cult of the "light from the East", worship its idols, propagate its devilish doctrine, exhort those persons who are prepared to share the world with the Devil to engage in coexistence and cooperation with the latter for the purpose of rebuilding the world, and are full of admiration, fear and servility towards the bestial power which is preparing to inflict the same fate on the West as it has already inflicted on Ukraine.

Those who have grown confused as a result of the progressive doctrine of the false prophets, ask "What is the purpose of this superstition?" In what way is the Devil connected with it? How can one recognize that the invisible power of evil is at the head of the procession of the "era of progress"? — It is not hard for those whose brains have not been confused by Moscow's satanic religion to recognize this. One only needs to consider the works of the Devil's apostles. Must we not then realise that, inasmuch as they promised everyone the annihilation of absolutism and autocracy, they have introduced an autocracy which is a thousand times more terrible? That, inasmuch as they promised the "common people" freedom, they have imposed a servitude a thousand times worse on them, as well as on all social classes and on the peoples that have come under their rule? That, inasmuch as they promised equality, they have created a caste of new rulers of the type described in the Bible? That, inasmuch as they promised brotherhood, they have created a state of affairs in which man behaves like a ravenous wolf towards his neighbour? That, inasmuch as they promised happiness, the socialist paradise, for everyone, they have created a hell? That, inasmuch as they promised prosperity, they have introduced starvation and misery? That, inasmuch as they promised peace, they have waged war constantly against everyone; that, inasmuch as they claimed that they would free human reasoning from the compulsory dogmas of religion, they have created a dogmatism and a conformism such as no theocracy has ever known, and have introduced an inquisition such as has never before been imposed on any era? That, inasmuch as they promised to abolish the divine Commandments — "Thou shalt not kill. Neither shalt thou steal. Neither shalt thou bear false witness against thy neighbour", — they have introduced the commandments of the Devil — "lie, kill and steal"? That, inasmuch as they promised truth and life, they have brought falsehood and death with them?... Falsehood! — It is by this weapon that

we recognize their leader, whom the Gospel calls the "father of falsehood", and the power which has inspired the false prophets of Moscow; for "the servants of the Devil are fond of creating the impression that they are servants of truth"; they are fond of constructing a chaos of conceptions out of mendacious slogans, inasmuch as they mix right and left, good and evil, beauty and ugliness, in order to lead the human race astray.

Those sceptics who are not satisfied with this proof, should recall another sentence which says: "By their fruits ye shall know them", and should bear in mind that he who cooperates with the Devil, builds on sand and that his house will fall. Indeed, is it not evident that the new tower of Babylon which has been erected by the Muscovite builders is tottering? Is it not evident that they have created a state of chaos, out of which they will not be able to find a way? Is it not obvious to us that the spiritual foundations of their structure — their ideas — are already disintegrating into dust? Is it not obvious that they are trying in vain to assert their position by sheer despotism?

To those sceptics who are still not satisfied with this proof we can but say, — consider the "Gospel" of the said false prophets. With cynicism and with an unparalleled audacity they declare in their "Gospel" that they have been sent by the Devil to change the world into chaos. Moscow reminds one of the man in the Bible who was possessed of an unclean spirit, who screamed and hurled himself against stones, who rent his chains asunder, and no one had strength to tame him. The Muscovites have been possessed of this spirit of evil and, indeed, from time immemorial they have boasted of this fact; at the same time, they persuade the world — as does their patron saint, the invisible patron saint of falsehood, that the latter possesses a beneficial power, the representative of which is Moscow. Indeed, all the panegyrists of tsarist, democratic and Bolshevist Russia endeavour to persuade the world in general of this fact. Pushkin flirts with his Devil and affirms that though the latter is a "questionable and mendacious" spirit, he is nevertheless a "beautiful" one. The Russian pagan god is portrayed as a darker, more sinister, more perverse and more terrible Devil in the works of the epileptic *Dostoyevsky*, the panegyrist of the mad, the degenerate and those possessed of Satan. In a conversation with his guest, the Devil, Ivan Karamazov says to him: "You are falsehood, you are the personification of myself." One Russian critic has affirmed that "Dostoyevsky let the Devil (who dwelt in his breast) express his own most intimate thoughts." And the same Devil knew what was expected of him. The thoughts expressed by the Devil who visited his "hero" are the thoughts of Ivan Karamazov and of Dostoyevsky himself: "The idea of God must be destroyed amongst mankind, and this is the primary task to be carried out." For once God is

destroyed in the human soul, He will also be eliminated from all human actions and works, from all human institutions and society. And Dostoyevsky recognized this fact, for he realized that those who, possessed of the Devil, would bring about the Russian revolution, would no longer be persons possessed of demons, but simply "demons" themselves, as, indeed, he called them in his novel; he knew only too well that the revolution would be started by those "slaves and lackeys", who, "in the name of envy, obsequiousness and equality" will trample underfoot the "image of the divine ideal", the image of God in man's soul.

This demonic obsession on the part of the Muscovites is even more apparent shortly before the appearance of Bolshevism and even more significant after the victory of the latter. The Russian writer, *Maximilian Voloshin*, observes that after the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution, "man became a devil towards his fellow-men" — in Russia, in the land of demonic slavery. Another writer, *Vyacheslav Ivanov*, laments that he has been "cast off" by his keeper, his demon, and complains: "My keeper, deserted by you, I have fallen"... In place of a guardian angel, there is a keeper of the Devil, in whose absence the Russian feels "deserted." The same writer continues: "Was not Lucifer the first of all my masks? Was it not I, I in him, who ceased to believe that the Father is a living force, inasmuch as I said: I am the only one"... In place of God, the human ego of Ivanov, called God; Lucifer, the "morning star", taught him that "God is not and that only Man is supreme" (Man with a capital letter).

On this superficial foundation, on this sandy soil, he builds up his intention: "I shall found a mad tower" over the illusion of life — as all Russians do in accordance with the famous example of the tower of Babel. A similar prophet of the Devil was Yesenin, about whom, as about others, the same Ivanov says, "whirled about by the tempest of the revolution, dazzled by it, rid of the measure for good and evil, for truth and falsehood, and obsessed by the idea that they were flying upwards to the stars, they fell down in the dirt on their faces", after they had exchanged "Demon" for God, that is to say, in other words had entered the service of the "evil spirit."

And *Maxim Gorky's* proletarian says of himself: "I shall manifest myself! How? Only the Devil alone knows how. Everything can go to the Devil!" One Russian literary critic affirms that "in Russia the Devil's works are glossed over with God's name more than anywhere else in the world; the Devil has stolen from us that which belongs to God." For this reason, the Russians themselves have from time to time had their doubts and have not known "who — in the campaign of the Muscovite Ivan to conquer the world — sits on their backs, whether it is the Christ Child or the young dog, Antichrist." Russian writer, *Merezhkovsky*, affirms that all Chekhov's and Gorky's heroes

"resemble the devils on Goya's pictures." Prior to the revolution, however, Chekhov himself wrote: "A storm has broken out all around us. Everything is flying about in all directions, and we, too, are flying about — whether upwards or downwards, whether to God or to the Devil, — it is impossible to say." And the above-mentioned Ivanov in his memoirs describes the atmosphere of various social classes in Russia prior to the revolution: in the palace of the Tsar — Rasputin's orgies, amongst the socialists — the proletarian Gorky, in the liberal, bourgeois, literary salons — "the destructive poison of insensible ale-house eroticism", a "mystical anarchism", some "third commandment" or other, and blasphemy combined with "searching for God", — all of them mixed together!

V. Ivanov portrays one of the members of the Satanist sect which existed at that time, one of those persons who worshipped "the morning star, the source of grace and power", — the star of Lucifer — and immediately made a pilgrimage to the monastery of Athos... And one of these Lucifer-adherents declaims: "You have turned from God. Good, well done! But it is not enough to turn from God. One has to prove one's worth in the eyes of "the other one." You are of the opinion that "the other one" will immediately accept you and will immediately help you as soon as you have removed the cross that you have been wearing round your neck. One must cherish him alone in one's heart..." The moment when the entire "progressive" Russia would fall at Lucifer's feet and would worship him openly and no longer secretly as under tsarism, — this was the moment which Dostoyevsky foresaw when he regarded the symbolic figures in his vision, the figure of a "common slave, a lackey, who will climb up a ladder in order to mutilate the image of the **divine ideal** in the name of equality, envy and servility." In these words there lies the entire essence of the Russian revolution, — a revolution of slaves, of barbarians, of lackeys against the divine element in the human soul.

Blok is a cynic: in his poem "The Twelve" he depicts twelve Bolshevik soldiers of the Red Army as twelve apostles of a new truth, at their head the Devil, wearing "a wreath of white roses" and the mask of Christ. In his poem "The Scythians" he prophesies an analogous advance of the Muscovite horde — this time in order to subjugate the world — an advance of the millions of the masses, drugged and intoxicated with mystic heathenism, who swear that they love Europe, — the same Europe that they regard "with both hatred and love" — and that it is precisely because of this love that they want to crush Europe: "Are we to blame if your skeleton breaks into pieces in our heavy, loving paws?" Here again everything is combined, — love, murder, the "loving tenderness" of an assassin and the mystical ecstasy of a rogue. Dying in hospital, Blok dreams of a rising sun which will shine on the universe, but this sun, in his eyes, is both a universal and a purely Russian one.

The first stage of this evolution was the negation of the existence of God (and the conversion to the Devil); the second stage consisted in worshipping the Devil and subsequently glorifying man. Ivan Karamazov says: "It is incomprehensible to me how one can say — 'there is no God', without saying at the same time 'I am God!'" "The main theme of Russian literature — so Merezhkovsky wrote — consisted already before the revolution in writing about the relation of man to man, ignoring God, without God, and finally — against God." Gorky affirms: "Man is truth! This is everything, the Alpha and Omega. Everything in man, everything for man, man alone exists!" And Chekhov imitates him: "Man is above everything in Nature; he is even higher than that which is unfathomed and which seems miraculous", — that is to say higher than God.

When the Russians elevated man to the place of God, they did so without recognizing the laws over man and without recognizing any form of discipline. And this was bound to lead to the worship of all that was carnal, of the animal or beast in man. For this reason, the Russian thinker and writer, *Rozanov*, recognized neither Christianity nor Christ, since the religion of Christ, a religion of strict spiritual discipline, was a "religion of death" for this type of Russian. Golgotha in his opinion was a "poisoning of the joy in life." Christianity was too ascetical for him, an armour which was too hard for the naked Russian. Gorky maintained in the same sense that "the stomach in man is the chief thing. All human action comes from the stomach." The natural animal element is L. Tolstoy's god, too. He adores all that is carnal, both feeling and bestiality. The hero of his story "Cossacks", Yeroshka, says: "I am a grand fellow, I am a drunkard, a thief and a hunter!" For "an animal is wiser than a man, even though it be a pig... It is a pig and yet it is not worse than you, for it is just as much an animal of God as you are" — and this in Tolstoy's heathenish logic means that the swinish nature in man must not be reformed or punished, but, on the other hand, must be extolled. And even the Russian critics of the bare-footed count, who understand all this in his character, namely that the impulse of Yeroshka's life consists in "love of freedom, loafing, robbery and war", bow down before him as if before an apostle of the evangelistic truth. The robber, the murderer, the hunter, the animal, the pig — with all their uninhibited impulses — such is Tolstoy's god. And this is not an accident. Yeroshka and Tolstoy know perfectly well what they mean. "There is no sin at all — so Yeroshka preaches — take an example from animals!" Religion in Yeroshka's opinion is something empty. "We shall die, grass will grow over us, and that is all!" Like an animal, he does not distinguish between good and evil; everything is permissible. "An animal joy in carnal life" — that is how a Russian writer characterizes L. Tolstoy's philosophy.

In the subsequent stage there ensues a devilish confusion in the conceptions and ideas of the Russians, — a confusion of all the

"pros" and "cons", of all the affirmatives and negatives, of all that is "permitted" and "prohibited", of all the differences between truth and falsehood, good and evil, beauty and ugliness, — a negation of every form of discipline, both in moral, political and social life. Konstantin *Leontiev*, who realized this only too profoundly, wrote in the 19th century: "The Russian national community (as regards its customs), in any case already egalitarian enough, will proceed along the deadly path of 'universal confusion' even more rapidly. And we — to begin with, people without a social class and then without a Church — we shall engender the Antichrist", — that is to say, shall become godless. And what will be even worse, — as the servants of the Antichrist they will appear in the guise of Christ, in order to turn everything into chaos, for where there is no supreme legislator, there is chaos. The confusion of hatred under the guise of love is to be found in Blok and likewise in Pushkin, who allegedly "praised freedom and asked for mercy for those who had erred", but in reality extolled the ruthless Tsar Peter I and condemned all those such as Hetman Mazepa who, like the free Caucasians, brandished the sword of freedom against tyranny and evil. Dostoyevsky admits "Europe arouses in me a deadly loathing, even hate"; and at the same time he is full of praise for the Russian advance towards the West since in this way "the blood shed will save Europe", — Europe which he allegedly loved greatly, Merezhkovsky rightly points out that if this is love, then it is the love of a wild beast for its prey. Dostoyevsky had his reasons for admiring the protectors of the "humiliated and insulted", the robbers — both those on the throne, that is the Tsar, as well as those in prison, where for a considerable period he had an opportunity of striking up a friendship with them. He was greatly impressed by their "enormous will-power, their boundless passion, their eagerness to achieve the aim which they had set themselves"; in Dostoyevsky's opinion, robbers are "the strongest and the most talented people" in Russia.

Satan is their patron, from whom they derive their spiritual strength, namely according to their own words — the aesthete Pushkin and the "countrified" Count L. Tolstoy, the apostle of the city rabble, Dostoyevsky, and the cynic Blok, who confuse everything in one medley, — good and evil, falsehood and truth, beauty and ugliness, so that all ethical values are destroyed in the general chaos, and so that proof is given that robbery is freedom, murder is love, equality is mutiny against God, beauty is dirt and swinishness. Dostoyevsky himself was somewhat confused as to the problem of what a peculiar spiritual ability on the part of the Russians it would be, not to understand "what is sin and what is not", the ability "to cultivate the highest ideal side by side with the greatest vileness in their soul and to do so quite sincerely." He did not know whether to describe this as the "spiritual breadth of character" of the Russians, which would take them far, or as "simple baseness." It is

the baseness with which the Devil has imbued him, and it is also the "spiritual breadth of character" which, by deception and cunning, endeavours to convince the world that this satanic vileness is a "new truth" for the world, which it should accept from the Russian Satanists.

Incidentally, the Russians are not even desirous of understanding their spiritual chaos. In the opinion of a true Russian, "the Russians are drunkards, swine, libertines, liars, but all the same good people" (Chekhov), — good, since they are Russians, the "chosen people", who, whatever they may do, do everything "for the good of mankind." Thus, Blok, for instance, affirms: "Maybe we are Asiatics, maybe we do not distinguish between love and hate, maybe in our great love for mankind we crush the latter in our loving embrace, — but it is all the same!" "The barbaric lyre summons to the brotherly banquet of work and peace", as does the world barbarian "with leering and greedy eyes", as does the same barbarian nowadays in the United Nations. Even those who, as, for instance, Merezhkovsky, see in the Russian revolution the phenomenon of the barbarization scorn the West and adore their Russia, whatever it may be like. Like Blok and Dostoyevsky, Merezhkovsky also issues his warning to Europe: "All the external facts of our revolution are known to Europe, but the internal character of the same is incomprehensible to it. It sees the body which moves, but it does not see the motive soul of the Russian revolution... We fly and fall head downwards... You are sober, we are drunk; you are just, we are devoid of all feeling for law... To you politics are knowledge, to us a religion. We are mystics. And the revolution, too, is a religion..." This is the philosophy of a raging horde, which has long since made Satan its god and which only recognizes one *ultima ratio*, — the power of numbers. *Pushkin* hurled his provocative challenge at the West, at the "people's orators" of Europe: "Why are you threatening Russia with your anathema? Do you think that the Russians are weak? Do you think that we are but few in number? We have extended our influence from Perm to the Taurus, from Arctic Finland to tropical Colchis, from the shaken Kremlin to the walls of immobile China"! All this is "Russian" territory! In short, "we knock everyone down with our caps alone and they fall down dead!" (a Russian saying). And *Lermontov* writes in a similar strain: "Why did the Caucasian Kazbek Mountain tremble (as the writer believes) before the host of Russians who advanced to the Caucasus?" Because "the grim Kazbek began to count and was forced to leave his enemies uncounted", because he could not finish counting this host... And Blok voices a similar opinion, already during the Bolshevik era, in his provocative challenge to Europe: "You number millions? We consist of infinite numbers and infinite numbers!" Here again there is no reference to ethical or ideological superiority, but only to the numbers of the Russian horde. And Stalin adopted the same attitude:

when on one occasion, certain statesmen of the West wished to discuss the political interests of the Vatican with him, he asked sarcastically, "And how many divisions has the Pope?"

With whatever idea this power of destruction has tried or tries to disguise itself — whether with the idea of the "true faith", or the Muscovite "Third Rome", of the all-Slav brotherhood, or with that of the "liberation of the working classes" as, for instance, under Bolshevik rule, it has always remained the same power of despotism, the power of triumphant evil under the guise of good, with the watchword: "take the animals as an example!" A power whose warriors, the "sons of the Devil", have always regarded the "dog of the Antichrist" as the symbol of their "guardian angel." The Devil's legions, — possessing not the quality of knighthood, but the quantity of a horde.

It was the same half-godless, half-heathen natural element, which in Muscovite Russia lived for ever both under tsarism and also previously under the grand duchy of Moscow. None other than the great enemy of Ukraine, the "impetuous" Russian literary critic, Vissarion *Belinsky*, wrote as follows on this subject: "The Russian people — the most religious people in the world? This is a lie! The basis of religiousness is piety, morality, fear of God. Regard the Russian people more profoundly and you will discover that in keeping with their character they are an extremely atheistic people. They have many superstitions, but you will find in them no trace of religiousness... In the Russian people religiousness is not even to be found in the priesthood... The majority of our priests were always characterized by fat bellies, scholastic pedantry and complete illiteracy." There was amongst the Russian people no "sense of human dignity, — this had got lost in dirt and filth in the course of many centuries..."

And it was precisely for this reason that the transition in Muscovite Russia from tsarism to Bolshevism was effected so easily. The pompous phrases of the Bolshevik magicians rapidly disappeared and the new regime returned to the protection of that same dark power which the previous regime had already obeyed. As the saying goes: "The cur returns to his scum", or as Maximilian Voloshin wrote: "Everything was mixed together, the signs and the banners, the forgotten past of the tsars and the present reality of the Bolsheviks..."

The Apocalyptic Dragon and the West

During the 1870-1871 war, *E. Renan* wrote the following grim prophetic words: "Russia will only become a great danger if Europe allows it to form shock-troops out of the conglomeration of the barbarian peoples of Central Asia, — out of the peoples who are at present powerless, but who, once they are disciplined, will, if one is not on one's guard, be capable of flocking together and forming

troops under a Muscovite Genghis Khan, as under the Apocalyptic Dragon... Consider what a burden would cause the balance of the world to totter if Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Serbia, the entire Slav population of East Europe, a heroic and belligerent race, who only need the right commanders, were to join the big Muscovite conglomeration... What would you say then?"

This grim warning on the part of a prophet, who has long since been forgotten, rises up like a threatening admonition before the unsuspecting West of our day.

So far, the present elite of the Occident has failed to find an answer to this fateful question. And what is more, events happened of which neither Renan nor his contemporaries ever dreamt. At Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran, the politicians of the Occident themselves paved the way which led the Muscovite Genghis Khan into the ancient cities of the West, — Kyiv, Lviv, Prague, Budapest, Berlin and Vienna. Even during the tragic times of Ukraine (1917-1921), of Poland (1920 and 1939) and of Hungary (1956), the West, as if under a spell, remained silent and looked on indifferently whilst these peoples fought their heroic fight against the Apocalyptic Dragon of Moscow, whose representatives, together with the Western politicians, seek to restore the golden age of prosperity and world peace in the organization of the United Nations.

What is the reason for the continual retreat of the West before the Muscovite Genghis Khan? What is the reason for the continual urge of Moscow to the west, to the east and to the north and south, in order to get all peoples under its domination?

The reason for the Russian arrogance and the growing Russian influence in the West is immaterial and diabolical in character. It is the power of an idea! Yes, indeed, it is! This idea, which mobilized the Russian hordes against the West and drove fear into the heart of the West, has constantly changed. It has alternately been the "sole beneficial" power of the Russian Shamanic "orthodoxy", the "regulating power" of tsarism as compared to the turbulent, democratic or revolutionary West, Pan-Slavism — the "liberation of the Slavs", Communism — the "liberation of the proletariat", or nationalism — the "liberation" of the nations subjugated by "Western imperialism"; the banner of the Muscovite Mohammed changed its colours and its emblems, but one thing remained unchanged, namely the idea of the "chosen" Russian people, a people of "supermen", a "higher race", which was to realize all the above-mentioned ideas and, under the leadership of Moscow, was to make all the "lower races" happy and bring them under Russian rule.

The impelling power of the Russian urge was thus the idea, but with certain reservations! For an idea which constantly changes, which is really a disguise and which is based on lies, gradually becomes something more than an idea. It becomes the sheer will to

subjugate everything around one. The idea itself only retains the role of a disguise in order to deceive the naive world as to its carefully concealed aim. It is interesting to note that another prophet of the West already realized this fact a hundred years ago and warned the West accordingly. He was an expert authority on Russia, — *Viscount Melchior de Vogüé*. In his "Roman Russe" he wrote as follows about F. Dostoyevsky's famous novel "The Possessed":

"The greatest merit of this book lies in the fact that it gives us a clear idea of where the strength of the nihilists (the name applied to the Bolsheviks at that time) lies. Their strength lies not in doctrine or organization, but in the character of certain men. The author (Dostoyevsky) vividly portrays the tense will of these men, whose souls are hard as steel. People feel drawn to them, mainly because of their character, even though their entire energy is devoted to evil. For their character promises the masses a leadership and guarantees a stable order, and this is the primary need of the human collective." Considering the future, de Vogüé adds: "If these nihilists go over to the propaganda of action, they will seem very similar to our own revolutionaries. But if we regard them more closely, we shall discover the same difference amongst them as between a wild beast and a domestic animal. Our worst revolutionaries are merely vicious dogs, but the nihilists are wolves, in fact, raging wolves, which is far more dangerous."

The unlimited faith in their race "chosen by higher powers", in their "sacred mission" as predestined to be the people to lead the "degenerate West", combined with the savage strength of a raging wolf or a servant of the Devil, — these are the imponderables which give the Muscovite horde their impetus and, at the same time, paralyse the resistance of all Western timorous plebeian souls against this two-legged boa constrictor. In order to combat this fanatical power of evil, which is determined to destroy the Christian civilization of the West, it must be opposed by a more powerful idea and spiritual force, in the service of that higher power which, at the beginning of our Christian era, sent its envoys to sinful mankind on the earth. But, unfortunately, there are only a few persons in the West who would be able or willing to bear the banner of this power. The eyes of the leading men of the West are dazzled by materialist idols. They are blind to the danger which threatens and they turn from those superhuman forces which could give our soul and our hands the necessary strength. The power of discernment of the leading elite of the West is dimmed by these materialist idols; this elite is thus demobilized spiritually and morally, and, in spite of the financial and armament strength of the West, physically, too, and its will to fight is paralysed, — that same will and also that faith before which the hordes of Genghis Khan and of Attila once retreated.

It is this same incapability on the part of the present leading circles of the West to assert themselves as the champions of a great, uncompromising anti-Russian idea, that makes them indifferent, if not hostile, to the only saving watchword of today, to that of the nations of Central and East Europe who are fighting for their independence, — namely **the destruction of the monstrous imperium, the disintegration of the barbarous Russian empire, the empire of slavery, of godlessness, of genocide and of ignominy.**

During the French Revolution, the famous English thinker and statesman, Edmund Burke, sadly wrote the strange visionary words: "the age of chivalry is gone, that of sophists, economists and calculators has succeeded." And these words were meant more seriously than appears at a first glance. The leading caste of the West today are the "sophists", that is to say, men who have no faith in a noble idea, for which one either stands or falls. The leading caste of the West today are the "economists", that is, persons who overrate the power of materialist things, of the economic factor, of money and of material wealth, and fail to realize that it is the soul that is not broken and the appreciation of spiritual and moral values which make a nation strong. The elite of the West today are the "calculators", that is, persons who regard every conflict of international and historical importance in which one side is victorious and the other doomed to ruin, solely as a misunderstanding between two businessmen, a misunderstanding which could have been settled by some kind of fifty-fifty arrangement. These sophists, economists and calculators will never possess the necessary nobleness of soul, wisdom of intellect, far-sightedness and will-power to kill the Apocalyptic Dragon of Moscow. This could only be achieved by a new elite, an elite which possesses the characteristics lacking in the present elite, — the elite of a Charlemagne, a Richard Coeur-de-Lion, or a Joan of Arc. The West needs a new chivalry in order to defend the sacred values and traditions of Christian civilization successfully. The old elite, which Burke scorned, must make room for the new elite and must abdicate. And the same applies to the mafia of Muscovite henchmen who poison the once free air of the Christian West. One must bear in mind the profound words of Demosthenes to his half-hearted fellow-countrymen during the fight against the Macedonians: "You must hate with all your hearts those in your midst who speak for Philip. You must understand that it will never be possible to overcome the enemy outside the walls of the town as long as you fail to overcome those in the town itself who stretch out their hands to him."

Evhen MALANIUK

THE WAY TO THE TRUE SHEVCHENKO

The statement that it was not until the historical early Spring of 1917 that we really got to know the vital and immortal Taras Shevchenko is neither a gross error, nor very much of a chimerical paradox. Only since this time do we consider his continuously growing stature with substantially greater intensity and increased emphasis.

This tectonic shifting of history and the flame of that fire, in which "that which had been stolen from us was brought back to life", was first of all necessary. The Ukrainian Ides of March were first needed, so that in the smoke and the conflagration of the revolution, we, with the convulsive quivers of a slowly awakening Lazarus, were able to see something that seemed familiar to us, though it had changed its face. Not until then did we really feel this burning and consuming spirit, which had become a thousand times more powerful.

Only we are able to imagine the impact that his first poetic works made on his listeners, and only we can fully and clearly comprehend what an impression he made on his contemporaries; when today, for example, we read Kostomarov, according to whose words, "Shevchenko's muse tore apart the curtain", a muse which at that time still appeared "both terrible and sweet, painful and intoxicating." "My hair was standing on edge", wrote old Osnovyanenko. "With outstretched arms he embraced Ukraine, with her blood-stained graves and her terrible fate... since then, everyone has been divided into the living and the dead here", Kulish added prophetically.

Let it be stressed once more: only we, i.e. the generation that was hardened by the Ides of March, and our descendants will understand him in his entirety.

As regards the family trees of those people, who are at the head of our, so to speak, peasant nation, one must be altogether very careful not to repeat the bad anecdote about the, as it were, "peasant" descent of Kotsiubynsky, who, along with Stefanyk, was almost regarded as a "class-conscious" poet of the "serf's misery" also. Today, however, it is known that Kotsiubynsky, who during his life time hardly ever made any reference to his noble descent to the fanatical partisans of the peasant class, made no secret of his aestheticism.

Shevchenko's family name, therefore, must not be taken too literally either, and his woeful sufferings of serfdom should not be immediately pounced upon. The fact is, he never really accepted it, and he never — neither physically nor morally, personally or nationally — acknowledged it to his very death. "His fists raised in defiance, he lay down in his coffin" — the now dead Sriblyansky — Mykyta Shapoval once wrote about Shevchenko in one of his clearest moments of national consciousness, as a later social revolutionary.

Such a man, who all his life sought the way to "Cossack ancestry", to victory and power; a poet, in whose works the symbolic "know how to rule", appears, so to speak, as a *leitmotiv*, beginning with his *kolomyyka* (A type of Ukrainian folk song metre. — Ed.) poems and ending with his later iambic lyrics — such a man one should certainly not consider it necessary to persist in calling a "peasant rebel", or a "poet of the miseries of serfdom." This is not right, as formerly we would have certainly expressed it.

For he was a master and furthermore, what a master! This he was also in our literature, the history of which shows high ranking personalities and nobilities. It was the evil spirit of a "time doomed to fall" that was first to apply unequivocally, though in the half-conscious contemptuous tone of the typical "intelligentsia", the epithet "peasant" to Shevchenko. Among the sophisticated gentlemen, who derogatively and maliciously stamped Shevchenko as a "peasant", the first place is undoubtedly taken by Professor Drahomanov. Franko called him "Gente Ruthenus — natione Russus." But how did people, who were not Ruthenians by birth, but true Muscovites, see Shevchenko?

The following is a statement about him by the sworn enemy of everything Ukrainian, the well-known short-story writer and novelist, Turgenev: "The broad-shouldered, stout Shevchenko had the true stature of a Cossack... He kept silent about his life in banishment... The awareness of his own worth (Turgenev called this awareness, 'self-love') was especially strong with Shevchenko... without this awareness, without belief in his calling, he would certainly have perished in his banishment beyond the Caspian Sea... These convictions, which were inextinguishably rooted in his soul from childhood, remained unshakably powerful throughout... Apart from this awareness of his capacity, however, he distinguished himself by a genuine and pure modesty... He had a passionate and broad nature that fate was well able to bend, but not to break... he was a poet and a patriot."

The poet Yakov (Jacob) Polonskiy had the following impression of him: "Not even his clothes — somewhat in the style of a *zhupan*, with a high fur cap — could at that time (around 1860 — E. M.) strike me as being exotic: such national costumes were to be seen daily at Nevsky, even in the society of elegant gentlemen in dress

coats... Shevchenko by no means created the impression of a man crushed by fate: he moved about simply and freely; he never felt nettled, as is often the case with people with whom fate has dealt harshly and who only too often suffer from ambitious hallucinations. Shrewdness has been said to be a characteristic trait of the Little Russians; if this is so, then Shevchenko must have been a rare exception of this generalized type; for he was to a rare degree devoid of cunning: a man of a generally open and unafraid character, whose frequently rash talk caused those around him to tremble with fear, or simply to shut their ears and run off... These and the Cossack spirit were the principles he lived by, and constituted the core of his soul... When I visited Shevchenko, I learnt from our conversation that he disliked Pushkin, not because he regarded him a bad poet, but solely because Pushkin was the author of the poem "Poltava": in Shevchenko's eyes Kochubey was no less than an informer... In vain I attempted to convince Shevchenko that Pushkin — from his own point of view — was in the right. But the more hotly I defended Pushkin, the more Shevchenko inveighed against him...

Shevchenko did not belong to that class of people who very easily reconcile themselves with others who hold different views from their own — and even less so, when the topic of these thoughts and discussions was his native country.

...I also recall that Shevchenko regarded Catherine II solely as the originator of serfdom in Ukraine, and that he neither wanted to hear nor see anything else about her..."

These portraits, drawn by a hostile or foreign hand, and which are more or less objective, can be made to fit into the "canonized" picture of the "poet of the peasant's bondage" only with difficulty.

To be sure, this "peasant" was received in the salons of the cream of the intellectual elite of the imperium despite his "peasantry." This elite was, more or less, leading a life in conformity to that of the West. In its midst, the "peasant" Shevchenko did not only move about as an equal, but was even the subject of a general veneration, as — in Turgenev's words — a "poet and patriot" of a country, which, according to Lermontov, who was considerably less "Russian" than Turgenev, was the "woeful fatherland" of that tribe which

Does not beg help from strangers
And with proud and self-possessed calm
Bears scorn and hardship.

This "peasant" not only knew how to bear himself as an equal among the numerous title-bearing and illustrious dignities, but also knew how to maintain an intellectual detachment and spiritual dignity, qualities which distinguish a genius, in this high society —

even in the society of the young Leo Tolstoy, whose acquaintance he made, according to the facts, on May 8th, 1858, in the house of the Pole, Kruniewicz.

It suffices to quote at random any passage from his *Diary*, as for example the following: "After the theatre I went to the Bilozersky's, where I met Kavelin. By way of a conversation about the past and the future fate of the Slavs, we came to psychology and philosophy, and sat together till three in the morning." (April 22, 1858) Kavelin was an outstanding philosopher and lawyer, a professor at Petersburg University, with strong anti-tsarist convictions.

It is, in other words, no longer a secret to anyone, that the 80's and 90's of the past century, and particularly also the last decades before the year 1917, without excluding the time of 1905, may generally be outlined as that period in which the Shevchenko-like emotions disappeared from our society, later to be replaced by a phenomenon that corresponded to a complete paralysation of the feeling and receptivity for Shevchenko. Perhaps, this applies less to his works than, first and foremost, to the poet's personality, which radiated far and wide.

Statements about the "tearing of the curtain" or about "one's hair standing on edge" certainly no longer applied to the 80's.

That Kulish, according to Shevchenko's words, said that "the entire people sang of his fate" hardly anyone remembers today. At that time, the people were merely a Russian "people", i.e., "a most destitute peasant population", and it was for this reason also that Shevchenko's poetry deteriorated into something, which one might at best designate as an addition to ethnographic folklore. The poet himself, however, — as it appeared — was patched up once and for all into a "poet of the peasants' bondage", a "homely poet", a "rebel", a literary Karmelyuk. (Famous early 19th C. Ukrainian peasant rebel. — Ed.)

Valuyev's ukase and the practices regarding the complete "burying" and "theft" of national values that were carried out after him left their traces. To indicate just how far this burying and this theft of the society's national character with regard to Shevchenko's heritage went, we might cite a document, for example, Drahomanov's "Shevchenko, the Ukrainophiles and Socialism", at the reading of which our hair truly stands on edge, though, of course, for completely different reasons than was the case with Osnovyanenko.

Already at that time, to be sure, there were people like Konysky and Antonovych, Franko and Hrinchenko, who, among others, were the first authors to write truly vital works on Shevchenko's poetry before the year 1905, and finally there was the father of modern Shevchenkology, namely, Domanytsky. But we are not speaking of the exceptions here; rather we are speaking of the society as a whole — of that enlightening Drahomanovesque underground, whose invincible remnants are still noticeable today.

It is true, that the conception of Shevchenko's poetry, if viewed against this background and this atmosphere — mutilated by censorship and seen by the public, without exception, through the eyes of the **Kobzar** — underwent a change. It became highly honoured, but still almost a dead relic, an icon, in whose frame Shevchenko's image became shallow and froze into a popular image, upon which, from time to time, one did not refrain from bestowing high honours, which were by no means legal and hopelessly smelt of requiems that were held for one who had died a long time ago. On this icon was depicted — quite in keeping with the popular taste — the laureate of the Academy of Fine Arts and the academician of engraving, in the uniform designed by law, i.e., in lamb's wool cap and furcoat. For decades this image was to be his pernicious symbol.

Truly, how far is this icon from the living figure! For it is just now, in these hard times, that we have come to honour and appreciate Shevchenko in his true light.

How strange it strikes us today, when we read, in a letter by Kulish of June 8, 1857 — that year in which Shevchenko returned from his banishment: "Markevyeh (the historian's son — E. M.) is running about Petersburg in a zhupan and in long, fully cut riding breeches and is causing a general sensation among the dandies and his drinking companions in his fur coat and his fully cut **kobenyak** (a top coat with a hood)", and "Makarov is also ordering such garments" — when we read this today we can see what a disastrous effect this superficial trifle had on the conception of a whole generation. One of the last, casual photographs of Shevchenko in a quite plain suit, which was in fashion then, infallibly led to a feeling, which, to be sure, was expressed with a certain piety, but which, nevertheless, almost showed surprise, that by wearing this suit he wished to "flatter and approve of the Muscovites."

These external and, as it seemed, eternally frozen and bronzecast accessories in the popular style have, together with their psychological consequences, at last been finally removed from Shevchenko. And this was done without in the least damaging the national or even the "ethnographic" cause.

II

Shevchenko was a "rebel", but a rebel in that gigantic realm which is currently called Romanticism, if the essence, content and significance of this phenomenon in the history of culture is understood in the most inclusive sense possible.

In a not exactly successful poem (written in Russian and probably to please the Princess Varvara Repnina) he once rather ironically detached himself from Byron. Shevchenko certainly had his reasons for doing so. With this paradox, however, which seems indeed to be

substantiated by the external nature of their lives, it can be maintained, that despite the dissimilarity in the entire personalities of these two poets, the line of thinking that connects Byron's name with several other Romantics in East Europe leads perhaps most simply and directly precisely to Shevchenko, and not to the tragical and superficial, but externally brilliant, Pushkin, nor, indeed, to Lermontov, whose nature was deep, but quite different from Byron's.

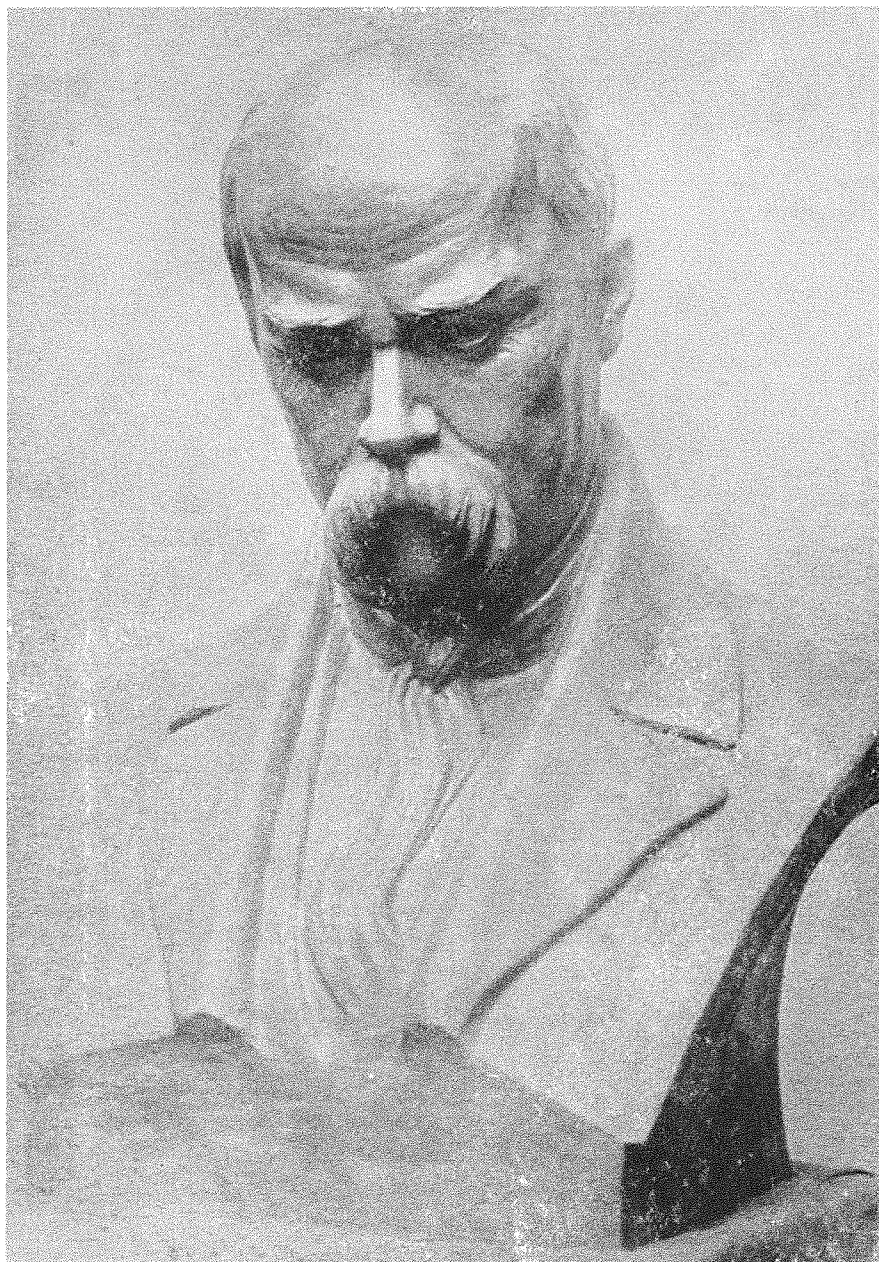
This spiritual and, above all, ethical-creative substance, which inevitably led the author of "Child Harold" to a warrior's death, which he — even if in a deeply symbolical fight — faced, not for the Greece of his time, but more for the venerable cradle of our world, for Hellas; this same substance — perhaps in a still more concentrated and dynamic form — Shevchenko carried in himself. One can only talk about the various expressions of this spiritual energy, so to speak, of the various forms of its realization.

The subject "Shevchenko and Romanticism" being too complicated and too risky, one cannot allow oneself to work with short formulations.

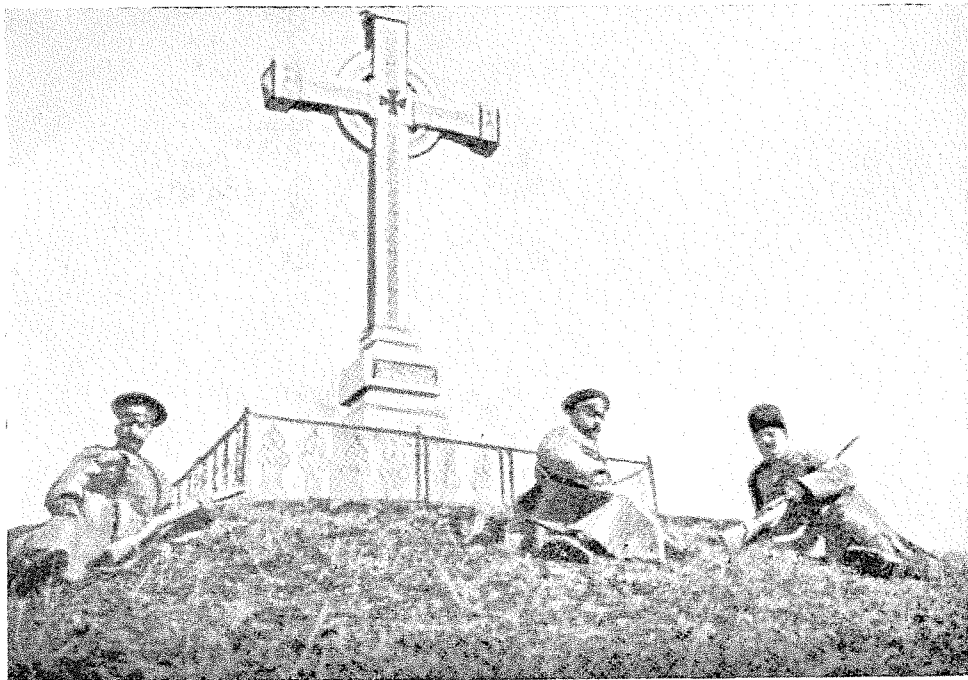
By way of intimation it may well be asked at this point, whether Romanticism, viewed as a historical phenomenon, was not *eo ipso* a revolt — something inherited from antiquity — a defence of the personality against disastrous advancements, against the "process" of everything mechanical, no matter of what form, by which it felt itself threatened? Was it not a revolt against the advance of the idol, matter, galvanized by dark powers, an idol of the collective dissolution and disintegration of the personality? Was it not the fight against formlessness, against the tempting poison of fatal monstrosities and miscarriages, which under the guise of "humanism", of "enlightenment", of "socialism" — in plain language, of materialism — greedily devoured any form of individuality, consequently the national and every organic group also, every cultural, historical or in some way individual phenomenon, consequently the "divine" also?

Technically, Romanticism includes the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It was reserved for the German storm and drive period to break through the hazy and nebulous core of German mysticism and through the deepest layers of the German Middle Ages. With his historic-philosophical visions and his voices of the peoples, Johann Gottfried Herder was the immediate model for the Ukrainian folksong collections at Shevchenko's time. It was this Herderian *humanitas* which, in certain aspects, became the signal for today's modern nationalism... And together with Herder, there was Fichte, Novalis, Chateaubriand... i.e., all those culminating points of philosophy and of the realization of Romanticism.

But Romanticism, as a reaction of the spirit to materialism and to materialistic totalitarianism, was much more far-reaching and



Serhiy Zhuk: Portrait of Taras Shevchenko. (Cast stone, 1926).



Russian soldiers guarding Shevchenko's grave in Kaniv, Ukraine,
to prevent demonstrations in honour of the centenary
of the birth of the poet, in 1914.

grandiose, extraordinarily more essential, especially in that realm in which Shevchenko ruled like a Prometheus, i.e., the realm of the people, the nation and its cultural-historical character, as well as its historical destiny.

Just as the "atomizing" philosophy of the father of materialism, i.e., Democritus, was harboured in the realm of antique culture (last and solely as a very ephemeral, insignificant episode), so our inherited culture, in this same realm, harboured Romanticism, with its myths of the fight of the Titans and the ever fruitful activity of nature as matter.

Romanticism was alive in both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It kept close watch for the individual and the people, but not in that stereotyped and degrading meaning of the word that was attached to it by the past century. From Erasmus of Rotterdam to Feuerbach, to the vulgarized "Ape doctrine" of Darwinism, from Spinoza to Marx and his Russian crowned and uncrowned successors, the forces of absolute evil were constantly striving to dethrone man — man, namely as the image and likeness of God — to sever man's unity with Godhood, to rob him of that living substance which the Creator breathed into Adam, to rob him of his soul and to de-vitalize him to the level of the creature, formed of clay, who, as ashes, is doomed to materialistic death.

The Romanticism of the 19th century was a prophetic revolt against this monstrosity, which had, unnoticeably, gained momentum in a narcotised Europe, lulled to sleep by all kinds of Offenbachianes; a revolt, in other words, against all that which in the 80's and 90's had reached its culminating point and which, following the outbreak of World War I, thronged to the surface, especially there where absolute evil — for centuries — had not met with any resistance.

From the body of an almost half-dead nation, which had solemnly been declared unhistorical, this miracle was born, in defiance of the quasi "laws" of a canonized materialism and rationalism ("being determines conscience"), and this miracle was called Shevchenko, who, both as a poet and a personality, represented a living negation of these "laws." Inasmuch as he represented an inner, true embodiment of this Romanticism, Shevchenko, this, "as it were", peasant, was able to see the true, potentially Bolshevistic nature of a Nicholas I in the illusionary side-scenes of the Petersburg imperium. For these side-scenes, together with the Decembrists, with Pushkin, the liberal nobility, the newly formed concept of Slavophilism, the popularizers and other ornaments, dazzled the eyes of many and dulled the brains of numerous educated gentlemen of high birth. But he, the former serf, with the fire of his Romantic soul, the instinct of his noble race and the sensitivity of his true blood, sensed the danger, and a holy wrath against these pseudo-imperial

monstrosities flared up in him and an immeasurable love awoke in him for his threatened people — owing to which, they awoke to life, began to stir and will continue to live.

There is something very deep, very old, one might almost say, Homeric, in his peculiar, plastically searching Romanticism, which is devoid of any Messianic nebulousness. His Romanticism could be called realistic, if this term had any artistic meaning and had not been so distorted by the numerous Belinskys.

Despite its explosive character and its volcanic charge, Shevchenko's poetry, in a certain sense, is harmonized on a cosmic scale and organically formed to such a degree, that one instinctively wants to designate this Romanticism as antique, since, in both form and tone, it is closer to Virgil than to Byron.

In its antique simplicity, Shevchenko's Romanticism never — not even in one of its most mystical ventures, as for example, "the Great Vault" — separates itself from the earth, the Mother Earth; more specifically, from Ukraine. In an antique, holy manner — one might say — he believed unshakably in her inexhaustibly creative and life-giving power, in this infallible circle, the antique cycle of spring and autumn, summer and winter. Therefore pieces like "Gonta" and the "Cherry Orchard" do not negate each other, but, on the contrary, form an organic whole, and the bloody banquet of a Taras Tryasylo and his "I build myself a hut and a home" are not opposites. It appears, therefore, that after the loud bellowing of the Black Sea waves, after the "hell of Skutari", and after "the paying-off of the Cossacks", victorious Hamaliya brings back to his Ukraine her sons, liberated from the outrage of slavery and imprisonment, and that he — who knows? — will stick to his plough and rest in the cool shadow of the meadow... And all this, by no means because the Ukrainian likes to "relax" — we all know only too well that these farmers, in a turn of the hand, are able to transform themselves into generals and admirals. For in each of Shevchenko's heroes there is still the human being (in Shevchenko's meaning of the word), while in all their artistic and moral genuineness, the heroes of other Romantic contemporaries always seem a little artificial, sometimes somewhat theatrical.

III

It is so, and therefore he was a "rebel" not only in this "peasant", socially narrow field into which especially his amiable fellow-countrymen kindly fitted him and are still doing so to this very day.

A poet, in whose vocabulary one very frequently finds words like "glory" (one of his favourite words!), or "chivalry", "ancestral earth" and the "blood" with which it is soaked, this earth, this "terre et les

morts", which the generation of the 19th century Europe experienced substantially later, not until a time which we ourselves experienced, such a poet is rather far from idolizing a "peasantry" according to Russian models and basically false in the Ukrainian sense. For our peasant, who bears the burden of century-old national obligations on his shoulders and who has become the actual heir of a periodically dying aristocracy, this peasant is perhaps the truest aristocrat among the entire European peasantry. In his description of a village wedding as late as 1827, a traveller from abroad notes that "the Ukrainians wind evergreens and field rues around the ancestral sabre and carry it in front of the bridal pair into the church and out of it like a walking-stick." And in the 6th century B.C., the natives of Ukraine, which Herodotus called the Scythians, had, beside the cult of the earth, of Zeus' wife (according to Herodotus), also the cult of the sword; which was an idol. From the 6th century to Christ's birth and up to the 19th century, the sword was the emblem of this aristocracy and this culture. And what else could their foundation be, if not this organic and constant contact with their own soil? The more sensible sociologists are gradually arriving at such conclusions, and one is beginning to correct the concept "peasant", which has been distorted and false for such a long time, and to revive it in its true cultural sense.

But what can be said about "peasantry" on this soil, the whole history of which — viewed from a historical perspective — consists in a periodic re-forging of the peasant's plough into a chivalrous sword, and vice versa?

...To complete the barely and only hastily sketched profile of the living Shevchenko and to counter the fiction of the icon-like, popular image of Shevchenko, which, thank God, is already irrevocably a thing of the past, we should like to add at this point, that on February 18th, 1860, that is, one year before his death, this great Ukrainian, with the pithy simplicity and prophecy that mark a true genius, writes in his autobiography: "The history of my life forms a part of the history of my country."

It was not by chance that both Turgenev and Polonsky used the word "Cossack" in their recollections of Shevchenko. In the first half of the 19th century, this word contained the national and, what is even more important, the image of the elite, which represented the leading class of Ukraine from the 16th-18th century. The "serf" Shevchenko, who identified his life with the history of his country, was fully conscious of his creative rank, which contained the obligation of "a time" that knew "a divided Ukraine on both sides of the Dnieper."

For he was, and I repeat it once again here, a Cossack, i.e., a master; what is more, a master over masters, who, as chief hetman,

simultaneously commanded all these Hrebinkas, Galagans, Lyzohubs, Markevychs... It was not without reason that one of them called him "otaman."

He was fully conscious that with his overwhelming, victorious master-poetry, demanding liberation, he would raise those who had already "bowed down", who had already become "spiritual cripples"; and that his poetry would help to revitalize precisely the instinct of command.

Maybe they will shoot and grow
 Into two-edged blades
 That will cleave the evil, rotten
 Sickly heart, will drain
 From it all the poisoned blood,
 And in its place will pour
 Into it living Cossack blood,
 Holy, clean and pure! . .

Into the face of the "blind slaves", the buckwheat sowers", the "mute, low slaves", the "cabbage heads" of various "district administrators", of the "millions of Polyany, Duliby and Derevlyany" (old Ukrainian tribes. — Ed.), as he poignantly designates the Ukrainian national reality in *Yurodyvyy* (The God's Fool) into the face of these half-humans, he hurls his flaming command: "Become human beings! Reflect!" — What a deep and piercing command! — But feel the same disgrace that I feel owing to your being inner cripples, but feel the disgrace of these half-humans, these unfinished, fragmentary beings! Are you not "children of Cossacks", "sons of knights"!

"Become human beings" — in Shevchenko's mouth, this "become human beings" is a weighty command, for this human being is "an image of God", and he, the true genius, had a flaming belief in God.

"Become human beings" also means: "Become a people!", become a nation like your glorious Cossack forefathers.

"Ah, Otaman" — he writes to Kukharenko toward the end of 1844 — "if you knew what is happening here!... The spirit of the Cossacks has come to life again! The hetmans in their golden zhupans are revived; destiny fulfills itself; the Cossack begins to sing."

This was his eternal dream, which he hoped would be realized then and there, be it in Petersburg among his young fellow-countrymen, of whom plenty were to be found there, or in Kyiv, grouped around the sacrificial altar of the SS. Cyril and Methodius fraternity. And even in banishment he nonetheless still remembers:

And sometimes an old Cossack may —
 Into the dreams of a poor sinner —
 Long-moustached, on raven steed,
 Bearing his freedom come to me.

The realization of this dream, however, he was no longer able to experience. With painful brevity and tragic rapidity, this miracle was realized before our already dazzled eyes, and was manifested as a reality forever. In 1917, it became a reality that

The corpses have risen,
Their eyes once more opened.

To the sound of the national anthem, in which the historical Shevchenko line — "we shall show, brothers, that we are of the Cossack stock" — flares up in flaming red, hundreds and thousands of them marched into bloody battle in 1917, the flame of his spirit burning in their hearts; hundreds and thousands of those "sons of knights" and "Cossack children", to whom Shevchenko had bestowed a rebirth in the 20th century.

The well-known strophe from the greeting to Osnovyanenko, "Our thought, our song", had been suggested by the "cultural fanatic" Kulish, whereas the original strophe reads quite different:

Holovatyy, brave and mighty,
Will not die nor perish.

Holovatyy was the last **Koshovyy** (commander-in-chief) of the last Sitch (Cossack fortress), the last trace of the Ukrainian sword.

IV

Shevchenko's firm conviction regarding the laws of life and the form-giving, creative fertility of Mother Earth found its embodiment perhaps nowhere more completely, even if in an erratic and volcanic eruption, antique in its essence and yet again romantically enflamed by the firm belief in an organic whole and in the hatred of the mechanical, than precisely in the poem: "Wars there were and war-like feuds..."

This poem was written a few months before his death in Petersburg, we do not know exactly where, perhaps even in his dingy state workshop in the Academy, where he lived, engraving copper plates with acids and needles, and where he created his last works. Connected with the text of this poem is a tragi-comical story. By a strange hand it was copied (into the so-called bigger notebook), and the poet did not read it over entirely. The consequence of this was that until very recent times, the line "they eat and devour the old oak (duba)" — as not only follows from the entire context of the poem, from the overall antique-organic conception, but even from the rhyme with "lyubo" (duba) — was read very differently, namely, "They eat and devour the old man" (dida), which obviously made no sense whatever. In the "Records of the Shevchenko Scientific Society"

as far back as 1903, a scholar advised that this strophe be read correctly, but, as has already been said, the understanding of Shevchenko was not only so generally fixed, but the image of him as the poet "of the peasant's heavy lot" and as a "self-taught man" was so strongly conserved in the minds of the readers, that no one dared to make this obvious correction.

It has all passed, yet has not perished —
The woodworms are still left, they gnaw,
Attack the old oak till it crumbles...
But from the root, quietly, in season,
Green shoots are springing up, once more.
They will grow tall.*

Here Shevchenko quite evidently alludes to Dobrolyubov's and Chernyshevsky's demand that "the all-Russian community", "call upon Ruś to take up the axe." By means of the influence of this society, the Soviet scribblers compromise Shevchenko. And again this typical Shevchenkian fiery prophetic eruption:

Without a hatchet,
But with a roar, re-echoing back
A chief-less Cossack will attack,
Will smash the throne, the mantle shredding,
He will tear down your evil fetish,
You human woodworms! Uncles and nurses
Who tend the "Fatherland" of strangers,
Your idol blest shall not remain here,
And you shall not remain!

This image of the old oak, from which, even if destroyed by wood worms, new green shoots would spring up from an inexhaustible and invincible life force, contains all of Shevchenko's organic philosophy, which deals a death blow to the materialist creators and worshippers of death.

In the circumstance that the day of his death falls precisely into the time of early spring, into the days when nature awakes to new life and Mother Earth to new creative power, lies tremendous symbolic power and promise.

The day of his birth and the day of his death (March 9 — March 10) encompass a circle, a completed cycle — a symbol of eternity.

*) The excerpts of Shevchenko's poems quoted in these essays by Evhen Malaniuk are taken from published and unpublished translations of the poet's works by *Vera Rich*.

Evhen MALANIUK

The Living Shevchenko

At this point, I should still like to mention the mysterious elements in our relationship to Taras Shevchenko and the mystery of the personality of this great man. That his personality, namely — both in the history of our literature and in that of our fatherland — is a mysterious one, the majority of our countrymen who had the opportunity to think about this matter are fully agreed.

Today, owing to the general circumstances, Shevchenko scholarship, which during the revolutionary period of the 20's and 30's was so powerfully revived, has, despite everything, gone quite a way into this mystery. At least, a certain amount of material was collected, a substantial portion of which, however, has been destroyed or is not always accessible.

But Shevchenko scholarship is a branch of literary science, i.e., a science which falls into a rational category. But a rationally conducted analysis alone is certainly not enough to enlighten Shevchenko in general and the phenomenon of his poetry in particular.

For there is a word and a WORD. The word is a means of communication, a material to construct sentences, but the WORD is LOGOS, and with it the Gospel according to St. John is begun. There is a word which our great intellect, in a somewhat embarrassing manner, called "chaff":

Slova — polova (words are chaff)

But he immediately added:

But fire clothed into the WORD —
Is Prometheus' immortal spark.

And it is this fire that permeates all true creations in one form or another, that is, above all, the indisputable, essential and natural foundation of Shevchenko's poetry; one can even say, the foundation of its soul. This fire can be felt in almost every line, even though the temperature of this fire is not always the same. This of course is quite understandable. In pieces like "Caucasus", "Epistle", "Maria", in the paraphrases of the Psalms and the lyrical pieces before and after his banishment, however, this fire flares up with volcanic force. It comes through visibly — I should like to say almost physically — finding its way by touch.

On a rational, "scientific" or analytical basis, this fire can be neither discovered, studied, nor analysed. There is no possibility whatsoever of convincing someone who has not felt or sensed this fire in himself. Simply recording the metaphors of rhythmic pattern of his poetry, classifying the epithets — not even an investigation of Shevchenko's syntax — give or can give its essence, even if it does tell quite a bit about it.

Let me put it short and to the point: Shevchenko cannot be learned.

One either accepts him or does not, as is usually the case with all creative personalities. This is not an arbitrary and unfounded statement. How, for example, can one learn to comprehend a Goethe or the music of Richard Wagner, even more so as we are dealing here with individuals who are foreign to us in a national sense? It may suffice to mention that all our efforts to make Shevchenko known to foreign peoples are, in the final analysis, to no avail, for to a non-Ukrainian, it is precisely a man like Shevchenko who appears to be a purely national phenomenon, highly compressed and developed to a point of complete hermetic isolation.

It must also be mentioned, however, that even within our own national element, there are examples, quite egregious ones, too, of the incapacity to understand Shevchenko in the right way. And this was by no means the case with some ordinary people — no, not at all! This was, for instance, the case with his contemporary and friend, Panko Kulish, who always had more or less justified claims on Taras. At a certain turning point in his intellectual wanderings, Kulish suddenly thought to have discerned in Shevchenko a "drunken muse." As a matter of fact, Shevchenko, too, though for obviously quite different reasons, saw a "drunken Bohdan" in our history. What appears to be even more grave, however, is the fact that there were virtual revolutions against him, for it is not without reason that we have the reputation of being "eternal revolutionaries." The circle of the modernists at that time that was grouped around the "Ukrainska Khata" opposed him. The rejection of Shevchenko on the part of Khvylovy, however, exploded like a bomb, a fact, which, in view of this revolutionary's nature, would be worth special attention, even special analysis.

The basis of all these opposing revolts was precisely this "lack of comprehension", this incapacity to feel the WORD which I have in mind, this fiery WORD, obscured by the "material word", i.e., the "word as chaff."

Although the consequences of such non-acceptance, such incapacity to feel, are grave and tragical, the rational approach certainly cannot help here.

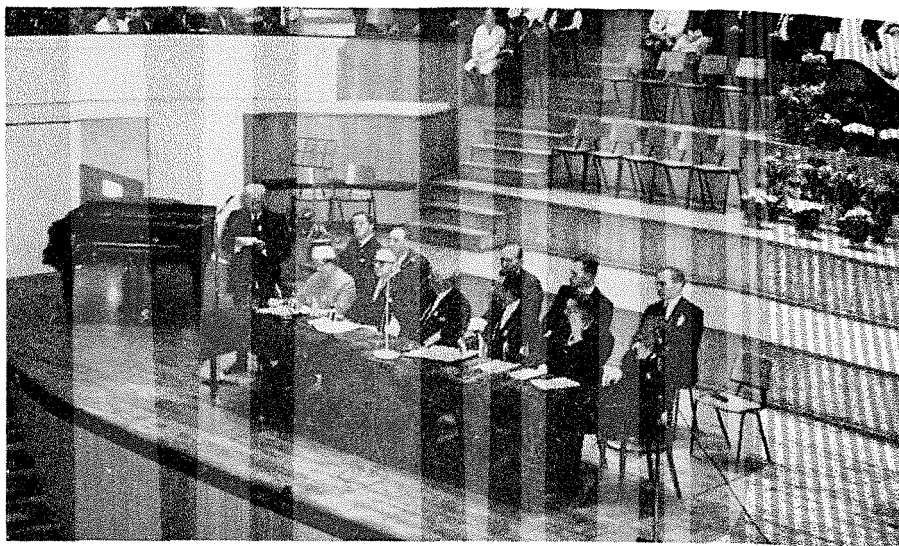
All this is somewhat related to our most recent history. It will become apparent to a future (or perhaps even contemporary) historian



General view of the Shevchenko Memorial in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. A bas-relief beside the statue depicts Prometheus mentioned in T. Shevchenko's poem, "The Caucasus."



Among a forest of flags there stands the Shevchenko Memorial in Washington before its unveiling by Gen. Dwight Eisenhower on 27. 6. 1964.



Celebrations of the 150th anniversary of
 Taras Shevchenko's birth in Great Britain.
Top: Presidium of the national rally held in Nottingham
 on May 23, 1964.
Bottom: Fragment from the concert which followed the Rally.
 The soloist — V. Luciiv, accompanied by Reading Light Orchestra
 and London Ukrainian Choir.

of our society, that already after Shevchenko's death until 1917, an incapacity to perceive this national prophecy, this infallible clairvoyance, this clear-sighted prophetic vision, existed among our intellectual (or perhaps also intellectualized?) circles. In short: to them the fire of his poetry and his personality was shut off; the perception of it was denied them. This is perhaps what one might call a paralysis of Shevchenko's emotion, a paralysis of sympathy for Shevchenko within the official circles of society. I am not speaking here of the simple people, for whom the *Kobzar* came next to the Bible. I am speaking here of that class, which, though it honoured Taras officially, went to concerts and exhibitions, was partially moved by "Kateryna" or even by the "Epistle", understood Shevchenko on a purely "literal" level, solely by his external appearance — not by his inner fire. Deep in their hearts, they were in complete agreement with Drahomanov, i.e., that although the *Kobzar* was effective at one time, now it was already an old-fashioned anachronism — nothing more than reading material for the "simple people."

The year 1917, however, stirred this paralysed emotion to new life and realised Shevchenko's prophecy:

New fires will blow
From out the Cold Ravine.

But this long-lasting paralysis was not without consequences.

With a fiery zeal the administration of the occupants begins to work on the "organization" and revival of this paralysis in the society; the many-headed enemy sets to work deliberately and systematically, aided by the terrible Satanic time into which we have entered and in which we are now living.

Precisely at this moment, when the Ukrainian fatherland is physically defeated — unarmed and defenceless — one must speak out; at this very moment, when the only "armed power" and the only true "atomic bomb" is the book, in which we read:

Trampled shall be, and beaten
The rye-crops grown from the tsar's seeding;
People shall grow there. Then shall die
New Tsarlings before their conception —
There'll be on the new-fashioned earth
No foe, nor heretic's deception.
There shall be son, there shall be mother,
There shall be people on the earth.

(Sept. 24, 1860)

(Written not quite half a year before his death)

Evhen MALANIUK

A Replique

There is always a collision between a genius and his contemporary surroundings. A genius gives himself completely, whereas his contemporaries only take from him what they are capable of taking. This holds true for individuals as well as for entire generations, for a society as well as for a definite epoque, its desires and its spirit.

These immortal creations of immortal masters that live eternally undergo a continuous evolution in the consciousness of their contemporaries.

Is Shevchenko perhaps to be blamed that of all his works, only "Kateryna" and the "Cherry Orchard" were read for such a long and highly crucial period of time? Is Shevchenko perhaps to be blamed that out of his anger, out of him, a man who always worked under the greatest tension and with clenched fists, a canonized icon of Taras the Kobzar was made? Is he perhaps to be blamed that, psychologically, for a certain part of our society the "Kobzar" existed for a long time only within the bounds "permitted by the censors"? This was precisely Shevchenko's prophetic warning. For when, in his words,

But with a roar re-echoing back
A chief-less Cossack will attack
Will smash the throne, the mantle shredding,
He will tear down your evil fetish,
You human woodworms! Uncles and nurses
Who tend the "Fatherland" of strangers

this came true, then the ranks of those marching into battle would no longer strike the eye by their density: the wet-nurses and uncles of this strange fatherland took on God knows what colours and underwent a metamorphosis, from the "independents" to the "Borotbists", from the "Borotbists" to the Ukrainian Communist Party, and from it to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It has already been shown to what degree this, at first sight, "simple", for some, even "rough-unkempt" and "cultureless" verse of Shevchenko is by no means simple, and that culturally rich atmosphere in which Shevchenko's "anthropocentric" Weltanschauung was formed and which is most clearly expressed in his poem "Maria" has also already been analysed. It has been known for a long time that his library was by no means a small one. Oh, no, this "not

a bad" poet was not at all a man of little culture, as a certain Khvylovy seemed to think. That, technically viewed, his verse is complicated, and that, intellectually, Shevchenko was among the first thinkers of his time, is not very important at all. What is of far greater importance is the fact that his poetry is a monument of organic Ukrainian culture, that it grew out of an original, native, national soil. What is important is that Shevchenko by no means adopted the anthropocentric and Protestant ideas of the 30's and 40's of the 19th century blindly and mechanically, as was the case on the part of the Russians where these ideas, in an atmosphere of spiritual enslavement and cultural idolatry later gushed up unrestrainedly, in the form of vulgar atheism, leading to nihilism and finally to Bolshevism. Shevchenko, however, re-cultivated these ideas on Ukrainian soil, for this soil is characterized by a religious anthropomorphism, the most beautiful blossom of which is the poem "Maria", a work which attests the incredible height of Ukrainian religious thinking, a work which shows such deep feeling and magnificent simplicity, that by comparison a work like "Life of Christ" by Renan appears pale and colourless — which is the case of any work of art that has not been created intuitively, but contrived. The highly cultured Pushkin leaves us a... "Gabrieliade", while Shevchenko, the "uncultured", reaches the peaks of spirituality in his "Maria."

This is true culture, for true culture is always organic and springs forth from the national being, to soar up later to human heights that are universally valid.

* * *

But what is to be said with respect to Shevchenko being a "will-less person"? — To a man who did not live a life, but really the "legend of a life", a man who won a truly great victory alone by the fact that he went through actual hell: the terrible epoch of a Nicholas, a time of deportations, an epoch in which men were forced to do military service, a time which knew only merciless blows and rods. But what is most decisive in all this is that he bore his banishment and the atmosphere of drunken non-commissioned officers. Despite all these ordeals, he preserved a homogeneous belief, his sole firmhold; and his soul, though beaten, wounded and tortured to the quick, remained unbroken and unvanquished:

...that I
am like a fearsome snake which lies
Crushed, broken, in the steppe expiring,
For sunset longing and desiring.

he writes in one of the many moments of oppressive loneliness and complete uprootment on Kos-Aral. But immediately he adds to himself:

Head high! my friend. Don't give up!
Mold your heart out of hard steel!

But how in our time we lack this firm and hardened steel, especially when one, in Tychna's words

Hates accursed ore
Concrete and iron.

Especially when one so frequently writes letters of self-incrimination and public apologies, one must call to mind his words:

Friend, it is nothing! Cease your grieving!
Armour yourself in tempered steel.

It is true that Shevchenko's immense anger was always the expression of his infinite love, a love that found him, a man of deep and organic religiousness, ready to "curse even God" and to "adulterate even his own soul." "Kateryna" is also inflamed with this volcanic love; but this poem must by no means be understood as Eisenstock and Yefremov understood it. This love is an extension of classical lyric poetry, as expressed in the "Cherry Orchard", which, as we know, was written in the casemates of the Petersburg fortress. In his verses to Gogol, he writes about this "sentimentalism", and in a most characteristic way he reveals the entire scale of his feelings:

O thoughts of mine, O evil glory!
Here in a foreign land I vainly for you
Am punished, tortured, yet repent not o'er you.

To whom can I show them? And he continues to bare his sentimental soul:

Thought after thought flies in swarm never ending:
One burdens the heart, a second one rends it,
A third one is quietly, quietly weeping
Deep in the heart — maybe God does not see it.
Then to whom shall I reveal it?

His scale ranges from a lyrical sigh, modulating into the minor melody of a grand-styled epic, to a bitter sarcasm, which is unique to him — all this in the course of ten poetic lines.

And free cannon will not thunder
Ukraine over.
Father will not slay his son
His own child; a deed for
Honour, glory, Brotherhood
And Ukraine's freedom,
Will not slay him, but will rear him,
And to Moscow sell him,
To the slaughterhouse... This is
The widow's mite, I tell you,
For the throne, the "Fatherland."

But the Ukrainian revolution broke out and Ukrainian canons thundered, and though father did not "slaughter" son, brother did slaughter brother, and this

...for
Honour, glory, Brotherhood
And Ukraina's freedom.

But the fiery zeal, entire energy and effort of our revolution owes thanks to this "will-less man with so little culture." Shevchenko inspired the dynamics of the revolution. Every one of the 40-million strong nation who took up arms was led into battle by his fighting spirit and his electrifying poetry. It not only led into battle, but actually affected the smallest everyday matters; in short — everything. Indeed, even the Haydamaky regiments in high fur caps, these old Cossack and somewhat theatrical gestures of the insurgent otamans and young cadets — all this was the expression of Shevchenko's suggestive power, embodied in the immortal figures of Gonta, Hamaliya, Paliy, Tryasylo — not in their actual historical existence, but in their poetic conception, for only as poetic creations are these men alive and more real than they were in reality. Only Shevchenko's Gonta remains alive; the historical Gonta has been long dead, just as no one doubts the reality of the unhistorical Taras Bulba.

In short, the dynamics had been supplied. The psychic force that organizes mass emotion was on our side, and it was far greater than that chaotic material that it had to organize and to shape. For it was precisely those who sent belated self-accusations to Shevchenko's address that remained deaf with "hearts more naked than naked" to his call.

The hour struck and demanded a materialization of Shevchenko's spirit and will, but the material itself was lacking, for "a weakly, disorderly will made small souls stupid."

Among Shevchenko's apocalyptic prophecies, one is the most terrifying. In "The Great Vault", the first "Ukrainian" crow says:

In Ukraine this night, a pair
Of twins are to be born.
One of them, like old Gonta, will
Torture the torturers,
The other, though, will bring them aid
(And this one is ours!)
Already in the womb he bites...

and continues:

...the twins
Have now been born into the world;
And the demented mother
Screams that she'll name them both "Ivan"
And shrieks with crazy laughter.

I would not like to interpret this mysterious passage as it has been interpreted in the last Kharkiv edition of his works, i.e., as if the two Ivans were "a characterization of the formation of Ukrainian class consciousness." (sic!)

It seems to me that in these continuous revolts against Shevchenko, the very spirit of this second Ivan is involved, in whose spirit both the "neutralists" of 1917 and the "Borotbists" of 1918 and 1919 made their declarations, and in whose spirit the "remorseful confessions" of 1927 and 1928 were made.

There is always something suspect in revolutions against Shevchenko, even in such cases as that of Kulish, or somewhat later of Khvylyovy, though the causes of these revolts did not lie in a superficial snobbery and aesthetic quibbling, but rather in the tragic implications of despair and in the torment of powerlessness.

In the case of Kulish this revolt went hand in hand with his political deviations. Much more terrible was the case of Khvylyovy, however, in whom it was a sign of the complete bankruptcy of the descendants of this second Ivan from the "Great Vault", indicating the psychological crisis that has lately spread over Ukraine. A symptom of this crisis is Khvylyovism, a variant of Vynnychenkism, which had but recently disappeared, a recitative of the historical illnesses of the Ukrainian psyche: anarchy and moral atheism.

It is my firm belief that no more twins will be born from the "Great Vault", but a purposive Ukrainian individuality that will know no division of the classes, but will be peasant-like, indivisible, all-national and integrated. Those who speak out courageously in favour of the nation today, but sign remorseful confessions tomorrow, those who like the great Bohdan perceive their own inevitable fall between two walls moving towards each other: in short all those who vacillate back and forth and lack the strength to say yes or no clearly and distinctly — all those are the last remnants of this illness.

The materialization of Shevchenko's poetry, therefore, is still powerfully in process, and only then, when it will be achieved in the form of an independent state, we shall be able to say that the present has grown up to Shevchenko.

Until this time, however, Shevchenko will still remain a force that compels growth.

Bohdan KRAWCIW

TARAS SHEVCHENKO'S POETRY IN FOREIGN TRANSLATIONS

Although the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, was of peasant origin and the son of a Ukrainian serf, he was by no means what certain popular articles, pamphlets and portraits make him out to be: a half-educated village poet, a self-taught painter, a peasant of genius and later an "unfortunate soldier banished into exile." Through long and determined studies and prodigious reading, Shevchenko attained a high degree of intellectual self-development, both as a painter and in the field of literary scholarship. Not only was he intimately acquainted with classical literature, but he kept abreast of the newest developments in Western Europe as well.

His wide interests in the literature and art of Western Europe have been extensively discussed by many contemporary literary historians as Prof. Alexander Biletsky and Nicholas Hlobenko. These scholars have proved irrefutably the uncommonly wide sweep of Shevchenko's knowledge and appreciation of international literary and artistic achievements and problems, and shown that the poet always equalled and sometimes even surpassed the intellectual standards of his Ukrainian and Russian literary and artistic milieu.

Power of Shevchenko's Influence

When we speak of Shevchenko's great admiration and familiarity with the literatures and art of the Western world, we must not fail to mention the subsequent admiration of his works by poets, scholars and readers of many nations. This interest was realized not only through translations of his poetry and prose into many languages but also through the influence of the poet on the development of other literatures predominantly the literatures of certain Slavic nations. The scope and power of this influence as well as the literatures of other nations are discussed at length in the full edition of his works in Volume XV published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw in 1938, under the editorship of Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki and in the XIVth volume edited by Prof. Bohdan Lepky in 1936 dealing with Poland.

Since that time interest in Shevchenko has increased outside of Ukraine. Today most nations of the world are acquainted with the Ukrainian poet either through translations of his work or through writings about him. Many translators of his poetry are excellent poets in their own right, some of them the leading poets of their countries.

Russians First in Translation

The first nation to translate Shevchenko was Russia. The reason for this was not only the geographical proximity of the two countries but also the fact that the poet spent most of his creative life in Petersburg. The first Russian translation of Shevchenko by M. Gerbel (1827-1883), appeared in 1856, when the poet was still in exile. According to Prof. Zaitsev, from that date until the end of 1860 various Russian periodicals published thirty five translations of Shevchenko's poems. The first volume of Russian translations of his work was a collection by several hands, edited and published by the same M. Gerbel in 1860. It is a curious fact that this collection included more poems than the 1860 edition of the *Kobzar* in the original Ukrainian (this consisted of sixteen pieces and the Russian of twenty seven). During the following seventy five years from 1860 to 1936, approximately thirty collections of Shevchenko appeared in Russian translation. Some passed through several editions and reprints so that there were altogether approximately forty editions by 1936. Some of the more prominent and prolific translators of Shevchenko's works were the noted Russian poets Nikolai Kurochkin, Nikolai Berg, L. Mey, Ivan Surikov, the Ukrainian Maksym Slavinsky and the most famous of the group, the great Symbolist Fedor Sologub. From 1936 to 1962 there were nineteen additional collections excluding the numerous separate editions of individual translations. The most important publication was the first complete edition of his poems which appeared in 1939, edited by Maksym Rylsky and Nikolai Ushakov. This was used as a basis for a five volume edition published in 1948-1949 and 1955. Among the more important Russian translators in recent times are such outstanding names as Ivan Bunin, Sergey Yesenin, Boris Pasternak, Nikolai Ushakov, Alexander Tvardovsky, M. Isakovsky, B. Turkanov, Nikolay Tikhonov, Aleksey Surkov, V. Derzhavin, Ilya Selvinsky, and N. Braun. Many Ukrainian poets have translated Shevchenko's poems into Russian, notably one of the greatest figures in contemporary Ukrainian poetry, Maksym Rylsky.

Poles' Early Interest

The first Polish translations of Shevchenko's works appeared in 1860 before the poet's death. They were the work of the Polish Romantic poet Leonard Sowinski (1831-1887). Later Shevchenko was translated by Wladyslaw Syrokomla (1822-1862) the Ukrainian writer

Sydir Tverdokhlib (1886-1923), Edward Wylomowski and others. A milestone in Polish-Ukrainian literary relations was the publishing, as we have mentioned, of the Fourteenth Volume of the edition by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, edited by Prof. Bohdan Lepky and Prof. Pavlo Zaitsev. This includes 106 translations, 46 of which were specially prepared for this volume. In addition to the older translators, this included works by such celebrated modern Polish poets as K. Wierzynski, J. Iwaszkiewicz, J. Lobodowski and the Ukrainian poet and scholar B. Lepky. According to information in that volume between 1860 and the end of 1935 about 95 poems of Shevchenko appeared in 167 translations. In 1955 the Poles published a volume edited by W. Slobodnik. This contained only 86 translations, since the work of such "bourgeois-nationalist" poets as B. Lepky, J. Lobodowski, and K. Wierzynski were excluded.

Czechs and Bulgarians

The year 1860 was important in the recognition of Shevchenko's work abroad, for in addition to Russia and Poland, it brought the poet to the attention of the Czechs. The first translator was a scholar of Slavic languages and literature, Josef Pervolf. Translations by Emanuel Vavra, Jozef Kolarz, Karel Chudoba, Jan Hudec, Frantisek Chalupa, Rudolf Pokorny and others followed. The first volume to appear was a selection by Ružena Jesenska, published in Prague in 1900. Between 1918 and 1922 Shevchenko's "Ivan Hus", translated by Frantisek Tichy, came out in no less than three editions. After the Second World War, the interest in Shevchenko increased considerably in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. In addition to individual poems, between 1946 and 1961 five volumes were brought out, including the work of such translators as Jan Turecek-Jizersky, Maria Mercanova, Zdenka Niliusova, Marie Bieblova and Marie Vovsova. The best of these is probably the collection *Kobzar*, which consists of 85 poems by Zdenka Bergrova-Vovsova in collaboration with Rudolf Hulka and the Ukrainian scholar Orest Zilinsky. Approximately 654 translations of the poet's work appeared in Czecho-Slovakia between 1860 and 1961.

The first Bulgarian translator of Shevchenko was a poet and scholar of Macedonian origin, Rayko Zhinzifov (1839-1877), who studied in Ukrainian and Russian universities, and from 1859 was a teacher in a Moscow high school. His first translations appeared with some of his original works in 1863 in a volume, *A New Bulgarian Collection*. Later translators were Lyuben Karavelov (1835-1879), Petko Rachev Slaveykov (1827-1895), S. Drinov and Stilivan Chilingirov. The first volume of translations appeared not in Bulgaria but in Kyiv in 1939 under the title of *Selected Works*. It contains 23 pieces translated by the Bulgarian expatriate Krum Kyulyavkov.

When he returned to Bulgaria after the war, he published in Sofia in 1956 a new collection including this time 33 translations. A Bulgarian Communist writer Dimitr Metodiyev published 50 translations in a volume entitled **Selected Works of T. G. Shevchenko**. He added 58 new translations and republished it in two volumes in 1960.

In Croatia, which today together with Serbia and Slovenia forms the state of Yugoslavia, the first translation of a Shevchenko poem made by the Croatian poet August Shenoa (pseud. of Velko Rubacovic) appeared in 1863. The man most responsible for introducing Shevchenko's work to the Croatians was the poet August Harambasic (1861-1912). In 1887 he published a slim volume of eight early poems of Shevchenko entitled **Taras Shevchenko, Poetic Narratives**. Later in the newspaper *Nada* (Hope) published in Sarajevo, he published his translations of 10 additional poems. The work of the Ukrainian poet had a decisive influence on the original poems of Harambasic.

The first attempts to translate Shevchenko into Serbian appear about 1870 with the contributions of Andra Nikolic and Stoyan Novakovic to the Serbian newspaper *Vila* (The Nymph). In 1877, in the periodical *Yavor* (Sycamore) appeared a translation of the "Prychynna" ("The Bewitched") by Milovan Yuray Glisic. At the time of this writing, we have no information of any more recent translations of Shevchenko's poetry.

Translations into German

The pioneering efforts of translating Shevchenko into German were begun in 1870, not in Germany itself, but in Bukovina, where in Chernivtsi (Cernauti), a Tyrolean writer, Johann Georg Obrist (1843-1901), published a study of Shevchenko's work together with some translations of his early poems. In addition to various isolated efforts of several other Bukovinian and West Ukrainian translators, a Chernivtsi high school teacher, Sergius Szpoynarowski, brought out some lyrical poems in rather inspired translation. Between 1904 and 1914 German language journals, brought out by Ukrainians in Vienna, published sporadic translations of Shevchenko's poetry by a Ukrainian, Alexander Popovych, and a German, Artur Bosch, both inhabitants of Chernivtsi. The first book edition of German translations of Shevchenko was the effort of Julia Virginia (born 1878) with the collaboration of a Ukrainian immigrant Artur Zelib who published it in Leipzig in 1911. The volume of 30 translations was well received by the German press. During World War I the Ukrainian critic and translator Ostap Hrycay (1891-1954) came out with 30 new translations of Shevchenko's poetry. Between the end of the War and 1935 Shevchenko was translated by Anna Charlotte Witzky, Gustav Specht, Bruno Gerhard Orlik and others. A collection of German translations appeared in Kyiv in 1939 in connection with the commemoration of the 125th anniversary of the poet's birth.

A more active interest in Shevchenko became evident in Germany after World War II. In East Berlin a substantial volume **Taras Shewtschenko, Die Hajdamaken und andere Dichtungen**, consisting of 59 translations from the pen of the noted German poet Erich Weinert (1890-1953) came out in 1951. In Wiesbaden, in West Germany, Hans Koch (1894-1959) published 25 translations of Shevchenko in an anthology of German translations of Ukrainian poetry, **Die ukrainische Lyrik**, which came out in 1955. In 1951 in Moscow there were published two volumes of translations by the German poet and literary historian Alfred Kurella, the above mentioned Erich Weinert and others. The collection was re-issued as one volume in Moscow in 1962, although that edition bears no publication date. In 1962 the German poetess Elizabeth Kottmaier published some interesting experiments in Shevchenko translation in the magazine **Ukraina i Svit** (Ukraine and the World).

Abundance of French Translations

The introduction of Shevchenko's poetry to the French took place in 1876, when a French diplomat, Baron Adolphe d'Avril (1822-1904) published his fragmentary translations of the narrative poems "Tarasova Nich" (The Night of Taras) and "Hamaliya" in his **Voyage sentimental dans les pays Slaves**. Subsequently Shevchenko was translated by the French scholar and writer Emil Durand, as well as by Victor Tissot, E. Hins, Baron de Bayne and the Russian diplomat of Ukrainian nationality Yakiv Ekzemplarsky, who in 1918 published his French version of Shevchenko's "Epistle." The best French translations of Shevchenko's poetry are from the pen of the poet Fernand Mazade, which appeared in 1920. Also of high merit are the contributions of an anonymous translator included in **L'anthologie de la littérature ukrainienne**, which was edited and published by the prominent linguist Antoine Meillet in 1921. In the 1930's Sofiya Borschchak, Rene Martel, the Princesse de Tokary (Oksana Tokarzhevskaya) and Charles Tillac translated a great deal of Shevchenko's work. In commemoration of the 125th anniversary of the poet's birth, new French translations were prepared by G. Morgulis in Paris and Charles Steber in Moscow.

The first Armenian translation of Shevchenko's poetry appeared in 1879 and was prepared by Kerovbe Kushnerian. In the 1950's a separate collection of Shevchenko's poetry was published in Armenian.

The first article on Shevchenko together with a small selection of poems came out in Slovak in 1881 in the periodical **Narodne novinky** (National News). In our century Shevchenko was translated by the poet Horal (a pseudonym of Petr Bella), the writer and diplomat

Neresnicky (whose real name was Juraj Slavik), Somolicky and others. A volume of Shevchenko's selected poetry in Slovak, translated by Julius Kokavec and entitled **Dumy moje** (My thoughts), came out in Bratislava in 1959.

Georgian Translations In Volumes

A Georgian translation of the poem "Naymychka" (The Servant Girl) appeared as early as 1881 in the journal **Iveriya** (Iberia, an ancient name for the country of Georgia) by the writer N. Lamouri. Some scholars have referred to the great Georgian poet Akaky Tsereteli (1840-1914) as the first translator of Shevchenko, but there is hardly any real evidence for this. In the twentieth century Titsian Tabidze, S. Chikovani, Irakly Abashidze and others have undertaken translation of the poet's works into Georgian. The Georgians not only published sporadic translations in periodicals, but several volumes of poetry have appeared. In 1937 there was published a book with the two narrative poems "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus) translated by N. Mtsishvili, and "Son" (The Dream) by S. Chikovani. That year a school text of Shevchenko's selected poems was brought out. A larger collection of his work translated into Georgian by several hands, appeared in 1939.

The first Lithuanian translations of Shevchenko's work are from the pen of the poet J. Andziulatis-Kalnenas. They were published in the journal **Ausra** (The Sunrise) in 1885. J. Bilunas and K. Vairas-Raczkauskas continued the work of introducing the Ukrainian bard to their people. The most prominent translator of Shevchenko in Lithuania was Liudas Gira (1886-1946), a celebrated poet and in the last years of his life a full member of the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic; in 1912 he published a volume with 22 translations called **Taraso Sevchenkos oiliu vainikelis** (A Wreath of Taras Shevchenko's Poetry). A substantial collection of Shevchenko's poetry came out in Vilnius a few years ago under the title **Kobzariu**. It consists of 90 works translated by L. Gira, A. Venclova, A. Mezelaitis, and others.

Rumanian Translations In 1894

The first Rumanian translator of Shevchenko was the literary critic and prominent patriot Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea. He published several prose translations of Shevchenko's poems, together with an essay on the poet in 1894 in the **Almanahu Social-democrat**. Later he collected his translations and published them as a separate volume under the title **Taras Shevchenko. Biblioteca "Lumen" No. 10** (1894). Shevchenko was translated in Rumania also by the Bessarabian revolutionary Zamfir C. Arbure, the Bessarabian poet Ion Buzdugan and the Moldavians C. Dumitrescu and A. Caftonache. The noted Rumanian poet Mihai Sadoveanu published some excellent transla-

tions of Shevchenko's verse before the Second World War. The first Rumanian edition of Shevchenko appeared in Bucharest in 1952 under the title **Kobzarul**, with a foreword by M. Sadoveanu and translations by Victor Tulbure and V. Kurdun. In a new edition of this book, published in 1957, only Tulbure's work was included. Tulbure's collection was reissued again in 1960 in a youth publishing house as part of a series "The World's Best Poetry."

Latvian readers became acquainted with Shevchenko in 1900. That year a well-known poet Jekabs Ligoth came out with his translations of the narrative poem "Kateryna." He published further translations of Shevchenko in 1911 and 1914. Shevchenko was translated into Latvian also by Fridrichs Adamovics, K. Dzilleja and others.

In 1900 a Shevchenko poem was translated into the "international language" Esperanto, and was published in Upsala's newspaper **Esperantos Linguo Internacia**. Some translations appeared around 1913 in Esperanto magazines in Geneva, Paris, Warsaw, Kolomyia, Cologne and Budapest.

The most important Slovenian translator of Shevchenko was a Catholic priest, Jozef Abram. In a publishing house in Lyublyana which went by the name of the Catholic Library, two volumes of his translations came out in 1907, under the title of **Kobzar**. The first volume consisted of 41 shorter pieces and in the second were included the longer poems "Haydamaky" and "Kholodnyi Yar", together with articles about the life and works of Shevchenko as well as about Ukrainian history in general. In 1939 some new Slovenian translations were prepared by France Bezljaj and eventually published in a magazine **Ljubljanski zvon** (The Bell of Lyublyana).

Original Poems Popular In Byelorussia

Despite the close geographical proximity of Ukraine and Byelorussia and the similarity between the two languages, the first Byelorussian translations of Shevchenko appeared only after 1905. However already in the nineteenth century the poet's work was known throughout the country in the original Ukrainian, and exerted a powerful influence on the development of Byelorussian poetry. The first translator of Shevchenko was one of the greatest Byelorussian poets, Yanka Kupala (1882-1942). In the collection **Zhaleyka** (The Pipe), which came out in 1908, he published two translations of the Ukrainian bard. Later Byelorussian translators of Shevchenko were the poets Aleksander Hurlo, Makar Krawtsow and others. The interest in Shevchenko's work increased considerably in Byelorussia with the celebration of the poet's birth, in which all the republics of the Soviet Union participated. To contribute to that festive event, Byelorussian poets and translators prepared translations of all of Shevchenko's poems. This comprehensive collection appeared in 1939

under the title of **Kabzar** and it is composed of 224 works of the poet in translations by Yanka Kupala, Yakub Kolas, Z. Byadula, M. Klimkovych, Pyotr Hlebka, A. Kulyashov, Pyatrus Browka and K. Karpaw. On the basis of this volume a book of selected poetry **Vybrany vyershy i paemy** (Selected Lyric and Poems) was published in Minsk in 1948 and a second edition in 1952.

Of the Scandinavian languages Shevchenko has been introduced only to Swedish. Swedish translations of the Ukrainian poet appeared in 1909 in a Finnish periodical dealing with literature, the arts and sciences. They are the work of Alfred Jensen (1859-1921), a noted scholar of Slavic affairs and subsequent author of a monograph on Shevchenko in German (1919). A Finno-Swedish poet Jarl Hemmer was another translator of the Ukrainian poet into Swedish. We have not found any translations into Danish or Norwegian. Only one poem, the famous "Zapovit" (Testament) has been translated into Finnish by N. Laine.

"Zapovit" in Japanese

The "Zapovit" was the first poem to be translated into Japanese; this was made as early as 1911. Later Shevchenko was translated by the Japanese poet Matsuba. Serious efforts to translate Shevchenko into that language have been made but we do not have the details.

The first translator of Shevchenko into Hungarian was a Hungarian of Ukrainian descent, H. Sztripszky, an official of the Budapest National Museum and later a counsellor of the Ministry. He published his translations in the weekly **Vasarnapi ujsag** (Sunday News) in 1914 and two years later came out with more translations, prepared in collaboration with V. Varga, in the newspaper **Ucrania**. The most masterful translations of Shevchenko into Hungarian came from the pen of the well known Hungarian poet Zempletni Arpad (1865-1919), whose untimely death cut short his work on a large volume of Shevchenko in Hungarian. Such a collection, consisting of 111 items was prepared much later by another Hungarian, Weores Sandor; it came out under the title of **Kobzos** (Kobzar) in 1953.

A Ukrainian concert singer and writer, Mlada Lypovetska (Tais Belman) was responsible for the first translations of Shevchenko into Italian. In 1919 she published a series of renditions of the poet and essays about him in a Ukrainian-sponsored periodical **La voce dell' Ucraina** (The Voice of Ukraine). With the help of the Italian writer Cesare Meano, she prepared a large selection from the poet's verses in Italian but circumstances prevented her from publishing more than a small fraction of her work. At the present time, the world famous scholar of Slavic languages and literature, and professor of the University of Rome, Ettore Lo Gatto, is preparing a volume of his translations of Shevchenko.

Flemish does not have any substantial body of Shevchenko translations but merely sporadic attempts as a prose version of the "Zapovit" which the Flemish journalist G. Schamelhovt included in his article "Ukraine and Russia — Two Languages and Two Nations", published in a Brussels daily **Ons Faderland** (Our Country) in 1920.

Turkish Translations In Ukraine

The first Turkish translations of Shevchenko appeared not in Turkey itself but in Ukraine, where in 1923 the Ukrainian orientalist and poet Agatanhel Krymsky published two translations into that language. In Azerbaijan a short collection of Shevchenko's writings **Qobzar** appeared in Baku in 1934. It consists of 10 poems translated by the writers E. Dzhavaad and M. Mjushvik. The Kazakh writers Abdil'd and Mazhit published a collection **Kobzar** in Alma-Ata in 1935. However we have no information regarding translations in Turkey itself.

A few sporadic attempts to translate Shevchenko into Estonian were made in 1924 and 1936 in various newspapers chiefly by the writer Ju. Shumakov.

The first translations of Shevchenko into Portuguese were included in a monograph published in Curitiba in 1936 by a Ukrainian emigrant to Brazil, the writer Silvestre Kalynets. Recently excellent translations have been prepared by a Brazilian writer of Ukrainian descent, Helena Kolody, who published seven poems in Wira Selanski's **Antologia da literatura Ucrâniana** (Anthology of Ukrainian Literature) which came out in Rio de Janeiro in 1959.

Many Translations In Yiddish

A substantial number of translations of Shevchenko's poems in Yiddish appeared in the 1920's. According to a report of the Kharkiv Jewish newspaper **Der Stern**, in 1929 a large collection of translations of the Ukrainian poet was planned by L. Kvitka, P. Markisch, D. Hofsztein, L. Reznik and E. Finnberg, but this plan never materialized. In 1937 a small volume of selected poems of Shevchenko, translated by D. Hofsztein, appeared in Kharkiv. The edition was later supplemented by a new Hofsztein translations and came out in Kyiv in 1939 as **Taras Shevchenko, Geklibene werk**. It had two abbreviated printings in Moscow and Odessa the same year.

In 1939 in connection with the 125th anniversary of the poet's birth a volume of his selected works in translations into various languages of the Soviet Union was brought out. The same year there appeared a full edition of the **Kobzar** in Tatar, under the editorship of Musa Dzhaliil'. Also in 1939 a volume of the poet's work was published in Chuvash translations, and in 1954 it was supplemented

by new translations by 17 Chuvash poets. The same year, as sources in the Soviet Union inform us, selected works of Shevchenko came out in Moldavian, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tadjik, Buryat-Mongol, Karelian, Abkhazian and other languages of the Soviet Union.

In 1951 and 1954 respectively two volumes of Shevchenko's poetry came out in China, translated by Emi Siao and Dzan' Te-Suan. There also exists an edition of the *Kobzar* in Mongolian, prepared by S. Erdene and Chasbaatom, but the year of its publication was not available. Recent numbers of a Soviet newspaper informed its readers of an edition of Shevchenko's poetry in Korean.

Shevchenko's work was introduced to Spanish quite recently. It was only in 1954 that the first translations of his work were made by a Ukrainian scholar, Dr. Dmytro Buchynsky, and published in the Madrid journal *Poesia espanola*. In 1961 a Spanish translation of "Zapovit" was published in Argentina by Angel J. Battistesa. In 1962, the poem "Sontse zakhodyt'" (The Sun is Setting) was translated by Manuel Fabeiro Gomez into the old Spanish dialect of Gallego.

In Many Languages Of the World

In 1960 the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic published a booklet "**Zapovit**" *narodamy svita* (The Testament in Languages of the World), with translations of the poem into 43 languages. Besides the languages already mentioned, the volume includes translations into Kabardinian, Nenetsian, Ossetic, South and North Ossetic, Turkmen, Udmurt and Yakut.

As we can see, Shevchenko's poetry has been introduced, to a greater or lesser degree, to many languages of the world. His word, which he once placed to guard the freedom and happiness of his nation, is known and respected in many countries. The earliest and strongest impact of Shevchenko's work has been felt in those nations which like Ukraine have struggled and are still struggling for their national and political independence. It is also interesting to note that the history of the translations has developed in the same way as his creative growth. In the second half of the nineteenth century and the very beginning of the twentieth, the poems translated most readily and widely were his early efforts, full of Romantic and fiery glorification of his nation's historical past. Later non-Ukrainian readers began to be fascinated by the poetry which Shevchenko wrote in exile, where life was unbearably hard. Today, especially in Western literature, interest gravitates toward Shevchenko's last poems, filled with a deep knowledge of life, reflections on the fate of man, and quiet contemplation.

Dr. John P. PAULS

MUSICAL WORKS BASED ON THE LEGEND OF MAZEPA

One of the most outstanding hetmans of the Zaporozhian Host and of Ukraine, Ivan Mazepa-Koledynsky (born about 1639, died 1709) is the only figure in Ukrainian history who ranks in popularity with the immortal Prometheus, Moses, Faust and Don Juan in world art and literature. The most prominent poets, artists and composers, such as Byron, Hugo, Pushkin, Slowacki, Shevchenko, Vernet, Boulanger, Liszt, Tchaikovsky, Payne, Gottschal, Lepky, and many of lesser calibre treat the theme of Mazepa¹. What is the reason for his unprecedented renown? The Ukrainians are convinced that it was the outstanding personality, charm, and wisdom of their leader, Mazepa, and his heroic but tragic attempt to win independence for Ukraine that made him so well known throughout Europe. This conclusion is shared by some historians as well, although there are those who strongly disagree. Even the Russian poet, Pushkin, who with such great artistry branded Mazepa as "the traitor of the Russian Tsar" had to admit in his preface to *Poltava* that Mazepa was one of the most remarkable persons of that epoch. But the French critic, Viscount de Vogüé, insists that it was the poet Byron who enshrined this name "in gold and diamonds." According to de Vogüé:

"One day Lord Byron opened a volume of Voltaire, and there read a dozen lines which took form and colour in his imagination. From the English poet's verses, quickly famous, the predestined name

1) Sydoruk, I. P., "Mazepa in Foreign Literature", *Almanac of Svoboda*, Jersey City, 1959, pp. 77-87. Also: Lew, W., "Mazepa in Slavic Literature", *Slavic and East European Studies*, Vol. V, parts 3-4, University of Montreal, 1960, pp. 200-208; Romanenchuk, B., "Ivan Mazepa v evropejskij literaturi", *Vistnyk*, parts 5 (pp. 366-370), 6 (pp. 441-443), 9 (pp. 652-658), Lviv, 1934; Jensen, A., "Mazepa in der modernen europäischen Dichtung", *Ukrainische Rundschau*, No. 7, Wien, 1909, pp. 299-305.

rebounded into an **Oriental** of Hugo's, and then into one of Pushkin's masterpieces. The artistic laid hold of it, popular pictures spread it abroad, and now, for the last fifty years, there is not a schoolboy ignorant of it. Mazepa personifies in himself a great country, Ukraine, and an historic people, the Cossacks. Each summer when I set out for those provinces, my friends never fail to exclaim: 'Ah! yes, Ukraine, Mazepa's country, where the Cossacks scour the steppes bound to wild horses!' "2

Here, our intent is not to establish the reason for Mazepa's popularity in art and literature. Rather, we shall present a brief survey and evaluation of musical works based on the legend of Mazepa.

The historical life of Hetman Mazepa, his fatal in-between position in the deadly struggle of the two crowned giants, the Swedish King Charles XII and Russian Tsar Peter I, during the Great Northern War (1700-1721), his romantic adventures when he was a young page of the Polish King Jan Kasimir, as well as his belated, autumnal love for young and beautiful Motrya Kochubey, doubtlessly provided an attractive theme for the creative imagination of the romanticists. The poet, artist or composer is not limited by historical fact and data. He treats historical truth according to his fancy, imagination and creative ability, forging events of the distant past into his own ideas. Thus, the historical Mazepa in foreign works has inevitably lost his Ukrainian traits, background and environment, and has become a universal character.

During the Romantic period, different composers eagerly picked up the legend of Mazepa, taking their inspiration from the poetic works of Byron, Hugo, or Pushkin for their musical treatment. The first opera, **Mazepa**, presented in Bamberg, 1837,³ was written by the German violinist and composer, Ludwig Maurer (1789-1878), who, at seventeen, went to Russia. Together with the Russians, Aliabiev and Verstovsky, he contributed the music to Khmel'nitsky's comedy, **A Novel Prank or Theatrical Combat** (1822)⁴. The fate and circumstances of the performance of his opera, **Mazepa**, however, we were unable to establish.

The most prominent and immortal musical work on the subject is, of course, **Mazepa — Symphonic Poem No. 6**, written by the Hungarian pianist and composer, Franz Liszt (1811-1886). The proto-

2) Vogüé, E. M. de, "Mazeppa as Known in Legend and in History", *A Czarevitch of the 18th Century and Other Studies*, (A. L. Humphreys), London, 1913, p. 170.

3) Ponomarenko, Ju., "Legendy pro hetmana Ivana Mezepe v svitovij muzyci", *Tryzub* No. 39, pp. 10-12, Paris, 1937.

4) *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (5th ed. revised by N. Slonimsky), New York, 1958, p. 1051.

type of his **Mazepa** was originally conceived as a part of Liszt's piano etudes, first published at Marseilles, in 1827, under the title: **Études en forme de douze exercices pour piano, Opus 1**. Sitwell says, "Mazepa must have been an idea that haunted him continually, for he only found the title for it, or betrayed the inspiration of the piece, after it had already undergone several revisions and rewritings."⁵ The germ of this idea was born already in 1826, but after Hugo's **Mazepa** appeared in 1828, Liszt rewrote it, enlarging it in 1831, and in 1839, he published it separately in the fullest and most complicated form for piano, dedicating it to Victor Hugo, whom the composer knew personally. It was arranged and scored for orchestra in 1850, and in 1854, the so-called "Tartar March" was added as a **coda**, a march which V. Vytvytsky calls "a Cossack March."⁶ S. Sitwell regards the orchestral version as "laboured and banal", but the piano étude (**Douze Études d'Exécution Transcendante**) as "a significant and typical work of Liszt" and "one of the primitive beginnings of programme music."⁷

To the musical score of **Mazepa**, Liszt also added Hugo's poem as a programme. And indeed, if one reads this poem, listening simultaneously to the composer's music, one can hear and almost see that mad gallop of the frightened wild steed and the desperate man on his back aimlessly dashing through the endless steppes of Ukraine: "A shot and an echo and horse and rider speed on their way across the mountains and plains..." The galloping staccato of the horse's hoofs in the **prima**, accompanied from time to time by mournful passage of the **seconda** moves to the sad, drawling, but heroic theme of **Mazepa**, which sounds like the hopeless cry of a desperate soul, interchanging again and again with the staccato storm of that fantastic journey. The horse speeds unchecked, accompanied once by monstrous birds, once by a hungry wolf pack (excellently portrayed on canvas by the French painter, Horace Vernet, 1827), or by a herd of wild horses, until exhausted, he sinks and dies in the prairies... **Mazepa**, bleeding and near death, can hardly protect himself from the bloodthirsty ravens and large, tawny vultures. "They fall on the horse and tear its flesh, but shy away from the rider who still lives." Tragedy, suffering, hope and hopelessness, vision of death, are masterly painted in colourful tones... And yet, young life proves to be stronger than all the dark forces. A sudden ray of hope, the sound of trumpets and a Cossack march prophesy a better future for **Mazepa** among his people. The music changes into a sweet melody of strings and, strengthened by the **seconda**, ends in heroic, grandiose and majestic accords. Liszt finishes his symphonic poem in accordance

⁵) Sitwell, S., *Liszt*, Boston & New York, (Houghton Mifflin Co.), 1934, p. 62 f.

⁶) Vytvyckyj, V., "Symfonična poema Mazepa Franca Lista", *Svoboda*, No. 87 and 88, May 7 & 8, 1959, Jersey City, p. 2.

⁷) Sitwell, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

with Hugo's Mazeppa: He totters — he falls — and yet one day Ukrainians will hail him as their prince. From his anguish will come his greatness; enrobed in the ancient hetman's pelisse, he will be greeted with fanfares by the people of the steppes:

Sa sauvage grandeur naîtra de son supplice.
 Un jour, des vieux hetmans il ceindra la pelisse,
 Grand à l'oeil ébloui;
 Et quand il passera, ces peuples de la tente,
 Prostrés, enverront la fanfare éclatante
 Bondir autour de lui!

This fine symphonic poem has been frequently heard at music halls and on recordings to this day. It is a favourite at international concerts. And yet, there is nothing typically Ukrainian in this work. Although Liszt visited Ukraine in 1847, where he became a warm friend of Princess Caroline (Iwanowski) of Sayn-Wittgenstein, and spent several months at Woronice in Podolia, where he composed his **Opus No. 249, Glances de Woronice** (1847) based on Ukrainian and Polish themes (1. *Ballade d'Ukraine*, 2. *Melodies polonaises*, 3. *Complainte-Dumka*), nevertheless his **Mazepa**, a hymn to the unconquered human spirit, musically has nothing in common with Ukraine.

An Italian composer and conductor, Carlo Pedrotti (1817-1893) wrote an opera **Mazepa**, which was successfully performed at Bologna in 1861. In Warsaw, in 1867, there was also staged an opera **Mazepa**, written by a Polish composer, Minheimer.⁸ Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), eminent Spanish musicologist, conductor, national composer and editor of *Musica religiosa*, composer of eight operas, also wrote a one-act opera, **Mazepa** (with French libretto), which was performed with great success in Madrid in 1881. He is also the author of songs, based on Hugo's *Les Orientales*, which contain the cantata "Mazepa."

The comic opera, **Mazepa**, of the French composer Pourny, performed in Paris in 1872, has nothing in common with either the historical or legendary Mazepa, except the name. This is a musical comedy of the Offenbach type, in which Mazepa appears as a clerk in a notary office. There is, besides, an invented "Hetman" Krupoluskov and his lieutenant Patsyulko, etc.

Three Russian composers, Wittenhoff, Sokalsky and Tchaikovsky, derived their inspiration and prepared their librettos (that is, the love story of Mazepa and Mariya, actually Mótrya Kochubéy) from Pushkin's poem *Poltava* (1829). Wittenhoff's opera **Mazepa** was performed unsuccessfully at St. Petersburg in 1859. A Ukrainian, P. P. Sokalsky (1832-1887), author of outstanding research on Ukrainian and Russian folk-songs and the "Ukrainian symphonies",

⁸) Ponomarenko, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

finished his opera, **Mazepa**, in Odessa in 1859, but its fate is unknown to us.⁹

The most remarkable opera, however, **Mazepa** (1884) belongs to the pen of the greatest Russian composer, Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840-1893). His ancestors on his father's side (his mother was the daughter of a French emigrant, Assière) were from the district of Kremenchug, Ukraine, and the composer himself spent much of his time in Ukraine at Kamenka, a quiet rural spot on the banks of the Tyasmin River, not far from Kyiv, where his youngest and favourite sister, Alexandra I. Davidova, lived. And yet Tchaikovsky did not utilize fully in this opera the local colour, nor the beauty of the Ukrainian folk-songs, demanded by the plot, because, as his brother, Modest, said, they "seemed to him artificial and retouched."¹⁰ Even the libretto of **Mazepa** (arranged by V. P. Burenin, with some changes made by the composer himself) "did not please" Tchaikovsky. And yet, one year later, he said, "one day I took up the libretto of **Mazepa** once more, read Pushkin's poem again, was carried away by some of the scenes and verses — and set to work upon the scene between Mariya and Mazepa, which is taken, without alteration from the original text. Although I have not experienced as yet any of the profound enjoyment [...] — I am not much drawn to the characters — I continue to work at it because I have started, and I believe I may be successful."¹¹

Tchaikovsky's opera **Mazepa** (in three acts, with six scenes) differs from Pushkin's **Poltava** only in that it omits the story of Charles XII and Peter I, and limits itself to the drama between Mazepa, Mariya (Mótrya Kochubéy) and her parents; otherwise the composer basically follows Pushkin's plot, except for the opening scene, where the maiden chorus calls on Mariya, while singing and throwing floral wreaths into the river, in an effort to prophesy their future. Mariya cannot join them, because an important guest, "pan Hetman" is in their house. They leave her and she in her aria complains against her fatal, blind love (contrary to Pushkin's version):

By some unknown power I am drawn to Hetman,

By a capricious, irrevocable fate I am given to him, as a victim.¹²

Meanwhile, in Kochubey's house, Mazepa's proposal to marry Mariya is rejected by the indignant parents, not only because of the wide age difference, but also because Mazepa was her godfather. When the old Hetman asks the young girl to make her choice, Mariya,

9) Kariševa, T., P. P. Sokalskij, Kyiv, 1959.

10) Tchaikovsky, Modest, *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky* (ed. by Rosa Newmarch) New York (Dodd, Mead & Co.), 1924, p. 59.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 424.

12) Tchaikovsky, P. *Mazepa*, opera (noty i tekst), Moscow, (Gos. muz. izd.), 1949, p. 26.

possibly under the spell of his great intellectual power, the pathos of his story, and his striking personality, shyly acquiesces and is led away by him, surrounded by courtiers and armed guards.

Further, the composer follows Pushkin: the offended Kochubey after denouncing Mazepa's plans to join Tsar Peter's enemy in order to liberate Ukraine, lands in jail, where he awaits execution. Anxious Mazepa sings his desperate love to Mariya, who suspects that he is betraying her with the Polish Princess Dulska during his constant absences. To banish her senseless suspicions, Mazepa tells Mariya of his secret plans: "For a long time we have been bending our heads under the protection of Warsaw, and under the despotism of Moscow. It is already time for Ukraine to be an independent state." Patriotic Mariya is excited by his plan and happily exclaims: "You will be Tsar of our native land!" Soon after, however, she learns from her grief-stricken mother, the fatal truth about the inevitable doom of her father, whom they tried desperately to save, but unfortunately had arrived too late.

All this misfortune causes Mariya to lose her mind. After the last battle at Poltava, expressed only by a brilliant symphonic sketch, Mazepa begs Mariya hastily to fly with him from the pursuing Russian troops. She is overwrought and remains indifferent to his fervent plea. Instead, she sits down near Andrey, a Cossack wounded by Mazepa. Andrey had been Mariya's ardent admirer previously. Mariya, unaware of reality, sings a touching lullaby "*Báyushki-bayú*" (interweaving some morbid notes into it), which intermingles with the dying Andrey's love aria, stressing the aura of utmost irony and tragedy.

The most striking musical highlights of this opera are: the grand symphonic **Introduction**; the maiden's song, which is a reflection of the Ukrainian folk-song "*Oy pidú ya dólom, dólen'ky shukáty*", rendered in a gayer key; the sad duet between Mariya and the heart-broken Andrey, the duet between the boys and girls, based on the Russian folk-song "*Nétu khóda, nétu bróda*", and the sparkling and gay Ukrainian "*Hopák*." In the second scene the chorus of women and lamentation of Lyubov Kochubey, Mariya's mother, are very poetic and rendered in a folk-style, reminiscent of the "Lamentation of Yaroslavna" from *Igor's Song*. The **Finale** of the first act is based on the Ukrainian song "*A vzhe vesná...*"

Impressive in the second act, is Kochubey's monologue (in the prison), Mazepa's aria "Silent is the Ukrainian night..." and his inserted aria (at the request of the Moscow artist, B. B. Korsov) "Oh, Mariya, Mariya! At the end of my years, you, like the spring, have revived my soul..." proclaiming tender love, sincere feeling and compassion for the unfortunate maiden. Highly tragic is Mariya's scene with her mother. Rather out of place is the song of a drunken Cossack (a Ukrainian theme) before the execution of Kochubey and

Iskra, as editor P. Jurgenson remarked earlier. But Tchaikovsky insisted on keeping it in, evidently in order to stress historical antagonism between the rich and poor Cossacks. The folk-scenes (Act II) are based on the Russian tune "**Kak iz úlitsy v konéts.**"

Most impressive, however, is the symphonic Prelude to Act III, splendidly depicting **The Poltava Battle**, in which combat music is delicately blended with the furious gallop of Mazepa, escaping from his enemy. The Russian victory is successfully expressed by the Russian folk song "**Sláva**" (the first musical use of which dates as far back as Beethoven, who introduced it into the **E-moll Quartet, Op. 59, No. 2**, dedicated to Rozumovsky, and later was used also by Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov), and the prayer "**Spasí Hóspodi lyúdi Tvoyá.**"¹³

The last duet of the dying Cossack Andrey, Mariya's platonic lover, and the insane Mariya, who, unaware of reality takes his head into her arms, and sings him to his last sleep with a Russian lullaby, "**Báyushki bayú**", masterfully blended with some morbid notes, stresses her ironic, undeserved and tragic end.

Tchaikovsky's negative attitude toward Mazepa, common to all Russians, is evident in his powerful, but brutal and abrupt (**Allegro non troppo**) opening "Mazepa — theme", which contrasts sharply with the beautiful, dreamy, graceful (**Andantino con moto**) "Mariya theme" and which runs through the whole **Introduction**. But the great composer, similarly to Pushkin in **Poltava**, did not deprive Mazepa completely of noble human qualities, which is most visible in his inserted aria, in his song about the future of Ukraine and in his last meeting with insane Mariya, from whom Orlyk has to drag him away.

Mazepa was performed for the first time on February 15, 1884, at the Moscow opera house, and three days later at St. Petersburg, and then repeated in Kyiv (1886), Odessa and Tiflis. Although reception of this opera in Moscow was cordial enough, Tchaikovsky himself attributed this entirely to the popularity of "the principal artists and himself, and not to the merit of the work."¹⁴ C. A. Cui, Russian composer and critic, declared it the composer's "worst opera." The performance of it in 1917 in Moscow received better acceptance.¹⁵ Generally, the failure of this opera is ascribed to the poor and overcrowded libretto "with dramatic situations resembling each other in their appalling gloominess", insufficient Ukrainian local colour, strong Italian influences, lack of unity in style, and as Edwin Evans

¹³ *Muzykalnoye nasledstvo*, Moscow (AN SSSR), 1958. About *Mazepa*, pp. 60-70.

¹⁴ Evans, E., *Tchaikovsky*, New York (Avon), 1960, p. 73.

¹⁵ Tideböhll, Ellen von, "Mazeppa" in *Monthly Musical Record*, London, August 1, 1918, p. 174-176.

thinks "it is not always safe to rob a heroic figure of the unearned halo of romance due to tradition."¹⁶ Still stronger criticism was voiced by *Kievskaya starina* in 1886.¹⁷

Based on Byron, Hugo and Pushkin, as well as her own imagination, the French woman-composer, M. F. C. (de Reiset) Grandval (1830-1907) wrote an opera, *Mazepa*, which was performed at Bordeaux in 1892. In it Kochubey was executed, Mazepa was deposed by the Cossacks from the hetmanate for his betrayal of Tsar Peter I, and there was no battle at Poltava.

An Italian composer, Ildebrando Pizzeti (1880-?) got his inspiration from Pushkin's poem for his opera project, *Mazepa* (beginning of the 20th century), which apparently was never finished.

The last opera, *Mazepa* (performed at Bordeaux, 1925), based on Hugo's poem, was written by the French composer Emile Nerini (1882-?). The plot and characters are completely fictional, such as the Polish noblemen Mazepa, Count Mirwinski and his wife Teresa, the young Cossack girl, Mika, as well as Cossack officers, Ivanych and Petrov.

Inspired by Byron's poem, the English pianist, composer and musicologist, Ruth Gipps (born 1921) wrote a choral work, *Mazepa's Ride*, which is not lacking in originality and vigour.¹⁸

It is worth mentioning here that P. D. Seletsky (1821-1879), a marshal of the Kyivan nobility, lawyer and musician, who knew Liszt, Mendelson, and Meyerberg personally, planned to write an opera "Mazepa." At the home of Prince M. Repnin, in Yahotyn (1843), he met the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, and Princess V. M. Repnina suggested that he compose an opera about Mazepa "as a defender of liberty against the despotism of Peter I", to which the libretto should be written by Shevchenko. Reactionary Seletsky said that "there was nothing heroic" in the deeds of Mazepa and insisted that he be depicted as such "as he was", and only in the Russian language. Shevchenko, who regarded Mazepa as the champion of Ukrainian independence, refused to write such a libretto and especially in the Russian language, and the whole plan collapsed.¹⁹

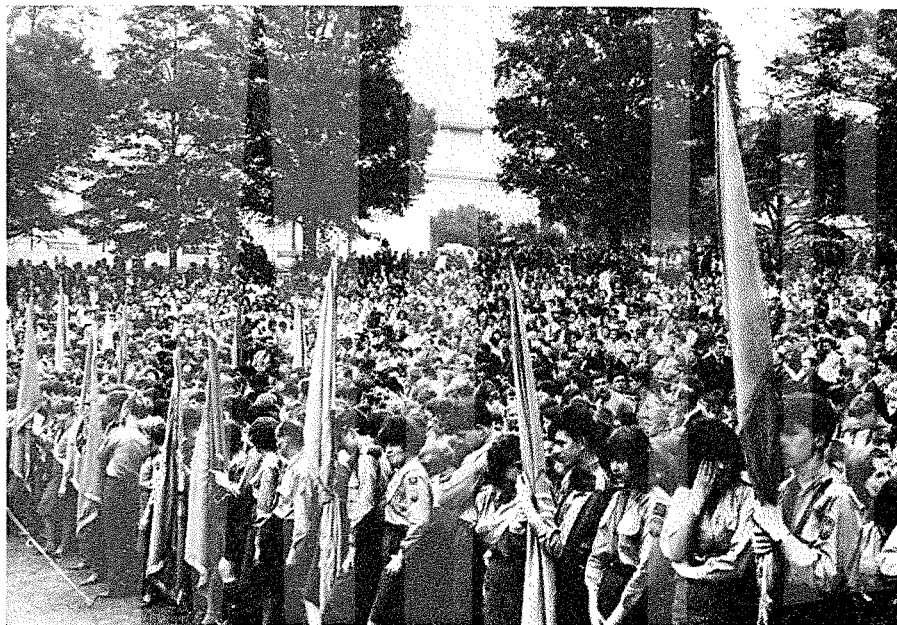
After reading this survey, one can see that Mazepa was popularized in music primarily by foreigners. Ukrainians, who write so many patriotic articles about Mazepa, did not contribute much to his

¹⁶) Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

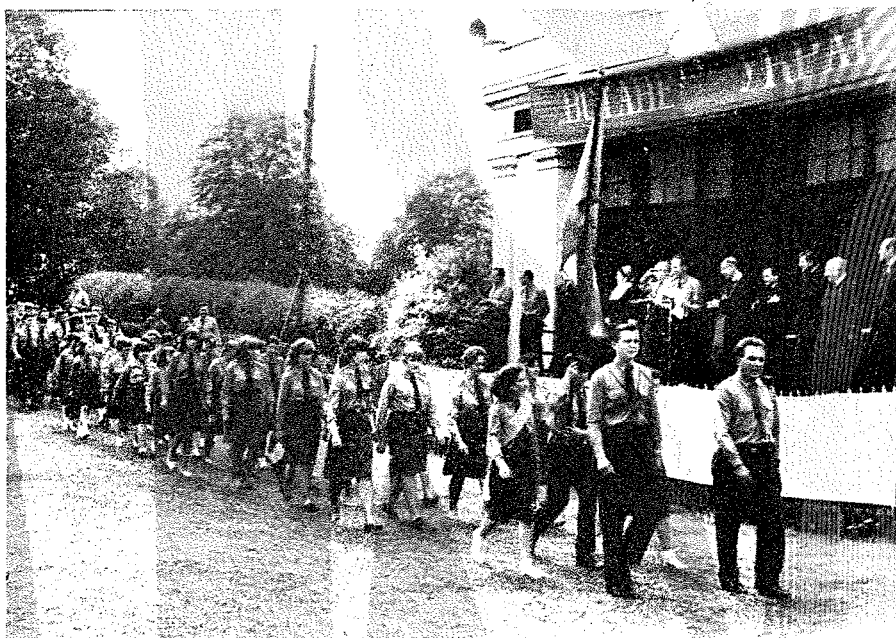
¹⁷) H. V., "Mazepa g. Tchaykovskago", *Kievskaya starina*, Vol. XVI, 1886, pp. 759-762. A more benevolent opinion was voiced by V. Čečott in *Kievlyanin*, No. 256. November 23, 1886; see: Olxovskyj, A. V., P. I. *Tchaykovskyy na Ukrayini*, Zbirnyk, Kiev ("Mystetsvo"), 1940, p. 48.

¹⁸) *Grove's Dictionary of Music & Musicians* (5th ed. by Eric Blom) 10 Vols., London, 1954-1961.

¹⁹) Zajcev, P., *Zhyttya Tarasa Shevchenka*, New York (NTSh), 1955, p. 122.



Rally of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain held in Leicester on July 18, 1964, under the motto "Ukraine Will Arise!", a quotation from T. Shevchenko.



The march-past of the members of the Ukrainian Youth Association at the Rally.



Professor Vasyl Oreletsky,
new Rector of the Ukrainian Free University
in Munich, Germany.

musical glory. We have already mentioned an opera **Mazepa** (1859), by P. P. Sokalsky, which has remained unknown. Much earlier the folk-kobzars sang the "**dúmy**" about Mazepa, and some of them were recorded by M. Lysenko, the greatest Ukrainian composer, and are preserved till this day, such as "**Dúma pro Paliyá i Mazépu.**"²⁰ During World War I, the composer of military songs for "**sichoví stril'tsi**", M. O. Hayvoronsky (1892-1949), wrote a march to the words of R. Kupchynsky "**Za ridnyj kraj**" (1917) where the last stanza says "We are going into battle, blessed by the mighty spirit of Mazepa."²¹ Only recently, the renowned Ukrainian violinist, composer and professor of music at Murray State College, Roman Prydatkevych (born 1897 in Zhyvets) wrote his 4th Symphony "About Hetman Mazepa" (1959), of which the first movement, **Allegro brillante** was successfully performed at Rochester, New York (August 4, 1959). His second composition devoted to Mazepa, is a symphonic cantata "The Great Anniversary" (1959-1963), based on the two poems of Ulyana Kravchenko, written for chorus and orchestra (so far not orchestrated).²²

From this short survey, one can see that, although Mazepa lost his final political battle, he won an immortal name, because the Muses were kinder to him than was Mars. Furthermore, his memory lives in the heart of his countrymen forever. It seems his fate contradicted Schiller's saying:

**Was unsterblich im Gesang soll leben,
Muss im Leben untergehen.**

University of Cincinnati.

²⁰) Kharkov, V., *Ukrainskaya narodnaya muzyka*, Moscow, 1964, p. 44.

²¹) Hajvoronskyj, M. O., *Pisni U.S.S.*, Lviv, 1936, p. 2.

²²) Letter of R. Prydatkevych, October 18, 1964.

Taras SHEVCHENKOTranslated by *Vera RICH***THE DREAM***(for M. A. Markovychka)*

She reaped the wheat in serfdom's labour;
Worn-out, for rest she did not come
To the sheaf — she trudged her way there
To feed Ivan, her little son.
The swaddled child lay wailing, bedded
In the cool shade, under the sheaf;
She loosed the swaddling-bands, and fed him,
Cuddled him, and, as if asleep,
Beside her son drowsed, sleepy-headed.
She saw in dreams: her son Ivan,
Grown up, of handsome, manly carriage,
Wealthy, betrothed, and now his marriage
To a free bride — he a free man,
No more the lord's, they lived in freedom;
In their own smiling field out reaping,
The two were cutting their own wheat,
While children brought them lunch to eat...
Then quietly she smiled, poor mother.
She started up — all gone forever!
She looked at little Ivan, then
Picked him up, swaddled him again,
And, ere it reached the bailiff's ken,
Went off her sixty sheaves to gather.

*

Lines from **THE PRINCESS**

A village! And the heart again
May rest... A village in Ukraine —
Like an egg gay with Easter dyes;
In woodland green the village hides;
The gardens flower, homes gleam white,
A mansion looms upon the height
Like some strange marvel. On all sides
Stand broad-leaved poplars; there again
Is forest, forest-land, and plain,
Blue hills beyond the Dnipro's tide...
And high above, the Lord abides.

Vera RICH

Harald Hardrade, Rognvald Brusason and the "Cities of Cherven"

In studying the complex subject of the relationship between the Varangian warriors and the state of Kyiv-Ruś, it is seldom that we can find an exact agreement between Scandinavian and Slavonic sources. Sometimes the details do not agree, as in the case of the flight of Svyatopolk¹ after the battle of Lyubech in 1016, when, according to the Kievan *Primary Chronicle* Svyatopolk fled among the Lyakhy (i.e. the Poles) whereas according to the Eymundar-saga he took refuge among the Bjarmians². Again, the accounts of the death of Svyatopolk in the Chronicle and the Eymundar-saga differ quite considerably — though they may both be true in their own way. For the Chronicle merely says that Svyatopolk perished miserably after fleeing into the wilderness, whereas the saga records the details of a secret posse of Varangians³ dispatched by Yaroslav to put Svyatopolk to death. This deed, although a political necessity, would hardly have been allowed to become common knowledge in Ruś, nor would it have been graceful to record it in the Chronicle. The Chronicle account is in full agreement with the saga — so far as it goes — it is just that in the former the sordid details are glossed over.

¹) Svyatopolk, in the Eymundar-saga is erroneously called "Burizleifr" or "Burizlafr." He is identified easily enough, however, from the saga narrative. Burizleifr-Burizlafr is the Norse representation of the Polish name "Boleslaw" actually the name of Svyatopolk's father-in-law. Since, however, Svyatopolk repeatedly fought on the side of his father-in-law against his own father and brothers, it is my opinion — although nothing more than an opinion — that he may have been called, ironically "son of Boleslaw", and that from this "patronymic" the confusion arose.

²) i.e. the tribes living around the coast of the White Sea.

³) F. Braune "Hven var Yngvarr en vidforli" (in *Forvannen*, Stockholm 1910), noting the four Icelanders who are specifically mentioned by name as having taken part in this posse, suggests that stories of the exploits of these four constitute the underlying source material of this saga as preserved in Iceland.

Again, an episode concerning Varangians may be recorded at length in one tradition, but leave little or no trace in the other. Usually, of course, it is the Scandinavian sources that have the fuller account — but there is one celebrated exception: the expedition of Haakon the Blind in 1024. It is, of course, hardly surprising that Haakon would try to prevent knowledge of his ignominious rout by the armies of Yaroslav, during which he lost his famous gold-woven robe⁴, from being known in Scandinavia⁵, but his success in suppressing the story means that we have no parallel source with which to check the Chronicle account.

It is therefore extremely refreshing to the student of eleventh-century Ruś to find an episode where the Scandinavian and Kievan sources are in fairly close agreement. One such episode, which does not, however, seem to have evoked a great deal of attention from scholars — perhaps because the agreement is so close that there seems little to discuss — is the material referring to the recapture of the "cities of Cherven" in 1031. The annal for this year reads⁶:

"Yaroslav and Mstislav collected a large force and marched into Poland. They recaptured the cities of Cherven and ravaged the Polish countryside. They also captured many Poles and distributed them as colonists in various districts. Yaroslav located his captives along the Roś where they live till this day"⁷.

Now, although Varangians are not specifically mentioned here we know that Yaroslav often used Varangian reinforcements; indeed they may well have seemed such a normal part of the armies of Ruś that they were not worth a specific mention unless something particularly memorable occurred — as, for example, in the case of Haakon the Blind. The Scandinavian sources, in any case, clearly indicate their presence.

It will be remembered that, after the death of St. Olaf, king of Norway, in the battle of Stiklastaðir in 1030, the king's young

⁴ Chadwick-Kershaw (in *The Beginnings of Russian History, an enquiry into sources*, Cambridge, 1946, pp. 100-103) considers the episode of the golden robe to be non-historical and to be evidence of the influence of Norse scaldic verse on the Chronicle. The chief prop of her theory that the story arises from a misunderstanding of a "kenning" in which the Jarl was compared to Odin, falls away at once if we accept Sienkowski's hypothesis that Haakon was not blind but one-eyed, so that the "impossibility" of his presence in the battle vanishes. Cf. I. Yu. S. Sienkowski's article "Skandinavskiya sagi" in *Sobraniye sochinenii Senkovskago*, vol. 5, SPB, 1858, note to pp. 508-509.

⁵ Stender-Pedersen suggests an identification of this Haakon with the Swedish Jarl Haakon "whose name we so often encounter on Runic stones in Uppland and Södermanland", (*Varangica*, 1953, pp. 138, 147).

⁶ Translated S. H. Cross *The Russian Primary Chronicle (Laurentian Text)*, 1953, p. 138. The Hypatian text for this annal is identical.

⁷ i.e. until the time of compilation of the Chronicle, the last annal of the Laurentian text of which refers to the year 1110 A.D. But this part of the Chronicle may have been written somewhat earlier. Cf. Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

half-brother Harald fled east and took refuge at the court of Yaroslav⁸. His companion in this journey was Rognvald Brusason, nephew of Earl Thorfinn of Orkney. Harald and Rognvald took service in Yaroslav's defence force (*landvarnamenn*) which was commanded by Eilifr, the son of Rognvald Ulfsson who was foster-father to Ingigerd-Irene, Yaroslav's queen⁹.

Luckily, in the various historical sagas, two verses are quoted which refer to the adventures of Rognvald and Harald in these years¹⁰. Rognvald, as a member of the ruling family of Orkney Earls (he was later to contest the Earldom with his uncle Thorfinn) was honoured by a verse by Arnórr Thordarson, the skald of the Orkney Earls. Referring to Rognvald's stay in Ruś, Arnórr says that during this time Rognvald took part in ten pitched battles:

Showed his might in shower-of-
Shield-files, ten times wielded,
War-god-like in Garth-land,
Gallantly, the valiant¹¹.

Now Rognvald was in Ruś from 1031, when he arrived with Harald, until 1035, when he left Ruś with the escort of Magnus, the son of St. Olaf, who had been fostered by Yaroslav and Ingigerd, and who was invited, in 1036, to return to Norway as king¹².

The ten battles must therefore belong to Yaroslav's campaigns of these years against the Poles, and later the Pechenegs¹³. But there

⁸) Cf. the present author's paper: "Ellisif Jarisleifsdottir in the Northern Sources", *The Ukrainian Review*, no. 4, 1963, pp. 29-41 and the references there cited.

⁹) Under the terms of the marriage-contract between Ingigerd and Yaroslav, Rognvald Ulfsson had been made governor of Staraya Ladoga. (See Snorri Sturlason, *Heimskringla, Saga of St. Olaf*, ch. 93 separate *Saga of St. Olaf*, ch. 77. See also the *Saga of St. Olaf* in the *Flateyrbók*, ch. 98.)

¹⁰) As has been frequently pointed out, such verses are a generally reliable source of historical fact, since they are written in such complex forms that it is virtually impossible for them to be changed in transmission, without the fact that they have been changed becoming immediately apparent. Of their initial reliability, as Snorri Sturlason sensibly remarks in his preface to *Heimskringla*: "we rest the foundations of our story principally upon the songs which were sung in the presence of the chiefs themselves or of their sons... for although it be the fashion with scalds to praise most those in whose presence they are standing, yet no one would dare to relate to a chief what he, and all who heard it, knew to be a false and imaginary, not a true account of his deeds; because that would be mockery, not praise." (Samuel Laing's translation in the *Everyman's Library* series, p. 4.)

¹¹) Quoted in *Orkneyinga-saga*, ch. 21. Garthland (Old Norse: *Gardariki*) is Ruś.

¹²) The part played by Rognvald Brusason in persuading Yaroslav to allow Magnus to return to Norway when this embassy arrived in 1035, and his departure with the young king's entourage in the spring of 1036 "as soon as the ice broke", is told in full in *Orkneyinga-saga* ch. 21.

¹³) The presence of Varangians in Yaroslav's forces in the 1034 attack on the Pechenegs is specifically mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle*.

is even better evidence than this. For, speaking of the time during which both Rognvald and Harald served in the defence force, before Harald's departure for Constantinople, Snorri, in *Heimskringla* gives a verse in which the Poles are mentioned by name; a verse, moreover composed by Thjóðólf Arnórsson, a personal friend of Harald and his favourite poet:

As one waged where
Was Eilífr there
Two chiefs, their force —
Troops in wedge-course;
Pressed East-Wends' plight,
Pushed in corner tight;
Lay armies' law
The Laesir o'er¹⁴.

The word here for Poles is "Laesum" — the dative plural from a nominative plural "Laesir." This clearly is derived from the old name for Pole — "Lyakh", since in the course of the Slavonic paradigm, -kh- becomes -s- in accordance with the "second palatalization", and the addition of the regular Norse plural ending of -ir has produced umlaut of the root vowel.

Now it is not stated exactly in the historical sagas when exactly Harald left Ruś, except that he left before Rognvald returned to Norway¹⁵. According to Snorri's interpretation of the rare word "polutasvarf"¹⁶, Harald must have reached Constantinople before the death of Romanus III (April 11, 1034) — which, in view of the fact that travelling by river would be virtually impossible except in the summer months¹⁷ — would entail a departure from Ruś in 1033 — but this interpretation is open to doubt.

¹⁴) Quoted in *Heimskringla*, *Saga of Harald Hardrade*, ch. 2, and in the *Saga of Magnus the Good and Harald Hardrade* in *Flateyrbok*, ch. 11.

¹⁵) Cf. *Orkneyinga-saga* ch. 21.

¹⁶) Snorri says (*Heimskringla* SEH. ch. 16) that Harald took part three times in the "polotasvarf" while he was in Constantinople, and interprets this by saying what whenever one of the emperors died, the Varangian troops were allowed to plunder the treasury, each being allowed to take as much as he could carry away. If this is true, then Harald would have been in Constantinople for the deaths of Romanus III († 1034), Michael IV († 1041) and Michael V († 1042). However, this seems a rather unlikely explanation of a rare word, and Stender-Pedersen ["Le mot varegue: Polutasvarf" in *Varangica*, pp. 150-164 (1953)] suggests a derivation, not from *palatium* (as Snorri thinks) but from Slavonic: *polyudiye* ("tax-gathering circuit" reinforced by Norse *svarf* — circuit).

¹⁷) According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Administrando Imperio*) it was customary for Scandinavians bound from Kyiv to Constantinople, to leave Kyiv in June, when the spring floods had somewhat subsided, leaving the water-level slightly, but not dangerously, above normal. See Holger Arbman: *The Vikings*, (translated by Alan Binns), London, 1961, p. 98.

Nevertheless, we have from the Chronicle that in 1031, Yaroslav's army recaptured the "Cities of Cherven" from the Poles; and from the Norse sources that some time between 1031 and 1035 (perhaps between 1031 and 1033), Yaroslav's defence force was fighting the Poles. For once the two traditions are in clear agreement.

But there is something more to be noted here than the mere coincidence of two sources. The *Primary Chronicle* was written down in the first years of the twelfth century, and it is a problem of great interest as to how the material it contains was preserved during the interval between the event and the time when the Chronicle was written. One theory, held by the ultra-"Normannists"¹⁸ is that Norse Scaldic verses of the type quoted in this article may have survived in Ruś until the early twelfth century. This problem is open to infinite argument, since there is no concrete evidence either way, and it is not proposed that this article should prolong the debate. But as evidence of the survival of such verse, Kershaw-Chadwick says: "It may however be pointed out that... whenever in the *Povest* (i.e. the *Primary Chronicle*) the narrative is concerned in any way with Scandinavians, the narrative at once becomes full and detailed, and is marked by terse and often sardonic wit, such as is the peculiar feature of the Norse sagas and Norse scaldic poetry, while in general the Russian (sic!) relations with Lithuanian peoples and with the Bulgarians and Greeks are related in bare annalistic form, a sure indication that no oral poems on these events current among the people in question were known to the Chroniclers."¹⁹

Now, although the verses quoted here were composed far away from Ruś, according to Kershaw-Chadwick's theory, other verses of the same type should have been composed in Ruś, and remembered there until the beginning of the twelfth century. Composed they may well have been — since Harald was himself a poet — but there is no evidence of their survival in Ruś — or indeed elsewhere²⁰. According to Kershaw-Chadwick, since Varangians were present there should be a "full and detailed" narrative for the recapture of

¹⁸) "Normannists" is the name traditionally given to those scholars and enthusiasts who supported the idea of a purely Scandinavian origin of the Ruś state. This idea, first formulated by G. S. Bayer in his essay *De Varagiis* (St. Petersburg, 1767), evoked such heated controversy (partly political in nature) that a rational exposition of the true role of the Scandinavian element in the formation of the Ruś state became virtually impossible for 150 years. (For a history of the controversy, see W. W. Pochljobkin: "The Development of Scandinavian Studies in Russia up to 1917", *Scandinavica*, 1962, 1, (2), pp. 93-113.)

¹⁹) Chadwick-Kershaw, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁰) Out of the 17 verses attributed to Harald which survive in part or in full, two were written after the battle of Stiklastaðir during his flight to Ruś (1030-1031), 5 were written on his return journey from Constantinople to Ruś (circa 1042-44) and the remainder after his return to Norway, (1045). If he wrote verses during his stay in Ruś, they have not survived.

the "Cities of Cherven" — in the Chronicle; yet, in fact, the annal for 1931 is "bare" and "annalistic." One may, of course, argue that there has been compression or suppression of the material of the Chronicle²¹ — but the onus of proof is on the supporters of such hypotheses. As it stands, the text of the Chronicle for 1031, taken together with the Scandinavian evidence, goes a long way towards refuting such extremist arguments.

²¹) Thus, for example, A. von Reutz in "Eymundar Saga" *Dorpater Jahrbuch für Literatur, Statistik und Kunst*, 1834, pp. 104-106 suspects abridgement in the Chronicle in the annals relating to the struggle of Yaroslav and Bryachislav in the years 1016-1021.

THE TREATY BETWEEN CHARLES XII AND HETMAN MAZEPA

1. His Royal Majesty pledges himself to defend Ukraine and the territories, annexed to the Country of the Cossacks, and to send there auxiliary troops without any delay if the necessity arises and the Prince and the Estates request for help. On their entrance into the Country these troops will remain under the orders of the Swedish generals, but while they are operating in Ukraine, His Majesty will entrust their command to the Prince or his successors, and it will last as long as Ukraine has need of the troops, to which His Royal Majesty will furnish the pay and the Cossacks the bread and food.

2. All that is conquered of the old territory of Muscovy will belong by right of conquest to the power which becomes the master of it; but whatever is discovered as having once belonged to the Ukrainian people, will be returned and kept by the Ukrainian Principality.

3. The Prince and the Estates of Ukraine, by virtue of the law which they have hitherto enjoyed, will be preserved and maintained throughout the territory of the Principality and the parts annexed to it.

4. Ivan Mazepa, legitimate Prince of Ukraine, will in no manner be disturbed in the possession of this Principality; after his death (and it is hoped that this may not come for a long time), the Estates of Ukraine will preserve their liberties in accordance with their rights and ancient laws.

5. No change shall be introduced in the present usage of the Arms and the Title of the Prince of Ukraine. His Royal Majesty shall never be able to assume this Title or these Arms.

(From: "Deduction of Ukraine's Rights" by Hetman Orlyk.)

“Compel the Government of the Soviet Union to Liquidate Its Imperialism and Colonialism”

**Excerpts from the Speech by Hon. Paul Yuzyk
in the Canadian Senate***

...If Canada desires to continue her role as a leader of the increasing number of middle nations of the world, her principles of foreign policy must be constructive and lucid, inspiring confidence in all nations who are striving to achieve peace, progress, prosperity, justice, co-operation, freedom and democracy.

Honourable senators, I am taking this opportunity to make an appraisal of Canadian policy in the United Nations regarding the Soviet Union. Having been a senatorial observer in the Canadian delegation to the 18th General Assembly of the United Nations last fall and having lectured for many years at University on Russian, Soviet and Eastern European history, I believe that I have a contribution to make in this field.

While at the United Nations I was privileged to see and hear the late President of the United States, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, deliver his last speech to that assembly...

Here is an extract from that speech.

The most powerful single force in the world today is neither communism nor capitalism, neither the H-bomb nor the guided missile; it is man's eternal desire to be free and independent.

Kennedy, who at that time was a senator, followed up by stating that the single most important test of United States foreign policy is what should be done to further man's desire to be free. It is a test that should as

well be applied to Canadian foreign policy.

Kennedy perceived that the direction of mankind was not toward uniformity but rather toward “a world based on diversity, self-determination, freedom.” As an historian and a philosopher, when he was addressing a university convocation in 1962, the late President noted that the emerging world would inevitably reject the communist concept of a monolithic world. Here is the significant part of that speech:

No one who examines the modern world can doubt that the great currents of history are carrying the world away from the monolithic idea toward the pluralistic idea — away from communism and toward national independence and freedom. No one can doubt that the wave of the future is not conquest of the world by a single dogmatic creed but the liberation of the diverse energies of free nations and free men.

The greatest enemy of the freedom of man and nations is imperialism with its attendant colonialism. Empires, however, have risen and fallen. In our age we have witnessed the fall of the Austrian Habsburg Empire, the Russian Tsarist Empire, and others, as these are not the natural condition of mankind today. Britain, France and other colonial powers have been progressively relinquishing their colonial territories.

*) *Debates of the Senate*, 2nd Session, 26th Parliament, Vol. 113, No. 42. Monday, May 25, 1964, pp. 548-553.

The liberation of man and nations, which was ushered in by the French Revolution, has become the spirit of our age. For example, we have witnessed the rapid de-colonization of Africa. A little over a decade ago only four independent states existed in Africa. Today there are 35 independent states, of which 26 are seven years old or less.

The United Nations, which began its life 20 years ago with 51 members, today has 113, more than double its original membership, and during that time almost one billion people have achieved their independence. In its efforts to bring an end to the era of colonialism, the United Nations has helped many peoples to gain their independence and statehood.

With the disappearance of imperialism and colonialism throughout most of the world, the great paradox of our age is the existence of a United Nations member, the Soviet Union, which has emerged as the world's greatest imperialist power. It is most ironical that the U.S.S.R., while steadily expanding, has been the loudest in the United Nations in denouncing imperialism. The greatest threat to the freedom and independence of man and nations and to the peace of the world today is Soviet Russian imperialism, under the guise of spreading revolutionary socialism and communism to all peoples.

We can be proud that Canada was one of the first in the United Nations to challenge Russian colonialism. In his famous speech of September 26, 1960, Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker reminded Khrushchov of the Soviet declaration for "the complete and final elimination of colonial regimes." Diefenbaker then presented the record of Britain and France regarding the elimination of colonialism:

Since the last war seventeen colonial areas and territories, comprising more than 40 million people, have been brought to complete freedom by France. In the same period, fourteen colonies and territories, comprising half a billion people, have achieved complete freedom within the Commonwealth... this with the approval, the encouragement and the guidance of

the United Nations, the Commonwealth and France. There are few here that can speak with the authority of Canada on the subject of colonialism, for Canada was once a colony of both France and the United Kingdom. We were the first country which evolved over a hundred years ago by constitutional process from colonial status to independence without severing the family connection.

Later the Canadian Prime Minister posed the following questions:

How many human beings have been liberated by the U.S.S.R.?... How are we to reconcile the tragedy of the Hungarian uprising in 1956?... What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and many other Eastern European peoples?

And very emphatically he stated:

There can be no double standard in international affairs.

Our Prime Minister later elaborated his views to a large gathering of ethnic groups in Toronto on November 22, 1961. I quote for the record:

The Soviet Union, while pretending otherwise, is a colonial power and a colossus of empires.

It dominates, subjugates, and exploits vast areas of Asia and of the Caucasus, initially colonized in the nineteenth century and earlier by Imperial Russia, using them as a source of cheap raw materials, cheap labour, and as a captive market.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union, by force of arms, has deprived highly developed countries of their independence, deported tens of thousands of their citizens to misery and death, exploited their riches, and ruthlessly suppressed every attempt on the part of their people to maintain any semblance of national identity...

This was the course followed in 1919 when the Red Army trampled on the newly-attained independence of the Ukraine. This occurred while the new Bolshevik Government of Russia was piously declaring that, under its new nationality policy, every part of the former Russian Empire was free to go its own way. The same story could be told of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia.

Soviet representatives will tell us that the peoples of these subject countries invited the Soviet Army to invade them because what they wanted most was to become part of the Soviet Union.

Is there any sovereign state in the world — independent, democratic, economically vigorous and having a high standard of living — which would willingly invite military occupation and political subjugation by a large neighbour? Would such subjugation be welcomed when that neighbour had a lower living standard, had no democratic institutions, and was under the rule of dictatorship?

No free country would invite such invasion and subjugation. The peoples of the Ukraine, the Baltic countries, or other Eastern European countries of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia did not invite it. They had it thrust upon them. They were never given an opportunity to choose freedom. They are still being denied the right by the U.S.S.R., which the U.S.S.R. contends should be right of all peoples.

Is the Soviet Union to be the only colonial power remaining in the world? Why should the Soviet empire be more sacrosanct than any other? Different rules do not and should not apply to Soviet imperialists. There must be no double standards in the United Nations.

The United Nations Declaration makes no distinction as to the colour or race of people subjected to alien domination and exploitation, it does not qualify the right of peoples to self-determination. It uses the all-embracing word 'all' in the preamble that 'all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty, and the integrity of their national territory.'

The United States took a firm stand against Soviet imperialism at the Sixteenth General Assembly in the fall of 1961. President Kennedy expressed American sympathy and support for the continuing tide of self-determination in the following statement:

But that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not yet reached the Com-

munist empire, where a population far larger than that officially termed 'dependent' lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions — under a system which knows only one party and one belief — which suppresses free debate, free elections, free newspapers, free books, and free trade unions — which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. Let us have the choice and the practice of free plebiscites in every corner of the globe.

The American Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, at the same session, on November 25, 1961, condemned all forms of colonialism and urged the United Nations to focus attention on the colonialism of the Soviet Union by applying the key of self-determination. He related the historical events of the Soviet conquest of several peoples who had established independent states after the fall of the Russian monarchy at the end of the First World War, noting how the Bolsheviks employed a double standard with complete impunity. This is the reference to Ukraine, one of the large so-called "republics" of the Soviet Union and a voting member of the United Nations:

We are told that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination. Indeed the Soviet regime at its inception issued a Declaration of Rights which proclaimed "the right of the nations of Russia to free self-determination including the right to secede and form independent states."

How did this 'right' work in practice? An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival republic in Kharkiv. In July 1923, with the help of the Red Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the U.S.S.R.

Ambassador Stevenson then explained how the Soviet Government attempted to justify the double standard:

The right of self-determination has never been accepted for its own dependent areas by the Soviet Government. Stalin in 1923 explained that "there are instances when the right of self-determination comes into conflict with another, higher right, the right of the working class to fortify its own power. In such cases the right of self-determination cannot be and must not serve as an obstacle to the realization of the right of the working class to its own dictatorship. The former must give way to the latter." In short, self-determination is a right which can only be upheld when the peoples concerned have not fallen under Communist domination.

Stevenson warned the United Nations members that the ascendancy of the smiling Khrushchov has brought no changes in the Soviet nationality policy, whose announced design was to eradicate all national differences between the diverse nationalities and the Great Russian model. The ambassador called attention to the Soviet Communist Party program, which lamented that "the obliteration of national features, particularly of the language differences, is a considerably longer process than the obliteration of class differences." Khrushchov's speech to the 22nd Congress of the Party warned that "even the slightest vestiges of nationalism should be eradicated with uncompromising Bolshevik determination."

Stevenson concluded:

This is the unique aspect of Soviet colonialism — an aspect that differentiates it from all other historical examples of one state's suppression of another's freedom. Through the total state controls of mass culture, propaganda, education, and movement, the Soviets seek to wipe out forever the national characteristics that differentiate the Turk from the Ukrainian, the Kazakh from the Armenian, the non-Russian from the Russian. They not only seek the eradication of differences and the suppression of freedom, but the eradication of the desire for freedom.

At the 17th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1962, the Canadian and American policies

continued to be identical with respect to Russian imperialism. The Canadian representative, Mr. Heath Macquarrie, M.P., on November 23, reiterated the original stand of Prime Minister Diefenbaker, in those words:

But what about the position of subject peoples within the Soviet empire? Assessments may vary but there are about 96 million people under Soviet rule who have never been permitted to exercise the right of self-determination which the USSR so loudly proclaims for others. It is a unique and disturbing phenomenon at this time in world affairs, when one of the highest aspirations of mankind is the peaceful and orderly evolution to viable freedom for all dependent peoples, that the U.S.S.R. should continue to deny the rights of free election and expression to subject nations under its domination...

Consistent with the position outlined by the Prime Minister, the Canadian Government has continued to urge that the focus of United Nations' attention be brought to bear on conditions within the Soviet empire and more particularly on the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These conditions should be placed in the context of all Assembly discussions about these rights and freedoms and about the status of dependent peoples everywhere. Our aim is to provide perspective for the strident demands which the U.S.S.R. makes on behalf of others for rights and benefits, denied the subject peoples of the Soviet empire.

In view of the harmony of Canada and the United States regarding Soviet Russian imperialism, one would have expected a stronger combined effort at the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations last fall. The American delegate, Mr. Yates, delivered a speech on December 4, 1963, pointing out that "fortunately for the rest of the world, and fortunately perhaps for the Soviets themselves in the long run, this new empire is tending to crack up."

Referring to the fact that the United Kingdom, France and other powers had granted independence to their formerly colonial territories, he asked

outrightly, "Can the Soviet Union point to one territory that it has surrendered?" And answered, "It cannot." He called upon the nations of the world "to make sure that every people now under colonial domination is given the chance to exercise the right as well as the pure form of self-determination" according to the promise of the United Nations Charter for all peoples.

In my capacity as senatorial observer I urged the Canadian delegation of the present government, in our conferences, to support the stand of the United States Government and the former Canadian Government. The response was not forthcoming. It appears that the new Canadian Government decided to pursue a policy of non-commitment, ostensibly in view of the impending wheat sales to the Soviet Union at that time. The fact remains, however, that the sale of wheat to the U.S.S.R. by the former Government of Mr. Diefenbaker did not prevent him from censuring Soviet Russian imperialism and championing the case of subjugated peoples, as a matter of principle.

It is my belief that this non-committal attitude of the Canadian Government in this issue and many other instances considerably tarnished our image in the United Nations, which means throughout a great part of the world. One of the Canadian journalists, Bruce Phillips, wrote an article in the *Ottawa Citizen* of December 11, 1963, entitled "Fence-sitting begins to hurt." It reads:

United Nations, N.Y.—The Canadian delegates here are getting to be known among their colleagues from other parts of the world as the Old Abstainers from the Faraway Woods.

And they are not talking about Canadian consumption at the bar in the delegates' lounge, either, which is at least on a par with the best of them from the rest of the globe.

What they mean is Canada's voting record in the General Assembly and in the U.N. committees, which this year includes an unprecedented number of issues on which the Canadian delegation has taken no official position.

There are good reasons for this; at least, the Canadian spokesmen believe they are good reasons. The fact remains that Canada's careful fence-sitting at the United Nations this year is costing the country prestige among the small and new nations whom Canada has tried most energetically to influence.

The annual celebrations by the Ukrainians in Canada and throughout the free world of the Act of January 22, 1918, by which the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the independence of Ukraine, serve to remind the free nations of the world that the Ukrainians are an old nation, which had been subjugated by the Russian tsars and finally realized her right to self-determination. The establishment of an independent Ukrainian National Republic was the rejection of Russian imperialism and colonialism in all their forms. The new state rejected the autocracy and tyranny of the tsars and the dictatorship of a single party which was instituted by Lenin. The Act of January 22, 1918, proclaimed full democracy guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, religion, association and to strike; all minorities were granted "national-personal" autonomy.

When the imperial structure of Tsarist Russia crumbled in 1917 under the heavy weight of its oppression, the Ukrainian Government of the Central Rada convened in September a congress of the nations of the former Russian empire, which approved the implementation of the principle of the self-determination of nations. One by one the non-Russian nations followed the example of Ukraine and proclaimed their independence and statehood. This is the sequence: Idel-Ural, November 12, 1917; Finland, December 6, 1917, Kuban Cossacks, February 16, 1918; Lithuania, February 16, 1918; Estonia, February 24, 1918; Byelorussia, March 25, 1918; Don Cossacks, May 5, 1918; North Caucasus, May 11, 1918; Georgia, May 26, 1918; Azerbaidzhan, May 29, 1918; Armenia, May 30, 1918; Poland, November 11, 1918; Latvia, November 18, 1918; Far-Eastern Democratic Republic (Siberia), April 4, 1920; and Turkestan, April 15, 1922. In most cases, by means of subversion and with the aid of the Russian Red

Army, these nations after heroic struggles were re-incorporated into a new Russian empire under the deceptive name of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This newly reconstituted Soviet Russian empire acquired as insatiable an appetite for more territory and world domination as the old Tsarist Russian empire, except that it developed more subtle techniques, and makes use of powerful propaganda to conceal the true nature of its motives and actions. At the end of the Second World War and subsequently the Soviet Union extended its domination over other European nations, which, having become known as the Soviet satellites, in reality became Russian colonies. Even Asian leaders have denounced Soviet colonialism including Moscow's exploitation of the satellite peoples. Here is the statement of Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, spoken to Asian and African nations at the Bandung Conference, April 21, 1955:

There is another form of colonialism, however, about which many of us represented here are perhaps less clear in our minds and to which some of us would perhaps not agree to apply the term colonialism at all. Think, for example, of those satellite states under Communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe — of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Poland.

I would also add East Germany.

Are not these colonies as much as any of the colonial territories in Africa or Asia? And if we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty openly to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?

Subsequently, the declaration of an Asian nation was forthcoming at the United Nations when the Malayan Ambassador, Mr. Dato Ong Yok Lin, spoke to the 17th General Assembly on November 28, 1962:

We are opposed to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, whether

it is the traditional type practised by Western European powers or the new and more sinister kind of colonialism perpetrated by Communist imperialism. We subscribe to the view that colonialism, in whatever form or shape, is a constant threat to international peace and security, and, as such, it must be speedily liquidated.

Had the Western World recognized and supported the non-Russian states that had emerged after the fall of the Russian Monarchy in 1917, in accordance with Wilson's principle of self-determination, this would probably have prevented the expansion of Bolshevik Russia into a Soviet empire, which has become a menace to the free world. The cure of this cancer is now much more difficult, but it must be consistently and constantly applied. If the United Nations declaration that "all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory" has been made to apply to peoples in Africa and Asia, most of whom have never possessed a historical statehood, then surely it must be equally applicable to all the non-Russian nations and satellites under Soviet Russian domination who had already exercised their right of self-determination about a half-century earlier.

All the free nations of the world, including Canada, must make a constant, concerted effort in the General Assembly of the United Nations to compel the government of the Soviet Union to liquidate its imperialism and colonialism by granting the right of self-determination to the non-Russian nations and satellites under Russian communist rule.

The cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy should always be what Canadians treasure most — to make the world safe for democracy, the freedom of the individual and of nations; peace, prosperity and progress; and to co-operate fully with all nations of the world who recognize these principles and adhere to them in the spirit of brotherhood and in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights...

DOCUMENTS ON UKRAINIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS

Philip FRIEDMAN

Ukrainians Friendly to Jews

How large was the number of Ukrainians that helped Jews under the Nazis, or that went so far as to risk their lives to rescue Jews? In all probability we shall never have exact statistics on these "good Gentiles." (This is how they were known in popular parlance.) A fair idea about them may be gained from the official German publications of the SS and the police of District Galicia, from October 1943 to June 1944. On the basis of a new German law "to combat anti-German activities", promulgated October 2, 1943, no less than 1,541 Ukrainians were sentenced to death for various political offences, such as membership in proscribed Ukrainian organizations or various armed bands, economic and industrial sabotage and the like. Included in this list were some 100 Ukrainians who were executed for helping or concealing Jews (*Judenbegünstigung*)⁶⁸. This is a substantial number when we take into consideration the following facts: (1) Only a part of the Ukrainians who helped Jews were apprehended and executed. Many of them were never apprehended and some of those apprehended were given lighter sentences; (2) In many instances those guilty of this "offence" were executed on the spot and do not figure in the official statistics; (3) The death sentences cover the period of October 1943 and June 1944, the date of the capture of the

⁶⁸) L. Shankowsky communicated to me these figures in his letter of March 7, 1958. The same figures are also given in Lebed *op. cit.*, p. 65). On the other hand, Shankowsky (*op. cit.*, p. 698) mentions, undoubtedly by mistake, a much higher figure. The announcements of the SS and Police Chief of the District Galicia (in German, Ukrainian and Polish) were posted everywhere to give warning to the population. A collection of such posters is found in the archives of the Prologue Society in New York. Photostatic copies of these posters were made for the Archives of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research and the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris.

In conjunction with these announcements of executions in Galicia mention should be made of the fact that we have found a confidential report sent by the SS and Police Chief of the Government General to the higher authorities in Berlin on October 7, 1943. The report states that there has been a marked increase in trials of Christians, specially peasants for concealing Jews. The writer of the report opines that these actions have a twofold motivation: pity and friendship because of former business associations. He is, moreover, of the opinion that such crimes should not be tried. They should be dealt with summarily: death "on the spot, without losing time", for also prior to this the Christian guilty of such crimes had been executed without trial. The original of this report is in the Archive of the Polish Western Institute (Instytut Zachodni) in Poznan. An authorized copy is in my possession.

territory by the Russians; (4) Our list includes only a part of the Ukrainian territory, the so-called Galicia District.

We learn of many similar instances in incidental sources. Thus a well-known Ukrainian leader, on the basis of testimonies gathered by the Yiddish writer, Joseph Schwarz, lists 11 Ukrainians who rescued Jews, among them an engineer, Alexander Kryvoiaza of Sambor, Eastern Galicia, who employed in his factory 58 Jews and during an anti-Jewish operation helped conceal them. The forester Lew Kobilnitsky and his brother-in-law rescued 23 Jews in Zawalow, Eastern Galicia⁶⁹. Another Ukrainian, a former forester in the district of Przemyślany, Eastern Galicia, reports the following: The district contained five towns and thirty-six villages. The population was 70% Ukrainian. Among the foresters were 35 Ukrainians and 5 Poles. With the help of the foresters, 1,700 Jews were concealed in the forests. Some Jews were concealed in the monastery of the Ukrainian Order of the Studites, which was located in the woods⁷⁰. In addition, a large number of individual, frequently very dramatic, accounts of Jews rescued by Ukrainians of various classes is extant⁷¹. In some instances these rescuers were former domestics or other employees or ordinary peasants. Occasionally they were of the Ukrainian middle class or intelligentsia. There are also records of sympathy meetings and even demonstrations by Ukrainians on behalf of the Jews⁷².

⁶⁹) Mudryj, Vasyl, *op. cit.* Mudryj's article is based in the main on materials and testimonies of Jews who survived thanks to such Ukrainians, gathered by Joseph Schwarz of Brooklyn. The survivors live in New York, Vineland, N.J. and in the State of Israel.

⁷⁰) Pik-Pyasetzki, Petro, "Yak ukrainski lisnyky ratuvaly zhydiv", *Svoboda*, April 9, 1955.

⁷¹) On rescue and aid activities on the part of Ukrainians, particularly Ukrainian women, former maids in Jewish homes, see Eber-Friedman, Ada, "Z galerji moich zyciodawców", *Nasza Trybuna* (New York 1949-1950), nos. 109-118; Winfried, *Tagebuch für Ruth* (Vienna 1946), special issue of the *Wiener Revue*, no. 2, p. 14; Szende, St., *The Promise Hitler Kept*, p. 194; *Dzieci oskarżają*, p. 139; Korn, Rachel, *Tog* (Sept. 23, 1949); Borwicz, M., *Arishe papirn*, II, pp. 40-43; *Sefer hosht*, p. 118; *Yalkut volin*, I and II (on Ukrainian peasants who rescued Jews in Hoszcza, Melnica, Klesow, Lutsk, Ozierany); *Yizkor-bukh ratne*, p. 561, *Pinkes biten* (Buenos Aires 1954) pp. 503-510; Fuchs, T., *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225; Ehrenburg, Ilya, *Merder fun felker* (Moscow 1944-45), I, pp. 10-18, II, pp. 100-104, 119-123; Rozen, Donia, *Yedide hayaar* (Jerusalem 1954); Kenig, G., *Undzere bafrayer* (Paris 1952); Ungar, Eliezer, *Zakhor, bime kronot hamavet* (Tel Aviv 1945); Gelber, N. M., *Brodi*, p. 404, notes the names of 10 Ukrainians and Poles, members of the intelligentsia and the working classes, who aided the Jews. *Rovno, sefer zikaron* tells of a Ukrainian lawyer friendly to the Jews. The Ukrainian library of the Shevchenko Society in Lwow employed and protected at a given period four Jewish employees, see Doroshenko, Wolodymyr, *Ohnyshche ukrainskoi nauky* (Philadelphia-New York 1957), pp. 92-93. *Sefer butshatsh* (pp. 275-276) records the very friendly attitude of the local Ukrainian mayor, Iwan Bubik. He did many favours to the Jews and rescued many from danger. He also prevented the establishment of a ghetto in Buczacz.

⁷²) Hirschprung, Pinkhes, *Fun natsishn yomertol* (Montreal 1944) pp. 115-116; Schwarz, Solomon M., *op. cit.*, p. 314. M. Teich, president of the Jewish

An interesting chapter is the attitude of the Ukrainian Church to Jewish persecutions. In Galicia the Ukrainian Church was Greek-Catholic (Uniate), in Volhynia and in Eastern Ukraine Greek-Orthodox. At the head of the Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia was the metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky (b. 1865). In poor health and half paralyzed, he was one of the leading Ukrainian statesmen and scholars and the highest acknowledged moral authority among his people⁷³. His attitude toward the Jews was always friendly. He knew Hebrew and even corresponded in Hebrew with Jewish communities⁷⁴. When the Nazis began their anti-Jewish operations with the help of the Ukrainian auxiliary police, Sheptytsky in February 1942 addressed a letter to Reichsminister Heinrich Himmler, protesting against these operations and particularly against involving the Ukrainian auxiliary police in them. Himmler's office sent that letter back to Lwow to the German Security Service. The leader of the Security Service in Lwow did not want to resort to drastic means in dealing with the old and highly respected divine, but retaliated in another way. They closed the office of the Ukrainian National Council in Lwow, of which Sheptytsky was honorary chairman⁷⁵. In November 1942

community in Suczawa, Bucovina, and taken by the Nazis to Shargorod, Transnistria, narrates the following episode: In mid-November (1941) a group of almost 900 women, children and a few aged people arrived from Dorohoi District in Shargorod. Their onward journey northwards, in heavy winter, would mean certain death. We intervened with the Praetor to leave them with us for a few days, but in vain. He ordered the immediate departure of a part the next day. When they set out for the march, many of the Ukrainian peasants women who had come to the market crowded around the deportees and gave them food for the journey. Arriving at the Praetor's office, the women sat down and blocked the way. When the Praetor arrived, the peasant women cried and screamed and raised their fists and shouted: "You Burjui! How can you be so hard against human beings?" The transport was returned and eventually they all stayed for good in Shargorod (*Yad Washem Studies*, II, pp. 231-232).

⁷³) Ilnytskyj, R., *op. cit.*, II, p. 176.

⁷⁴) A photostatic copy of a Hebrew letter sent by the Metropolitan Sheptytsky in 1903 to the Jewish community in Jaworow, Eastern Galicia, was published by Friedman, P., "Hurban yehude Ivov", p. 670.

⁷⁵) Rabbi David Kahane tells (*Undzer veg*, Paris, Sept. 17, 1948) that at the time of his visit to the metropolitan in August 1942, Sheptytsky told him of his letter to Himmler and of the rude reply he had received from the German Police and SS Chief. The story of this letter is told by Sheptytsky's biographers, see Blutchkoj T., *Velykyi chernets i narodoliubets* (Prudentopol, Brazil, 1949?) pp. 130-131; Baran, Stepan, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytsky* (Munich 1947) pp. 114-115. Baran tells that Sheptytsky forbade his priests to minister to Ukrainians who participated in anti-Jewish operations, even under pretext of German pressure. Pankiowsky is of the opinion that Sheptytsky's letter led to the German repressive measures against the Ukrainian National Council in Lwow. Other Ukrainian writers, such as Ilnytskyj, maintain that the days of the Ukrainian National Council were then numbered anyway. See Pankiowsky, "Roky nimetskoj okupatsii", *Lysty do pryvatelyv*, V, no. 3, pp. 11-12; Ilnytskyj, R., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 186-187, 208, 227, 231, 244-246, 250.

Sheptytsky published in the official organ of the Galician Uniate Church a pastoral letter, titled "Thou Shalt not Kill", in which he stressed the importance of this commandment and threatened with excommunication all offenders. Undoubtedly because of the German censorship no concrete facts are mentioned in the letter. But the fact that the letter was published in the fall of 1942, when the extermination operations reached their highest point, indicated clearly what was happening. Only the last paragraph referred to the fratricidal wars among the Ukrainians (an allusion to the fight between the Bandera and Melnyk followers)⁷⁶. The effect of the metropolitan's letter on the Ukrainian community is indeterminable. Also later on, the metropolitan on various occasions fearlessly spoke his mind to the Germans. In September 1943 a certain Dr. Frederic visited the metropolitan on a mission from the German Foreign Ministry. Sheptytsky boldly reproached his visitor for the German inhuman attitude toward Jews. In Lwow alone they had killed 100,000 Jews and in the rest of the Ukraine millions. A Ukrainian young man, he said, confessed to him that he single-handedly had slain in one night 75 Jews in Lwow. The extermination of the Jews is intolerable, the metropolitan concluded⁷⁷.

The metropolitan was not content with mere words. He manifested his attitude towards the Jews in acts and took part in rescue activities. On August 14, 1942, two rabbis who were employed in the religious department of the Judenrat, Dr. David Kahane⁷⁸ and Dr. Chameides (rabbi in Katowice before the war), visited Sheptytsky. They requested him to conceal the scrolls of the Law in the building of the Jewish community, which were in danger of being destroyed by the Germans in the extermination operations in Lwow, which began on August 10. They also asked the metropolitan if he would conceal several Jewish children. The metropolitan summoned his brother, Father Superior Clement Sheptytsky, who was the archimandrite of the Studite monasteries, and gave the two rabbis a recommendation to his sister, Sister Josepha, Mother Superior of the nunneries. The result of these conversations with the Sheptytskys was that some 150 Jews, mostly small boys and girls, were admitted to the various Studite monasteries and were thus saved. Although some 550 Studites, monks and nuns knew the secret, none of the concealed Jews was betrayed to the

⁷⁶ *Lwiwski Arkhieparkhialni Widomosti*, vol. LV, no. 11 (November 1942) pp. 177-183. The photostatic copy of this document came to us through the courtesy of Dr. Vincent Shandor, executive secretary of the Ukrainian Congress of America in New York.

⁷⁷ The wording of the interview was in all likelihood doctored by Dr. Frederic. The report, dated Berlin, September 19, 1943, is now in the archive of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris (CXLVa-60).

⁷⁸ Dr. Kahane was a teacher in the secondary schools in Lwow prior to World War II and after the war chief chaplain in the Polish army. At present he is chaplain in the Israeli army.

Germans. In addition, Sheptytsky concealed in his own residence in Lwow 15 Jews, among them Dr. David Kahane⁷⁹.

Jewish survivors also tell of other Ukrainian priests, Uniate or Greek-Orthodox who rescued Jews or helped them⁸⁰.

Noteworthy are the rescue activities of a Greek-Catholic priest in France. Father Valentin Bakst, who had a parish of Ukrainian dock workers in Marseilles, concealed Jews in his church and provided them with forged "Aryan papers." Ostensibly, he was aided in this work by some of his parishioners. When the Germans got wind of his rescue activities, he fled. He was placed in charge of a children's colony, in which most of the children were disguised Jews, in the Haute-Savoie Department, close to the Swiss border. Apparently, some of the children were successfully smuggled into Switzerland⁸¹.

Interesting is also the fact that Ukrainian Baptists in Volhynia and Seventh Day Adventists in Galicia showed great sympathy to the persecuted Jews, helped them and in part also concealed them.

⁷⁹) Dr. Kahane, in his memoirs published in *Undzer veg* (Paris, Sept. 17, 1948). Among the concealed were also the two sons of the rabbi of Lwow, Dr. Ezekiel Lewin. One of the sons, Isaak Lewin, later published his memoirs, *Aliti mispezia*, in which he described his meetings with the metropolitan and the years spent with the Studites (pp. 174-175). Later on he added to this description several details in an article published in the English supplement to the Ukrainian publication *Swoboda*, of January 1954.

Marko Stek, a Ukrainian priest who was in charge of the rescue activities on behalf of Jewish children, left Eastern Galicia for Poland in 1954, and thence, with the help of Isaak Lewin and Dr. Kahane, he went to Germany and then to America. Another 12 Studite monks managed to leave and settled on a farm in Canada.

Recently a movement was set afoot for the beatification of the metropolitan. An authorized biography of the metropolitan was submitted to the Holy See by the Reverend Michael Hrynchyshyn, where mention is made of his rescue of the Jews (Romana seu Leopoliensis. *Beatificationis et canonizationis servi Dei Andreae Szeptyckyj Archiepiscopi Leopoliensis Ucrainorum Metropolitae Haliciensis, Articuli pro causae instructione* (Rome 1958) p. 30.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The above is an excerpt from the article by Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations" published in *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, Vol. XII, Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, New York, 1958/59, pp. 287-294, slightly abbreviated regarding notes.

Lew Shankowsky
c/o Bonnie View Hotel
Pine Hill, N.Y., USA.

T E S T I M O N Y

Concerning the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Help It Extended the Jewish Population of Ukraine at the Time of the Nazi Occupation of Ukraine (1941-1944)

On request of Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, President, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, I depose this my *written testimony* concerning the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the help it extended the Jewish population of Ukraine at the time of Nazi occupation of Ukraine (1941-1944). I respectfully ask you to consider this testimony as made *under oath*. I am always ready to swear it, complete as a whole, and complete in every part (*totus in toto, et totus in qualibet parte*), personally, before any authority I might be asked to appear in person.

I testify under oath about the facts which I personally witnessed or about which I know that they happened because I was in position to know. At the time of the Nazi occupation of Ukraine (July 1941-July 1944) I was an active member of the Ukrainian Anti-Nazi Underground led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and occupied important posts in its network.

In 1942-1943, I served on the Regional Military Staff in Lviv (Lvov) which was responsible for the organization of the Ukrainian insurgent units in its territory, and for their armament, training, equipment, and supply. In the rank of captain, I was in charge of Staff's division for conscription, replacement, and training. The first assault of the organized insurgent units against the "Baudienst" concentration camp in Dubyna near Skole (county of Stryi) on August 18, 1943, was entirely successful. The inmates in number of several hundred people were freed; their captors and guards killed. This event marked the beginning of open hostilities between the UPA and Nazi occupation forces in the area of the Carpathian Mountains. Prior to this event, the UPA had already fought the Nazis in the northern part of Western Ukraine, in the marshes of Polissia and in the forests of Volhynia.

In the Fall of 1943, in the rank of major of the UPA, I was transferred to the Inspectorate of Insurgent Troops. In the capacity of an inspector of Insurgent Troops, I visited many insurgent training camps and schools as well as combat and service troops of the UPA in Galicia and Volhynia. Everywhere I met Jewish males and females who after their escape from ghettos, were given refuge by the UPA. It is true that only few of them served with the combat troops, but the service troops were packed with them to a large extent.

So, e.g., visiting the Staff of the UPA Group "North" operating in Volhynia and Polissia (Commander: col. Kliachivskyi; Chief of Staff: Gen. Stupnytskyi) and the large supply base of this group (Commander: Col. Moroz) I observed that bakery and slaughter units, repair companies, rations supply service companies were to a large extent staffed by the Jews. In a company which prepared uniforms for the UPA, all but two tailors, and all but three shoemakers and cobblers were Jews. And so was the medical base of the UPA Group "North", stationed near the town of Kolky, and requisitioning, assembling and preparing medicines for the UPA, was largely manned by the Jewish medical personnel (doctors, pharmacutists, laboratorians). A Jewish doctor with the alias "Yozefovich" was in charge of the base. He escaped from the neighbouring city of Kovel with his old mother, and found refuge at this stronghold of the UPA.

While visiting a strong UPA group in the "Black Forest" of the Carpathian Mountains (Commander: Col. Mykola Andrusiak), a group which largely contributed to the disintegration of strong Red Partisan Group of Gen. Kovpak, I was introduced to 4 Jews who served with the Kovpak group, and were taken prisoners by the UPA. It is from them I heard the story which I introduced into my article: "Russia, the Jews, and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement", printed in the *Ukrainian Quarterly* published in the New York City by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. After taking the town of Skalat on his route to the Carpathians, Gen. Kovpak refused to accept the Jews from Skalat ghetto into the ranks of his partisans, and delivered them with cold blood to a massacre by the Nazis.

At the First UPA Officers School in the Carpathian Mountains (Commander: Mjr. Pol), the chief doctor of the School was a Jew, known under alias "Makymovich." With the Red Army approaching, the doctor was given false "Aryan papers" and sent to Hungary. It was the same way, the UPA transported a group of Dutch officers who escaped from a PoW Camp in Stanyslav and found refuge at the Black Forest. With the helping hand of the UPA, they all came safe home and all are living now in the Netherlands.

*

On November 27, 1943, General Roman Shukhevych (alias: Taras Chuprynka) officially took over the Supreme Command of the UPA. On or before December 4, 1943, he held a Conference with the officers of the Regional Military Staff in Lviv at which I was present. Among other topics of the Conference, the problem of the mass annihilation of the Jews was discussed. Here I reproduce this discussion from my memory as all my memoirs and notices have been lost. However, I strongly believe that my reproduction has been true in every detail.

Capt. Stepan Novytskyi: What to do with the Jews who in larger and larger numbers ask the UPA for protection and refuge. Can we accept the Jews indiscriminately into our ranks and give them arms?

Gen. Chuprynka: Your question has to be answered first on point of principle. There is no doubt about the fact that the Jews born in Ukraine have been Ukrainian citizens and as such they should be protected. Unfortunately, we are still too weak to assure them a full protection from the Nazi annihilation, and we are not able to assure it to our fellow-Ukrainians who are shot by the Nazis in tens and hundreds publicly on the squares of our towns, often, as we know it from the *Gestapo Bekanntmachungen*, for "sheltering the Jews." There is, however, one aspect of this matter of principle which we should publicize as soon as possible: a Ukrainian guilty in helping the Nazis to murder the Jews, no matter for what reasons ("ideological" or material) will be put before the military-revolutionary tribunal and shot. Orders to this effect should be immediately sent to all units of the UPA and (turning to his aide-de-camp, Lt. Yavir) to all cells of the OUN. (At that time, Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka was not only Supreme Commander of the UPA, but also Head of the Directorate of the OUN).

General Chuprynka continued: The problem of the acceptance of the Jews into the ranks of the UPA has a practical meaning and it can best be resolved on the lowest level. The commanders of the units themselves should take the responsibility for their acceptance or their refusal. Another problem is that of arming the accepted Jews. It is true that they would fight hard against the Nazis in defence of their lives, but the hours of "Herrenfolk" in Ukraine have already been counted and the new masters are eager to take their place. We will have to fight hard against the Red masters of Ukraine, and in this struggle, our Jewish compatriots can represent quite a burden for us. In addition to this, we have not enough weapons to arm our fellow-Ukrainians who are willing to join us.

Mjr. Lev Shankovskiy: Then you are in favour of accepting the Jews, but have reservations against arming them. Am I correct?

Gen. Chuprynka: To some extent, yes. I am decidedly in favour of giving the Jews the needed protection. Moreover, I think that some of them should have it at all cost. I cannot forgive myself and cannot forgive all those responsible for the fact that the life of such a Ukrainophile, like Dr. Nass, former captain of the Ukrainian Army and member of many Ukrainian societies, could not be saved by our people. And there are many of them who like Dr. Nass deserve our protection and deserve it immediately.

Capt. Novytskyi: But what about the acceptance of the Jews at the lowest level, by unit commanders?

Gen. Chuprynka: My opinion is that all Jews having recommendation from the local network of the OUN, should be accepted. The problem of the acceptance and of arming should be left to the responsibility of the unit commander. If he has enough weapons, he should arm them, if not, then he should accept them as unarmed servicemen. Medical personnel should have a preference as well as traders of different professions, i.e. all those whom we need at present and will need in future.

Col. Alex Hasyn: That's the problem of the future. Taking into consideration the Sovietophile attitude of the persecuted Jews, don't you think it dangerous to have the Jews in the units in close of the Red Army approaching their location?

Gen. Chuprynka: Not at all. The Jews cannot be more dangerous than all the Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians, Tatars, Cossacks, and all other non-Russians we have already in our ranks, and even some Ukrainians who supposedly infiltrated our ranks. This is the responsibility of the military police to secure their units against any betrayal from every side possible.

Mjr. Shankovskiy: Then what do you advise to do with the Jews when the Red Army has approached?

Gen. Chuprynka: My opinion is that the best possible thing is to gather them and to explain them the situation and, then, to let them go or to stay according to their wishes. Most of them will go and, I think, that they will always remember the helpful hand which saved their lives at the time of general disaster. I do not want to be cynical, but I must remind you that a political significance of such a remembrance, has an immense importance particularly for our liberation struggle under new conditions.

I testify that the order by Gen. Chuprynka concerning the Jewish problem and embodying his opinions voiced at the Conference with the officers of the Regional Military Staff in Lviv, was issued and distributed among the units of the UPA and the cells of the OUN underground. I had it in my hands and read it with my eyes. Though soon after this Conference I was again transferred from the UPA arm to the Section of International Affairs of the OUN Directorate, I know that the order was strictly followed by all units of the UPA and all cells of the OUN Underground.

*

With the approach of the Red Army into the territory of the UPA activities, most of the Jews left the UPA and went in search of their relatives who possibly survived the Nazi *pogrom*. However, some of them stayed because they had nowhere to go and nobody to look for. I know the fate of two Jewish doctors whom I personally knew and who stayed with the UPA after the Red Army had re-occupied Ukraine:

1) Dr. KUM (alias of a doctor from the city of Drohobych) who was in charge of an underground hospital and who died heroically in its defence in 1946. Posthumously, he was awarded the Golden Cross of Merit of the UPA;

2) Dr. HAVRYSH (alias of a doctor from the city of Stanyslav) who was CRUCIFIED when caught alive by the troops of NKVD, in 1947. The Red

supermen of the NKVD boasted to the Ukrainians: "We caught your Jew and crucified him in memory of the first Jew who as your priests say died on the cross. However, your UPA-Jew will not resurrect..."

From 14 Jews I was able to save with the help of the Ukrainian underground, one girl was murdered still under the Nazi occupation by criminal brigands who murdered the Jews on the account of their own, in search for gold or other valuables; one girl was arrested by the Reds and sentenced for "collaboration" with the UPA to 25 years of concentration camp; one man died in post-war Poland. Other 11 are living either in Ukraine, or in Poland, or in Israel; 4 of them lived on false Aryan papers, and 7 stayed with the UPA units up to the time the Red Army came in vicinity of their units' location. Nobody of them betrayed the cause of those who saved their lives at the time when Hitler's madmen sought the "final solution" of the Jewish problem.

In his expectations, General Shukhevych-Chuprynka was absolutely right.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this the Fifth Day of March, 1964.

Lew SHANKOWSKY

STATE OF NEW YORK)
) ss:
COUNTY OF ULSTER)

On the Fifth day of March, 1964, before me personally came LEW SHANKOWSKY to me known and known to me to be the individual who executed and signed this testimony and he duly acknowledged to me the he executed the same.

Frederick W. CLAUDY, Jr.
(Notary Public)

Frederick W. Claudy, Jr.
Notary Public in the State of New York
Resident in and for Ulster County
Commission Expires March 30, 1964.

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF MICHIGAN)
) ss.
COUNTY OF WAYNE)

BOHDAN KRUK, being first duly sworn deposes and says:

THAT HE was born on September 10, 1919 in Komarno, Halychyna, Ukraine; That at the present time he is a naturalized citizen of the United States of America and resides, with his wife and two children, in the City of Carleton, Michigan, U.S.A., owning and operating a pharmacy;

That he was an active member of the Ukrainian Underground Army (UPA) from 1943-1947, and as an officer (captain) of UPA, he performed the function of a pharmacist in the district of Peremyshl, Halychyna, and later the function of a medical doctor in the province of Lemkivshchyna (Beskyd);

That the Ukrainian Underground Army fought, at the same time, against Communist-Muscovite occupation of Ukraine as well as against the occupation of Nazi-Germany;

That he personally knows that the Ukrainian Underground Army was tolerant towards all the ethnic minorities living in Ukraine, and that there was no discrimination made between Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians, including the Jewish minority, and that in all its actions, UPA was guided by the Christian principles of neighbourly love and esteem;

That Hitler's policy of hate and the doctrine of "superior race" regarding all non-Germans, aimed at the extermination of the Ukrainian nation as well as of Jewish and other non-German Groups and nations; that as a consequence of such a policy, the German occupational Forces in Ukraine arrested, at the very beginning of the war in the summer of 1941, members of the Ukrainian Provisional Government, together with its Premier Yaroslav Stetzko, and Head of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, Stepan Bandera, which arrests had been followed by mass arrests of Ukrainian patriots throughout Ukraine;

That in order to resist and combat Hitler's plans of extermination of all non-Germans, the Ukrainian Underground Army, known as UPA, fought valiantly during the war against Hitler's tyranny and for freedom for all;

That there had been, in the ranks of UPA, beside other non-Ukrainians, many members of Jewish origin, fighting and even dying side by side with their Ukrainian comrades;

That my superior, as a medical doctor, was Dr. Havrysh, a Jew, who, by the Supreme Command of UPA, was appointed to this position for his professional abilities and courage, to head and supervise, as such medical doctor, the UPA-West, although there had been able Ukrainian doctors for this position;

That another medical doctor of Jewish origin was Dr. Kum, who was chief-doctor of an underground hospital in Trukhaniv near Skole, Halychyna, Ukraine, and who died in February of 1946, heroically defending the hospital against Muscovite-Communists, that the above doctor was posthumously decorated with a Golden Cross of Merit of the Ukrainian Underground Army (UPA);

That in the first Officer's School of UPA, the medical doctor was also a Jew, called Dr. Maksymovych; that many Jewish women and girls worked as nurses in the hospital of the Ukrainian Underground Army.

That he knows of many other instances of brotherly cooperation between the Ukrainians and the Jewish population in Ukraine;

That UPA tried to help and protect the Jewish population in Ukraine against the German persecution, in accordance with its principle; freedom for all peoples and liberty for all individuals, notwithstanding his or her race, religion, creed or belief.

The deponent further says not.

Bohdan KRUK

Subscribed and Sworn to before me
this 11th day of March, 1964.

Denys Kwitkowsky, Notary Public, Wayne County, Michigan.
My Commission expires: January 6, 1968.



STEPAN BANDERA

Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists,
assassinated by a Russian Communist agent in Munich,
five years ago, on October 15th, 1959.

OHIO IN COMMEMORATION OF STEPAN BANDERA

By George Kulchytsky, B.A.

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — Sunday, October 18, 1964 the Ukrainian-American community of Greater Cleveland and the representative groups from Akron, Canton, Lorain and Youngstown gathered at Parma Senior High School Auditorium to pay its respect to a man who, since his assassination in October 1959 by an agent of the Government of USSR, became a symbol of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in Ukraine and abroad. One significant factor that is to be emphasized consists of the fact that irrespective of party allegiances the Ukrainian-American public of Ohio by its attendance and support recognized that the victim of Soviet-Russian assassin, Stepan Bandera, is no longer a symbol of any group of Ukrainian people but that he, along with Simon Petlura, Eugene Konovalts and Roman Shukhevych, has taken his rightful place in the Ukrainian Pantheon of Immortals who sacrificed their lives not only for the freedom of their countrymen but that of the whole free world, a world free of the Communist oppression.

Sponsored by the powerful Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front of Ohio the solemn program had as its members of the Honorary Sponsoring Committee — the Hon. Frank J. Lausche, U.S. Senator; the Hon. Frances P. Bolton, the Hon. Michael A. Feighan, the Hon. Robert Taft, Jr., the Hon. Charles A. Vanik — all of them Members of the U. S. Congress; the Hon. James W. Day — Mayor of the City of Parma, the Hon. Ronald M. Mottl — President of the City Council of Parma, Professor Volodymyr Radzykewycz, Very Rev. Monsignor Dmytro Gresko, Rev. Stepan Hankevych, and several other notable Ukrainian-American personalities of Ohio.

The program was initiated with the singing of the American National Anthem by Miss Dorothy Oln, a Cleveland-born Ukrainian. The opening address was read by Mr. Michael Jaremko, Chairman of the Executive Sponsoring Committee. He cordially welcomed nearly 1200 people in

attendance. Dr. Zenon R. Wynnysky, chairman of the Advisory Board of Cleveland's Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, acted as master of ceremonies. He, in his short introductory speech directed to the English speaking guests told the audience that the Ukrainian revolutionary movement under the leadership of Stepan Bandera made the Ukrainians known as the Irishmen of Eastern Europe resembling the Irish Sean Fein ("We — ourselves") — movement which finally led to the establishment of a free Republic of Ireland. Stressing the fact that nobody dares today considering Ireland as "a historical part of Great Britain" he stated that a historical destination of the Ukrainian-Americans is well consistent with that of the Irish Americans and Jewish Americans who did their fine contribution to the cause of a free Republic of Ireland and a free State of Israel respectively.

A keynote speech was delivered by former Member of the U.S. Congress and a member of the American Bar Association, Mr. Charles J. Kersten, Milwaukee, Wisc., who served as a legal representative of Stepan Bandera's family during the 1962 political trial in Karlsruhe, Germany, which by the verdict of the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany condemned the Government of USSR as the guilty party behind its agent's B. Stashynsky act of assassination. Mr. Charles J. Kersten said:

"The murder by a Soviet agent in Munich, Germany in October 1959, of Stepan Bandera, leader of Ukrainian national resistance to Russian Communist occupation of Ukraine and the trial of his assassin, Stashynsky, in Karlsruhe, Germany in October of 1962 has many important lessons for the free world.

"First, it proves the importance of internal resistance of the Captive Nations to Communist rule and that this resistance is massive and keeps the Communist leaders under constant pressure. The nation of Ukraine as a non-Russian nation of the Soviet

Empire will never willingly accept Russian Communist rule.

"Second, that nuclear war is not the most immediate danger from the Communists and that it does not fit into Communist plans. The chief objective of the Communists is to overthrow or destroy the non-communist leadership of the free world, not the economic wealth and working force of its people. They want to communize and russify the world, not destroy it. They, therefore, use subversive and political warfare methods to destroy the political leadership of the free world. This includes the political murder of free world leaders when those murders can be accomplished without attribution to the Soviet Government such as they attempted to do in the case of Bandera.

"Third, in the rare instances when we have used political warfare against the Soviet Government it has been amazingly successful because Communist leaders then have not only the opposition of the free world but also the massive resistance of their own people. When president J. F. Kennedy exposed Khrushchov as a liar and forced him into the embarrassment, before the world, of having to withdraw his missiles from Cuba under threat of American invasion, he delivered a crippling blow to Khrushchov's leadership in the Communist world. This was evidenced by Castro's bitter complaint of having been let down and Red China's contemptuous criticism that Mr. K. had knuckled under to American power. This world political action of president Kennedy probably set into motion those forces that helped cause the overthrow of Mr. K."

A special public recognition was given to the Hon. Michael A. Feighan and the Hon. Robert Taft, Jr., both members of the U.S. Congress, who paid personal tribute to the memory of the late Stepan Bandera and his work for the freedom of all nations. The Hon. Frank J. Lausche, U.S. Senator, sent a following message: "...commemorating the fifth anniversary of the tragic death of the late Stepan Bandera, I pray with the Ukrainian people for their ultimate liberation from the bondage which

they are now suffering under Communist Russia. The justice of their cause cannot be denied, and will ultimately triumph."

Dr. Roman Malaschuk of Toronto, Ont., President of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, presented the allocution with a splendid analysis of the all-Ukrainian and international aspects of the work and death of Stepan Bandera.

Mr. Osyp Goshulak of Toronto, Ont., an excellent soloist of the Canadian Opera Co., in the second half of the program masterfully performed the works of Ukrainian composers such as Barwinsky's "An open country", Hayvoronsky's "The Elegy", Lysenko's "Dnipro" and Dankevych's aria of Nyva from the Opera "Bohdan Khmelnytsky." Following this by audience highly appreciated and high-rated vocal performance Mrs. Sophie Melnyk-Bury of the Cleveland's Shevchenko Chorus recited in the unforgettable professional manner the excerpts from the poems dedicated to Stepan Bandera. As the culminating musical part of the program the world-famous Metropolitan Opera's star, Charlotte Ordassy-Baransky of New York City, more than fulfilled the expectations of the audience performing beautifully Hayvoronsky's "A sunset", Ludkevych's "Sleep, my little darling", Hnatyshyn's "The summer rye" and Nyzhankivsky's "The sorrowful psalm." Both Mr. O. Goshulak and Mrs. Ch. Ordassy-Baransky enjoyed a perfect piano-accompaniment by Dr. Ihor Sonevsky of New York City.

A resolution that this fifth anniversary of the death of Stepan Bandera at the hands of the Soviet-Russian assassin under the direction of the Government of USSR shall be dedicated to the memory of those millions of non-Russians who paid the supreme sacrifice in opposition to the expansion of Russian Communist colonialism was read by Bohdan Futey, M.A., and unanimously adopted. A group of the Ukrainian-American youth impressed the public by P. Karmansky's "Oath" with staging by Madam Slava Barnych. Stage design by T. Bilinsky concurred with the high-level public solemn program.

A GLANCE AT THE FOREIGN PRESS

The Ukrainian question is assuming larger and larger place in the foreign press. Most of the articles are well disposed toward Ukraine; some (namely those which are influenced by the opponents of the Ukrainians, primarily Russophiles) take a somewhat more critical stand in this respect. Many of these commentaries shrink back from the independence strivings of Ukraine — from her separation from Russia in other words, since the whole political situation in East and to the Ukrainian question. Above all, Central Europe would undergo a fundamental change if this separation were to take place, and Russia could be reduced to a country of second rank. The following are a few press reports on the Ukrainian problem.

Ukraine is no Pennsylvania

The No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1964) issue of the bimonthly periodical "Problems of Communism", which is published by the United States Information Bureau in Washington, features a number of interesting studies on present-day USSR, among which an article entitled "The Forces of Nationalism" by a well-known expert on East and Central European problems, Richard Pipes. In this fairly extensive article, Pipes stresses the fact that by according the problem of nationalities in the USSR so little attention, the Western world is committing a great error. The Russian emigration before the outbreak and after the close of the second World War gave the Western world false information about the problems of nationalities in the Soviet Union. This false picture could have a very prejudicial effect on the West later on or in the very near future. The problem of nationalities in Russia is no Austrian or German intrigue, as one was maliciously inclined to argue formerly to oppose the urge of the Ukrainians toward freedom.

Entering into the allusion made with respect to the false political course taken by the American expert on Russian Problems, Kennan, the author emphatically stresses that Ukraine can by no means be compared (as Mr. Kennan does) to Pennsylvania's place in the United States. For if an assimilation of the different nationalities in the U.S.A. would come about, the same assimilation cannot at all be assumed in the cause of Russia, though the Russification is being pushed by various methods, be they vicious or partially mild. Semi-officially, the Great Russians are being elevated to the leading ethnic group in the Soviet Union. This means that the way to an individual's career is only by one's adjustment to the Russian language and culture — in the Party, the Army and higher educational institutions.

In the USSR, there are many different ways of Russification — but the people have found just as many ways of resisting it. Despite this compulsory Russification of Ukrainians, the percentage of those who have admitted Ukrainian as their mother tongue has increased. In 1926, 87.7% of the Ukrainian population spoke Ukrainian, whereas this index figure increased to 88.7 in 1959. In this respect the fact that the younger generation under 20 years of age holds to its mother tongue more tenaciously than middle-aged Ukrainians (in other words those who were educated in the 20's and 30's) is typical. This proves very clearly that the youth does not allow itself to be denationalised so easily. In this respect it is to be noted that Russification does not always turn out in favour of the Russians. To be sure, of the Sovietized Poles, half of them (approximately 756,000) have given up their mother tongue, but only a third of them have allowed themselves to be Russified, whereas the remaining

two thirds fall to a large extent to the Ukrainians and also to the Byelorussians. Also with respect to other peoples in the Soviet Union, who are also not disposed to having themselves swallowed up in the Russian melting pot, the situation is not so rosy for the Russians.

The author concludes his article with the statement that the small national groups are gradually giving way to the compulsory Russian assimilation or are disintegrating into other groups, whose language comes close to their own. In contrast to this, larger nationalities, among which are to be included, first of all, the Ukrainians, the Turkish national groups of Central Asia and last not least the Georgians, are becoming obviously more tenacious in their mutual support of one another. Although language is not the sole criteria of nationality, it is certainly to be assumed that the collapse of the Russian empire during the Russian Revolution could have been averted by the force of arms as well as by the creation of a new political system, which would have combined an external decentralization with an inner centralization, which never existed. But seen in terms of a long-range historical perspective, it can almost certainly be assumed that this solution can only be of short duration.

"Berlin Cannot Be Liberated Without the Simultaneous Liberation of Kiev..."

An interesting article by Bruno Skrehunetz-Hillebrand, under the title "Shevchenko — the Germans and the Right to Self-Determination" appeared in the March 1964 (No. 6) issue of the Munich periodical *Der Suedost-deutsche*. This articles had the following significant subtitles, "Strange wall of silence in the German press" — "Freedom and liberation have become indivisible..." — "Are the negroes closer to us than the great subjugated people of Ukraine?"

The author begins his reflections by referring to the Shevchenko celebrations that were held this year and notes that Shevchenko belongs to the most important poets of freedom

in world literature. Mr. Skrehunetz-Hillebrand stresses that the Ukrainians, with a population of approximately 50 million people, are the third largest people in Europe, after the Russians and the Germans, and that they have a rich, independent culture... In the "leading" and non-local German-speaking newspapers in the Federal Republic, Switzerland and Austria, one may look in vain for a word commemorating or honouring Shevchenko on the occasion of his 150th birthday...

The leading spokesmen of the democratic and civilized German people cannot agree to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people in the same way as the Prime Minister of the Congolese Republic has done with respect to the German right of self-determination and re-unification. In this connection, however, these two peoples have the same goal — namely, to achieve the right of self-determination for themselves. In the long run, freedom cannot be withheld from a people like the Ukrainians. And when the Ukrainians finally achieve their independence, how will we Germans be able to face them?

In this article it was emphasized that Berlin cannot be liberated without a simultaneous liberation of Kiev.

The Ukrainian Church

Under the heading "Ukraine", the April 1964 issue of the Nijmegen periodical *Het Christelijk Oosten en Hereniging* ("The Christian East and the Reunification") published interesting information on the life of the Ukrainian Church in enslaved Ukraine and in emigration. The Dutch periodical states that in Ukraine itself an extensive anti-religious propaganda campaign was released by the Muscovite rulers in the Kremlin. A special plan was worked out for this purpose, according to which agitators, advisors and group leaders are to be trained. In the region of the Don, for instance, 12,000 people are engaged in atheistic propaganda. To fight religion in Ukraine, special libraries, cinemas, television and radio, etc. are also to be used. Special anti-religious celebrations are also arranged; honorary diplomas are conferred upon the

apostates, etc. From this it may be seen that despite Russian-Communist atheistic propaganda, the religious life in Ukraine must be very strong and that the religious feelings in the hearts of the Ukrainian population can not be uprooted.

The above-mentioned Nijmegen periodical also reports that in England an Ukrainian Apostolic Exarchate was set up under the leadership of Bishop Augustyn Horniak, whereby the religious life of the Ukrainians in England and Wales has been significantly strengthened.

Also the Ukrainians living in the Bachka territory in Yugoslavia have received a bishop. These Ukrainian Catholics play a rather large part in Ukrainian religious life. Since these Ukrainians emigrated to the Bachka territory at a time when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy still existed,

they have formed their own peculiar dialect of Ukrainian in which periodicals are also published. The Ukrainians of the Bachka territory maintain close relations to Ukrainian life and culture in the Diaspora. Before the Russian-Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine, an exchange of priests between the old native country of Ukraine and the Bachka Ukrainians was possible.

Additional reports are concerned with the religious life of the Ukrainians in the U.S.A. and the Ukrainian religious life in Rome. In the periodical, great attention was accorded to the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Lviv, Joseph Slipyj, who is now living in Rome, after having been released from many years in concentration camps in the USSR.

UKRAINE'S CONTRIBUTION TO POLAND'S ECONOMY

W. Skierkowski of the Polish People's Republic Consulate General in Kyiv, and E. Balyka of the Kyiv Institute of National Economy, "The Economic Achievements of Socialist Poland", *Ekonomika Radyańskoï Ukraïny*, No. 3, May-June 1964, pp. 112-116. Excerpts.

"Ukraine gives considerable aid to the building of socialism in the Polish People's Republic, since Ukraine occupies a position of prominence in economic relations between the Soviet Union and Poland. Ukrainian enterprises supply Poland with equipment for the Lenin Metallurgical Combine, the High Grade Steel Plant in Warsaw, and for a copper mine. A majority of Polish metallurgical enterprises operate on Soviet iron ore. During the period, between 1945 and 1959 alone, the USSR supplied more than 30 million tons of this important raw material to Poland. The main supplier is the Kryvyi Rih iron ore basin. Polish ferrous metallurgy obtains from Kryvyi Rih 70% of its high quality iron ore, 80 per cent of its manganese ore and 100 per cent of its nickel and other alloying metals, which are indispensable in the production of high quality steel.

The Ukrainian SSR ships to Poland a considerable quantity of various industrial and agricultural products. The Metallurgical Combine in Nowa Huta successfully operates a continuous sheet metal rolling mill model "1700" and a number of other machines which bear the trade mark of the Novokramatorsk Plant. The personnel of the Kyiv Electromechanical Plant of the "Kyïvpromenerhomontazh" Trust designed and delivered special units and apparatus for the remote control of Polish electric power stations. The Polish coal mining industry uses dust-removing machines and other modern equipment made at the Parkhomenko Machine Building Plant in Luhansk.

The Polish People's Republic supplies the Ukrainian SSR with equipment for the textile industry, and particularly for the Chernihiv Artificial Fibre Combine, equipment for sugar refineries, food processing plants, etc.

Economic cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Ukrainian SSR is developing and getting stronger. Thus, according to the plans for the current Five-Year Plan, Ukraine will deliver to Poland nearly the entire amount (35,5 million tons) of iron ore, a greater part of

the manganese ore, two million tons of coking coal, 200,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals, electric power, metallurgical and mining equipment, metal cutting tools, tractors, equipment for the rubber industry, automatic welding equipment, etc...."

Book Review

Aragon: HISTOIRE DE L'U.S.S.R. DE 1917 À 1960 (History of the USSR from 1917-1960) Published by Presse de la Cité, Paris 1962, 396 pp., Vol. I.

The publication is not a complete success, for the influence of Russian-Bolshevik historical writings is flagrantly evident in it. The outline of the national independent aspirations are very hazy, for the book is based on numerous Soviet misrepresented facts concerning the great struggle during the above mentioned years.

In particular the tension between Czecho-Slovakia and the Hungarian state is explained as being a result of the political events in Carpatho-Ukraine.

During the time of Hitler, only symbolical Ukrainian troops were organized. An Ukrainian Army did not exist at the time of the occupation of Ukraine by the occupational army of the Third Reich.

The Ukrainian national hero and head of state, Simon Petlura is referred to as "a leader of the Ukrainian nationalistic movement."

If the first volume does not completely fulfill its task, it is to be hoped that in future presentations of further events in East Europe the same mistakes will not be made and that one will be able to free oneself from the influence of the misrepresented Soviet Russian historical writings on the territory of the former tsarist Russia. For otherwise the book loses the value of a really objective, scientific publication. Such a book would more likely add confusion to the historical writings on East Europe.

W. Kapotivsky

Dr. František Polák: KOMUNIZM SMRTELNOU HROZBOU VŠEM NARODUOM ("Communism, a Mortal Danger to All Peoples"), New York, 1963, 89 pp.

It appears that the author was a fanatical friend of the Russians at one time. His closer acquaintance with the so-called "Soviets", however, as one is wont to call the Red Russians in the West, taught him a lesson. He even had to languish in Russian concentration camps under insufferable conditions. But this experience also contributed to his better understanding of the Russian character and of the Russian lust for conquest from the very beginnings of the Russian empire to the present time.

To the author, Communists are synonymous with Russian imperialists, for Communism is only a camouflage

for Red Russian imperialists under the protection of which it is so much easier for them to lead other peoples astray and finally to subjugate them. The young Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) was the first victim of Russia's undermining policies and of the Kremlin's shameful deception on an international level. The Russians continue to play this double game. Although almost all the peoples of East and Central Europe had to share Ukraine's hard lot one by one, the West is still not aware of the Russian danger.

Unfortunately, the Western powers themselves have contributed to the

disastrous political events in these countries. Instead of strengthening the efforts on the part of the peoples enslaved by the Kremlin to gain their freedom, the Western powers follow a calamitous and incomprehensible political course, which actually encourages the Russian's lust for world expansion, without considering that in this way the free world is digging its own grave.

Mr. Polak calls to mind the right political course that was taken by the Western powers during World War I with reference to the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was constituted by many peoples. Why

shouldn't the same policies be applied to Russia, which is called the Soviet Union, but which is actually a rotten empire of many peoples, in order to liberate the free world from the nightmare of the Russian danger? (p. 88)

The West should accord the enslaved people of the USSR the same kind of help which it accorded so successfully during World War I. Only then will one be able to reckon with a victory of freedom and democracy in the Russian-dominated East and Central European area. (p. 89)

W. L u z h a n s k y

Herbert Hirschfeld: THE RADIANT CROSS. About the heroic struggle of Ukrainians for Peace and Freedom. The William Frederick Press. New York, 1963.

"Let us go and be prepared to continue the fight against the greatest enemy of mankind — the Communists, who have enclosed the light of truth in darkness. And they went."

With these words by Pavlenko-Voloshyn, Commander of the rear units of UPA, ends an interesting novel "The Radiant Cross", written in English by Herbert Hirschfeld, a German colonist who lived in Ukraine and loved it as his own country. Prof. Clarence Manning, in his preface to the novel, emphasizes the importance of the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people and mentions the heroic actions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against Hitler's and Stalin's invaders, without any aid from the outside world.

Hirschfeld begins his novel in old times, when the Russian Tsarist Government planned to build fortifications in Ukraine, at such towns as Rivne, Lutsk and Dubno. Topelush, a Tsar's General, who — for some reason — was not favoured by the Tsar, was given this task and was sent away from the "gracious sovereign's presence." Resigned to his fate, and thinking that he was still fortunate in not having been sent to Siberia, like some of his friends among the generals, Topelush was fascinated by the wealth and beauty of the country of Volhynia and he repeatedly told his officers and engineers that

"Ukraine is a wonderful country and its people have something to fight for. A few more poets like Shevchenko, and they will demand Independence."

Workers and craftsmen were needed for clearing the forests and building new roads and fortifications, thus Topelush and his assistant, Melush, brought German colonists to Ukraine. Among them were the evangelist Lemke and his friends Gutsch and Friedman. The Germans soon made acquaintance with Ukrainians who lived at a nearby village; Lemke particularly became friendly with the village chairman, Karluk, who was a descendant of a Cossack family. The village had a beautiful ancient church with a golden cross which shone magnificently in the sunshine. People said that this church had been built in the Middle Ages. — Years passed.

Lemke married Carolina Schmidke and had a son, Ludwig. Chairman Karluk had a son, Ivan, and the two boys, who were of the same age, grew up together as friends. When the first world war broke out, Lemke was deported by the Russians to Siberia. His wife died there. During the war Lemke also visited Caucasus. Many German colonists took part in the battles as mobilized Tsar's soldiers on the Turkish front. Lemke returned home after the war when Volhynia found itself under Polish occupation. Karluk and Lemke decided to send

their sons to study in Lviv. They wanted their sons to become ministers, Ivan — a priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Ludwig a pastor. While in Lviv, the boys had an opportunity to become acquainted with the Ukrainian cause, and the fight against Polish occupants. During a vacation in the Carpathians, Ludwig met Ola, the daughter of a Ukrainian teacher. She was a great patriot, an idealist. The young people gradually fell in love and Ludwig decided to marry Ola as soon as he finished his studies.

It happened that Ukrainians gathered in a Ukrainian military cemetery and a clash occurred between them and the Polish Police. During the shooting a stray bullet hit Ola. Her last words to Ludwig were: "I am dying for my country. I wanted to live and see our great day of freedom. I wanted to be with you, to help you in your work..."

Ola's death meant great sorrow to Ludwig. He decided to devote himself entirely to God. After four years, the friends completed their studies. Ivan Karluk became a priest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and Ludwig a Pastor.

Two years later the second world war broke out. Soviet troops moved into Volhynia and plundered whatever they could find. Hard times followed. That winter a German commission arrived in Volhynia which, according to the Soviet-German treaty, sent Germans back to their country. After lengthy consideration Lemke and Ludwig decided to go to the Reich. Their farewell from their friends was heartbreaking. In a few days they arrived in T.... where they were to settle. On the first Sunday, when Ludwig was about to conduct a service in the church, a man in brown uniform approached him and said arrogantly: "I represent the Party here and I shall conduct the service today." Lemke and Ludwig, stunned, heard the man reading from "Mein Kampf" to the gathering and the organist played military and Nazi tunes in place of holy songs. The following day they were visited by the local pastor, who advised them

to be careful in their words and actions as they presumably had no idea what the "Third Reich" really meant. The young, freedom-loving Ludwig soon got into conflict with the local authorities and they soon sent him to the army. Ludwig had to undergo hard military training, and when the German-Soviet war broke out, he was assigned as an interpreter to the staff headquarters. He went to Ukraine with the division.

In Lviv Ludwig learned about the evils which the Bolshevik occupation brought to the Ukrainians. But he also realized that the Germans brought slavery to the Ukrainians instead of liberation. He was wounded and sent to a hospital in Lviv. Here he learned that members of the Ukrainian Government of Y. Stetzko had been arrested. He saw himself how cruelly the Jews and Ukrainians were treated by Germans. When Ludwig recovered, he returned to his division, passing through Volhynia, Kiev, Byelorussia. Everywhere he saw appalling terror, executions, deportations, human victims. He came to hate the Nazi system and did his best to help the Ukrainians, often risking his own life. At the front he was wounded once again; after his recovery he succeeded in obtaining leave and to visit Volhynia with his father.

At his birthplace they found only ruins of the village and traces of bitter fights of Ukrainian guerrillas with Germans and Bolshevik parachute troops. They met the Ukrainian soldiers, led by Ivan Karluk, Ludwig's friend, once a priest and now a colonel, who was delighted to meet his old friend. They arrived at the UPA camp, situated in the depth of a forest among impassable marshes. There they met the commander of UPA, Voloshyn. At the dinner, old Lemke asked the commander of what such a fight would be to the Ukrainians without any help from allies, without industry.

Commander Voloshyn said: "We fight in order to show an example to the future generations. They should not say that their fathers and grandfathers did not fight at critical times. We shall fight and die. On our bones future regiments, divisions and armies

will rise. We fight because Mazepa, Khmelnytsky, Petlura and the heroes of Carpathian Ukraine have been an example to us..."

Ludwig was so fascinated by these words that he asked to be admitted into UPA. This is how the Lutheran Pastor became a captain of the UPA. When old Lemke told him that he might die in the Volhynian forests, Ludwig said: "Father, you know Christ's words that nobody has a greater love than he who gives his life for his friends..."

A new life began for Ludwig. First, he and his soldiers had to fight against the retreating Germans, then against the advancing Russians. In a battle with the Russians he was mortally wounded. He was brought to a hillside and died there, looking at the blue-yellow flag.

He was buried with military honours, Commander Voloshyn and Colonel Karluk spoke at his grave. They put the golden cross on his grave, which the soldiers brought from the destroyed church.

The author of "The Radiant Cross" is a deeply religious man, who himself experienced much sorrow and has deep sympathy for human sorrow and suffering. He possesses a good knowledge of Ukrainian history, which he brilliantly shows in the dialogues of characters. He knows the exact structure of UPA which shows that the author has closely watched the events in Volhynia. As a German, he regretted that the German people had become an obedient tool in the hands of the brown hangmen. He makes old Lemke say: "This is not the Germany I imagined." He is convinced that such system is doomed to fail and God's truth and justice must prevail. At the same time he greatly admires the heroic soldiers of UPA, their commanders' attitude in dedicating their lives for the great cause, in order to leave an example to the future generations that they may achieve the eventual victory!

Dr. S. M. Fostun

SVENSK TIDSKRIFT SAERTRYK ARGANG L 1963, Uppsala 1963.

A special publication of the Swedish periodical *Svensk Tidskrift* (printed in Uppsala) deals fairly thoroughly with the anti-Communist movement in Asia. The author, Prof. Birgen Herman, writes about the conference that took place in Tokio of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). Well known representatives from all continents took part in this conference. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was represented, among others, by the President of ABN, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko. On page 45 of this book, his statements regarding the activities of ABN and the situation of the countries that are occupied by Moscow are presented.

Mr. Stetzko stated that more than 200 million non-Russians are being cruelly suppressed by some 90-100 million Russians. In Ukraine alone

there are at least 45 million people enslaved by the Kremlin. In Ukraine there had been many revolts against the Red Russian oppression. The Russians did not even fear to murder Ukrainian political leaders in emigration, as was the case with the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera. In conclusion Mr. Stetzko called for exerting every effort in the fight against the barbarity of Russian Communism.

Notwithstanding its size, this little volume deserves the attention of readers, for the author knows the Russians very well, and in this little work he has brought out the Russian danger that is threatening the free world.

V. Zatserkovny
