

**The
UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



I

1966

TO OUR READERS

The **Ukrainian Review** has been appearing fairly regularly for the last twelve years thanks to the support of its readers, the assistance of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain and other Ukrainian organizations, as well as the devoted work of its editors.

During this considerable period of time the Journal has tried to acquaint the English-speaking world with the problems of Ukraine and her liberation struggle. Despite many difficulties and rising costs, its publishers have kept the price of the "U.R." steady at a level which has in fact been below the cost of publication. Now, however, we must reluctantly admit that the time has come to bring the price of the journal more into line with its actual costs.

The finances of the "U.R." are based exclusively on subscriptions and voluntary donations by its readers, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain and other Ukrainian organizations. The "U.R." does not receive any outside subsidies.

The Presidium of the Council of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain has decided to raise the price of a single copy of the journal from 5s to 7s 6d and the annual subscription from £1 to £1.10.0 for subscribers in Great Britain, and respectively from \$1 to \$1.50 and from \$4 to \$6 for subscribers in the U.S.A. and Canada. The subscribers who have already paid in their subscriptions for 1966 will not have to pay any additional sums.

We trust our readers will understand that this step has been necessary to enable the journal to appear in future, too, and will continue to support their quarterly which serves the cause of freedom and independence of Ukraine and the defence of the free world.

The Publishers.

Read

Read

ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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and

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Volodymyr BOHDANIUK

Ukrainian Thermopylae

(The Battle of Kruty — 29. 1. 1918)

Forty-eight years ago, on 22nd January 1918, the revolutionary Ukrainian parliament, the Central Rada, proclaimed to the entire world that Ukraine had become a sovereign and independent State. After more than two centuries of national and social oppression under the rule of the Russian tsars, when to many outside observers it seemed that the Ukrainian nation had ceased to exist, when the very name of Ukraine was prohibited and disappeared from the maps of the world, the voice of a re-born Ukrainian nation was heard once again: "From today Ukraine becomes a sovereign and independent State." The 45-million strong Ukrainian Nation gave notice to its friend and foe that it claimed the right to freedom and equality among the great nations of Europe and the world.

How did it happen, why did Ukrainians chose to break away from the Russian empire and set up an independent State of their own?

Among the empires of the world the Russian empire has been the most backward and the most oppressive one. The policy of the Russian tsarist government was to destroy the nations over which it ruled and to merge them into one big Russian nation, that is to Russify them. In order to achieve it the Russian government tried to suppress the use of the Ukrainian and other national languages, to stifle the development of individual national cultures and to spread by force the use of the Russian language and Russian culture. Generally speaking, the European nations ruled by Russia have older and higher cultural traditions than the Russians, therefore the policy of Russification has been particularly resented by them, and particularly so by the Ukrainians.

When the revolution broke out in the Russian empire in February, 1917, the oppressive tsarist government was swept out and the formerly oppressed nations began to reassert their right to free and independent existence. A tremendous revival of the Ukrainian national spirit captured the minds of the Ukrainian people and after centuries of tyranny and foreign rule the Ukrainians began to organise themselves politically and to demand the rights that belong to every nation. At that time, however, the First World War was still on and the troops of the former Russian empire among which there were millions of Ukrainians were still facing the armies of the

German and the Austrian empires. Therefore, for the time being, the leaders of the Ukrainian people, the Central Council, did not raise the demands for complete independence, but contented themselves with setting up an autonomous Ukrainian administration.

When however, in October, 1917, the Russian Communists, the Bolsheviks staged a coup d'état and took over power in Petrograd and Moscow, and started peace negotiations with Germany, the Ukrainians could no longer wait. The Russian Bolsheviks issued an ultimatum to the Ukrainian Central Rada demanding its subordination to the Russian communist government and at once sent out invasion troops to Ukraine to carry out its threat. The Ukrainian government and parliament, the Central Council, rejected the insolent Russian ultimatum and instead of surrendering to the demands of the Russian communists, it proclaimed a complete independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. This happened on 22nd January 1918, when the Russian communist invasion hordes were already entering the Ukrainian territory and beginning mass shooting of Ukrainian patriots in the towns and villages they captured.

In order to camouflage their invasion, the Russian communists for the first time ever made use of their fifth column. They set up a puppet Ukrainian communist government in the East Ukrainian city of Kharkiv which they captured. This "government" consisted mostly of Russians and other non-Ukrainians, as well as a few Communist Ukrainian stooges. The Russian communist fifth column in various Ukrainian towns staged rebellions against the authority of the Ukrainian government, in order to distract the forces of the Ukrainian government from the front against the Russians. Thus, on the very day of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, the Russian fifth column in the capital of Ukraine, Kyïv, began an armed rebellion against the Ukrainian Government. This treacherous uprising was suppressed by the Ukrainian troops, but only at the cost of the weakening of the Ukrainian forces at the front.

It must be remembered that the Russian communist invasion of Ukraine came as a complete surprise to the Ukrainian government, as the Ukrainian leaders could not bring themselves to believe that after the fall of the tsarist tyranny any Russian government which claimed to be progressive, "socialist", etc., could be so callous as to crush by force of arms the legitimate strivings of formerly oppressed nations to freedom, equality and national independence. By that time the Russian Bolsheviks did not yet fully show their ugly face of ruthless blood-thirsty imperialists, as they soon did afterwards, and their propaganda was full of lies and assurances of support for the national strivings of the oppressed nations. As a result, the Ukrainian government was militarily unprepared to fight back the fanatical invasion armies of Communist Russia. Militarily the Ukrainian position was also weakened by the fact that at that time socialist parties dominated the Ukrainian government. They lacked any experience of practical government, they were excessively anti-

militarist, trusted too much in the brotherhood of man and in the goodwill of what they believed was Russian "democratic" government. As a result they failed to organise a strong army which would be able to defend Ukraine from its age-old enemy which now took the seemingly completely different form of Communist Russia.

Russian communist invasion army sent by Lenin poured into Ukraine. It was commanded by Antonov-Ovseyenko and its chief of staff was Muravyev who distinguished himself by unheard of brutalities and mass shootings of Ukrainian patriots. Commander of one of the attacking forces was Yegorov who later became a Marshal of the Soviet Union. Facing this army were scattered Ukrainian units without a well-organised command. After capturing most of the Eastern Ukraine the enemy forces directed their main assault against Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. One flank of the enemy forces advanced along the railway line connecting Moscow with Kyiv. And the battle at a small railway station situated along this line has become the most famous in the whole history of the Ukrainian liberation war of 1917-1921. This was the legendary battle near the railway station of Kruty on the 29th January 1918, a week after the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine.

The battle of Kruty became the Ukrainian version of the battle of Thermopylae in antiquity, when 300 heroic Spartans defended Greece against the invading Persian army. To defend the station of Kruty and the approaches to Kyiv against the 6000-strong Russian communist invading army under Muravyev went out only about 300 Ukrainian soldiers. They were all young people, most of them under 20 years of age. Two hundred of them were young cadet officers who had for two weeks been fighting a rear-guard action along the railway track from the very frontier of Ukraine. They were joined at Kruty by 116 youths who only a few days before were students of the Kyiv university and grammar schools. They volunteered to join the so-called Students' Battalion of the Ukrainian Sharpshooters Regiment and only after a few days of recruit training were sent to the front, as there were practically no troops to hold the front. They were armed with some old rifles and a few machine-guns and their artillery support consisted of one or two guns mounted on goods trains improvised as an armoured train, and serviced by a crew of 20 hardened veterans.

The 29th January, 1918 dawned and it found the 200 officer cadets in their newly dug trenches to the right of the railway track, while the 100 students lay in their positions to the left of it. The morning was wet and murky and at about 9 o'clock the enemy attack began. The communist Russian troops, mostly consisting of the sailors of the Baltic navy and red guards from Moscow and Petrograd rushed into the attack, but met with a fierce resistance of the young defenders. Many attackers fell dead in the snow, and the only gun on the armoured train helped to hold back the enemy until it was

silenced when all its crew were wounded. Under Russian artillery fire and repeated attacks of the numerically overwhelming forces most of the defenders were killed and the rest were forced to retreat. Thirty-five of the young soldiers were captured by the enemy and were shot next day at the station of Kruty. Before the shooting, the student of the seventh form of the No. 2 Ukrainian Grammar School in Kyiv, Pypskyy, born in Western Ukraine, started to sing the Ukrainian National Anthem, "Ukraine still lives", and the others joined him in singing, before they fell massacred to the ground.

The battle ended at four p.m. when a small group of survivors boarded a train and retreated towards Kyiv.

Soon afterwards Kyiv was captured by the Bolshevik troops of Muravyev and 5000 Ukrainian patriots were murdered in the city streets without discrimination. This however did not end the story. The heroism of the 300 young Ukrainian Spartans inspired the Ukrainian people to further struggle against the treacherous and ruthless enemy. A Ukrainian army was organised under the brilliant Commander-in-Chief Symon Petlura which for three years continued a heroic defence of Ukraine against the numerically superior forces of communist Russia. And even though for the time being Moscow won the armed struggle, the spirit of Ukraine has not been broken. It manifests itself again and again in various forms of resistance, underground warfare and open armed uprisings, the struggle in the cultural, religious and economic fields. And the most well-known instances are the proclamation of the restoration of the independence of Ukraine on 30th June, 1941, and the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during the last war and several years after the war under the leadership of Stepan Bandera and General Taras Chuprynka.

The proclamation of the reunification of all Ukrainian lands into one united State happened exactly a year after the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine — on 22nd January, 1919, when Western Ukraine, which up to 1918 was under the rule of the Austrian empire, joined the Ukrainian National Republic after having been for several centuries cut off from the bulk of Ukraine.

The ideals of unity, sovereignty and independence of the Ukrainian Nation continue to inspire the Ukrainian people wherever they may be. The fight to realise them will go on resolutely until they are fully achieved, and until the present Russian empire of the Bolsheviks is dissolved into free and independent national States, among them a powerful and free Ukraine.

Niko NAKASHIDZE

AND YET NOT CONQUERED!

Ukrainian Nationalism and the A.B.N. Attacked in the Soviet Press

For years the nations subjugated by the Russians have been assured that they were thriving under the solicitous protection of their "elder brother", the Russian people, and that their existence as independent entities has been guaranteed. And yet these peoples are not convinced of this.

One has only to look through the Soviet press to come across frequent references to "bourgeois nationalist deviations", "bourgeois nationalist remnants", "narrow-minded local patriotism" etc.

We wish to draw the reader's attention to one or two such articles, not in order to carry on a controversy with the Russian Communists, which would be pointless and above all beneath our dignity, but to demonstrate to those who claim that national movements among the enslaved nations in the USSR no longer exist and that a new type of man, "Homo Sovieticus", has come into being, how unfounded, false and distorted their conception and opinion of our people is.

In this we have not in mind the pro-Russian, pro-Soviet or pro-Communist circles in the West, for these are indeed psychically and morally sick and so have a correspondingly abnormal attitude; as such they are incurable. We are addressing ourselves to those who in good faith have formed wrong impressions based on false Soviet information.

Pravda, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.), published in its edition of December 16th, 1965, the article, "The power of great friendship: Notes on international education", by Doctor of Historical Science V. Malanchuk, ideological secretary of the L'viv regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Malanchuk belongs to those Party officials who are happy to be submissive servers of their Moscow bosses, toadies, destitute of elementary human dignity and self-respect. A Russian proverb describes such creatures: "He who is born to creep, cannot fly." Such repulsive and slimy types are, unfortunately, just like criminals, to be found in every nation.

This doctor of history and high Party bureaucrat describes in his contribution the supposedly great benefits which Ukraine has gained from the fact of belonging to the Soviet Union, namely construction of big industrial undertakings, progress in economic and cultural life. All this is due, he states, to cooperation, collaboration and mutual help of all the nations of the Soviet Union. He eulogizes the "firmly established friendship between the nations of the Soviet Union", "free and generous" exchanges in the scientific field between them, resulting in the mounting prosperity of all the nations of the Soviet Union, contrasting with the Western countries.

Naturally, he does not mention the fact that a worker in the West is more prosperous than that in the Soviet Union, and that, moreover, he is able to change his job and place of residence whenever he so desires, whereas in the Soviet Union he is usually tied to his job and place of residence, or forcefully transferred from it at the will of the Government. He does not mention that in the West everyone is free to exchange his scientific knowledge with anyone, he may receive foreign newspapers and periodicals or travel abroad freely, he is not compelled to live a slave's life on a collective farm or as a factory robot who is not permitted even to express freely his opinions about the tyrannical Soviet Russian regime.

Malanchuk considers the fact that plays, operas, ballets, etc. of other peoples of the Soviet Union and of the Eastern bloc are sometimes produced in Ukraine as a supreme achievement of the "wise" Party policy. This is just an instance of his imbecile Leninist way of thinking.

"Such cooperation", he claims, "contributes to promoting and strengthening the international outlook of the people of the Soviet Union." He complains that the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" see this and "get worked up about it." "Thrown out into the backyards of Europe and America, they want to see the Ukrainian nation shut in within a narrow national shell and the roots of its friendship with its brother nations cut off", he hisses.

Even a child knows that it was not the Ukrainian nationalists who have sealed off the Ukrainian nation from the outer world, but the Moscow government which has done so with all the other nations, too. Moscow is reluctant to allow the people to see for themselves how free life can be in the Western countries.

"The regional Party organization", continues Malanchuk, "devotes great attention to educating the workers in the spirit of the Leninist friendship of the nations of the U.S.S.R., as well as to the variety of the forms and methods of ideological and organizing activity to promote international upbringing." It seems, however, that all this is not of much use, for the nations strongly resist this kind of international upbringing. For the miserable Party secretary warns: "It is a mighty, objective process (i.e. internationalist merger of nations — N. N.). To resist it — means to reveal national narrow-mindedness."

"One sometimes meets in our country", he hints, "immature people who put local interests before the common interest of the whole state. They try to get for themselves as much as possible from the common cake, to play as small a part as possible in any joint effort and to choose cadres preferably in accordance with national characteristics. Of course, the number of such people is insignificantly small, but it would be dangerous to ignore their attempts and not to stop them. The slightest weakening in the struggle against such phenomena could lead to great harm."

It is clear from the above that the Bolsheviks have not managed to suppress national aspirations of the enslaved peoples and to make their spokesmen appear few and insignificant. How can their number be "infinitely small", if they can be dangerous and inflict "great harm"? If they were few, it would be the easiest thing in the world for the Russian communists to "liquidate" them by their usual methods in no time. If they are so few and insignificant, why write about them and make a lot of fuss?

Warnings against nationalism are constantly repeated. Thus, **Pravda** leader of November 4th, 1965, entitled "In a common family towards Communism!" states:

"The nations of our countries are comrades, comrades-in-arms and brothers in the joint work of construction. The Party trains them to have an implacable spirit of opposition to any manifestations of national discord and national narrow-mindedness, and urges them categorically to combat all remnants of nationalism and chauvinism, all customs and usages which hinder the construction of Communism."

Why then appeals of this kind to combat nationalist manifestations if they are so rare and insignificant?!

National resistance of the enslaved nations is proving strong and hardening. The non-Russian nations, far from becoming "internationalized", i.e. Russified, are increasingly more openly manifesting their will to break out from under the Russian "tutelage." These nations are becoming more and more aware of their value as cultured nations and realize more clearly that the so-called Communist internationalization means renunciation of their national characteristics, cultural traditions and political independence. They have not the slightest wish to surrender and lose their individuality and to become only zoological specimens.

In his article, Dr. Malanchuk reveals: "Thus, the school Party organizations in the region discussed the decision of the regional Party Committee dealing with serious shortcomings regarding the teaching of history at Turka boarding school. The history of the Ukrainian nation was presented in this school principally from a bourgeois-objectivist point of view."

"The scientific community of L'viv", Malanchuk discloses, "sharply criticized some workers who took upon themselves the rôle of apologists of the so-called West Ukrainian National Republic set up

in 1918. They tried to blurr the fact that this "Republic" served as a weapon in the hands of Ukrainian counter-revolution and foreign imperialist circles in the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the masses aimed at the setting up of a united Ukrainian Soviet State."

"The Party organization of the L'viv branch of the Union of Writers of Ukraine came out resolutely against the attempts to view the literary process in Ukraine from the point of view of the modernized "single stream" theory (i.e. not split into bourgeois and proletarian literatures. — Ed.) Serious shortcomings of an ideological character have been discovered in the work of the editorial office of the literary journal *Zhovten* (October). It is with justification that B. K. Dudykevych, an old communist, director of the L'viv branch of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum, and a number of other participants in the plenary meeting of the L'viv City Party Committee pointed out the unsoundness of the intentions of some litterateurs to glorify excessively some writers of the past."

"These facts testify", says Malanchuk, "that the Party organizations in the region do not pass by these manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and relapses of nationalism. At the same time, they indicate that the complicated field of national relations requires keen attention and constant ideological and educational work."

Here it is clearly admitted that the national feeling continues to be strong and does not let itself be drowned by Moscow's pseudo-internationalist Russifying pressure.

Malanchuk discusses the language problem and quotes Lenin who allegedly foresaw "that the masses of the non-Russian nationalities, after freeing themselves from social and national oppression, would themselves realize the necessity of voluntarily mastering the Russian language, which would become a mighty source of the development of the economy and culture of all nations and of the establishment of close relations, drawing together and brotherly unity among them."

According to Lenin, therefore, our nations were so underdeveloped and their languages so primitive that they were unsuitable for science and it was only through Russian that they could share in civilization.

It is historically well known that at one time, when literature, historical writings and theological works were flourishing in Ukraine, and when philosophic and theological academies existed in Georgia, and almost all the Greek philosophers and theologians had been translated into Georgian, at that time and for long after that time the tribes from which the Russian nation was eventually formed, were still living in wild forests as savages.

According to the figures given by Malanchuk, there are now in L'viv alone — in addition to 56 Ukrainian — 29 Russian and 2 Polish schools. These Russian schools — of which there were none in L'viv

before 1939, for there were no indigenous Russians living in L'viv at that time — are presumably attended by the sons and daughters of the Russian "brothers and sisters" who have been sent as colonial masters into Ukraine to show their "friendship of nations", to give "help and protection" to the poor natives against the "wicked Western militarist and imperialist capitalists", and also, of course, to "civilize" the country and to teach the population "the language of the October Revolution and of the great Lenin", through which alone, allegedly, they can master scientific wisdom.

Malanchuk assures his masters in the Kremlin that:

"The brunt of our ideological work is directed at the unmasking of nationalism, the political and ideological weapon of international reaction. The Party organizations train the working people to show intolerance towards any manifestations of bourgeois ideology, to display revolutionary vigilance towards the hostile activities of imperialist circles and their servants, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists."

He expresses the hope that the new economic shake-up started by Moscow would help economic development and thus "economic roots for the appearance of local parochialism and national narrow-mindedness will be cut off."

This shabby Party hack is so befogged by the Marxist-Leninist mumbo-jumbo that he has not yet grasped that the theory which asserts that the economy is the basis on which all human thought and action rests, has long since been historically proved wrong.

Human thought and action are events of a different and higher plane than economy, and independent of it. From this comes the failure and lack of success in the "internationalizing" of the non-Russian nations. Thus the "mighty economic construction" is of no help to the Russians in the drive against national consciousness of subjugated peoples.

In the course of this attempt to root out Ukrainian and other nationalisms, Moscow employs the most perfidious methods of colonial policy.

At the Central Committee plenary session of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in September, 1965, it was decided to centralize again the state planning and industrial management organs. The leading article on this in *Pravda* of 4 November, 1965, reads: "Technical progress, the speedy growth of social production, necessitates an even greater integration of the economy of the republics for the realization of joint state economic plans. The various branches of production and the enterprises of the Union republics are so closely inter-connected that it is impossible to imagine the development of any republic at all outside the economy of the Soviet Union." There we have it! And then, in its own stilted fashion, it goes on: "Therefore the harmonious combination of the interests of the Union republics and of the autonomous republics

with the interests of the whole state now acquires a special significance." That is to say the interests of the Russian state of Moscow, of the colonial power, are supreme!

Our countries have become absolute colonies of Russia, which are brutally exploited; not only economically, — our people have served also the Russians as workers from the early colonial times.

In the same article in *Pravda* of 4th November, 1965, the following was quoted as an example of the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union: "It is not long since the modern city of Shevchenko has been established on the previously deserted coast of the Caspian Sea, in the region of Mangyshlak. This name was given by the working population of Kazakhstan to the place because there the Tsarist authorities had once held the great son of the Ukrainian nation. The oil wells of Mangyshlak are a real embodiment of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Here citizens of 42 nationalities work in harmony, like brothers, one with the other. And in the development of the new lands representatives of 30 nationalities are working..."

Of course it is not mentioned that these people were brought there under compulsion. Everything is made to appear in an idyllic light. Foreign rulers always find in the countries occupied by them renegades who are willing to serve their foreign masters, to ingratiate themselves, people who walk over the dead bodies of their countrymen or make themselves court poets of the foreigners and sing their praises.

The Lithuanian writer Piatras Zwirkas wrote: "The Soviet fatherland has rejuvenated our Lithuania. It carressed us with a mother's hand and gave us from its dowry everything that socialist man has created. The wonderful branch of socialism blossoms richly and will blossom eternally, because it is fed by the wonderful juice of the new brotherhood of mankind."

He knows that he is lying, but he lies, because he must lie as a Communist. The whole world knows how the Lithuanian nation is suffering under Russian Communist rule, how valiantly it is fighting and how many sacrifices it has borne. But Zwirkas is deaf to the groans of his nation; these tortures do not move him. And yet the worst thing is that there are people in the West who take his words as the gospel truth.

The Georgian W. Galunia wrote once in a Russian periodical in the article, "Proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism", that "A great longing for Russian culture and the Russian language reigns among all nations of the U.S.S.R. All peoples of the U.S.S.R. recognize the Russian language as their mother tongue. It has in fact become a general language for the understanding and cooperation among the nations of the U.S.S.R. This is quite logical, for Russian is one of the richest languages of the world, it enjoys great respect

and popularity, it is an important means for bringing closer together all working nations, it enlarges all national cultures and unites all nations in their struggle for the construction of Communism." (*Molodoy Kommunist*, No. 11, 1961).

This is of course mental confusion and total imbecility. Here is an individual, who is anxious to make a career for himself, and that he has done already, but not in Georgia, in Moscow.

The Georgian Communist Party made one of their members, Dzotsenidze, member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences and appointed him Vice-President of the Academy. Now this Dzotsenidze, nominated as a scientist by party favour, writes in the address to young historians: "Anyone who has use for the feudal history of the historians" — and here he quotes the names of the renowned Georgian historians — "stop rummaging about in the past, you have more important things to do."

After that he suffered devastating defeat. People wanted to know from him where and when Marx, Engels and Lenin had disowned history. Even the party secretary himself was occasioned to state, without mentioning his name directly, that of course exaggeration in history is inadmissible, but some party comrades go too far in the other direction. They go too far and their ideas are on the way to becoming nihilism and cosmopolitanism. Thus he was silenced.

A Georgian poet wrote the poem "The Mamelukes", in which one could read: "Cursed and damned be he who destroys the graves in his native land in foreign service, and rides over them to gain fame for himself."

The people understood who this was meant for and this poem was quoted at every festival and by every fireplace. On the one side stand the people, stubbornly defending their national being, and on the other, the single traitors who are condemned to leave their land and to go to Moscow.

Our nations are enjoined to master Russian as a language of culture and to renounce national aspirations and subject themselves to the "common state interests." Their national consciousness is dismissed as "national narrow-mindedness", yet how proud Lenin was of his Russianness!

As Lenin once stressed about the Decembrist revolt (the liberal intellectual movement of 1825), which was cruelly suppressed by Tsar Nicholas I.: "Is the feeling of national pride foreign to us, the conscious Great Russian proletariat? Of course not! We love our language and our home... It is especially painful for us to see and to feel what acts of violence, sufferings and humiliations our beautiful native country has been exposed to from the Tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud that these violent methods provoked resistance in our circle, the circle of the Great Russians and that this Radishchev circle (a leader of the Decembrists, — N.N.) called into being the Decembrist movement and the

revolutionaries of the 70's." (**Lenin's works**, Russian edition, Vol. 21, p. 85). But according to the same Lenin our nations should reject their past, the "national survivals", their customs and habits, and be proud to be citizens of the Soviet Union and the Russian Empire, and be only Soviet patriots. These aims have been stubbornly pursued by the Moscow rulers in their education in "international spirit", but the peoples did not submit. The "phenomena of national narrow-mindedness" and "local patriotism", "bourgeois nationalist survivals" proved a relentless challenge to Moscow's policies which did not reach their aim, for as it turned out, national values proved to be tremendously stronger than economic ones and even terror could not break them.

That these phenomena are very extensive and cannot be suppressed is proved by the fact that they are being continually attacked. The Soviet Communist party press is also sometimes forced to argue with the national political organizations and personalities in exile. The national political organizations and personalities in exile are normally passed over in silence, but if the Soviet press start attacking them in fairly long articles, then something is up.

This "something", for which Moscow feels bound to calumniate those politically active in exile, is namely the fact that national leaders in exile are being spoken about among the people and that the Russians are being informed of this by their agents. Although they are hermetically sealed off, our nations learn almost everything; news leaks through this way or that. Some people in the U.S.S.R. are excellent handy-men and amateur radio mechanics. They convert Soviet radio sets which have a fixed range of reception and listen to foreign broadcasts. Now and again tourists also come from abroad and our peoples see and hear a lot. Somehow or other, sometimes, even the exile press reaches them and if one person knows something, it is very quickly spread around. The activities of our friends in exile give the Soviet rulers no rest. They have specially aimed at the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (ABN) and violently attack it in the press and in radio broadcasts.

ABN is so strongly attacked because they know that it is the largest organisation in exile with the best international connections and that it is known and popular among the subjugated nations. They know, too, how dangerous a revolutionary organization even in exile can be. Lenin and his comrades-in-arms were for long years emigrants and carried on the struggle from there.

Such an organization is particularly dangerous when it is in accordance with the national strivings of the nation and fights as executor of the nation's will. It regards ABN as its national trustee, defender and spokesman in the Free World.

The Soviet rulers know this and thus begin such furious attacks against the ABN and try to defame it as an agent of the capitalist imperialists.

In the Ukrainian Communist Party monthly, published in L'viv, **Zhovten (October)**, and in the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, **Robitnycha Hazeta**, dated 1st December, 1965, No. 281, there are long articles on ABN, in which its composition and its activities are described at length, naturally with the usual Communist mendacious and calumniating commentaries and abuse.

It must be admitted that its authors are fairly well informed on the activities of ABN, but we have always worked in the open. It can be seen from this article that they follow our work with attention and are also informed about it by their agents.

The article is entitled: "Even the grave cannot make the humpback straight", meaning the leading personalities of ABN.

The main force of the attack is directed against the President of ABN, J. Stetzko, for the motive force of ABN is the O.U.N. (Banderivtsi) (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, whose leader was the late S. Bandera), which, allegedly, "exploits all the others (member organisations of ABN) for its provocative, anti-patriotic policies."

It is jubilantly reported that "the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalism, of sad memory, Stepan Bandera, Andriy Melnyk and Ivan Bahriany have been laid in the grave."

But what does this jubilation help them, when the Ukrainian nation and the whole world know anyway that Bandera was treacherously murdered on the order of the Soviet government, and that the giver of the order was Shelepin? The day will come, when the criminals will be made to answer — the jubilation will wear very thin! The article listed the national organizations that are members of the ABN and the countries where the ABN has its branches. They also know when and where the ABN was founded.

The article reports on J. Stetzko's sending, on behalf of ABN, memoranda and declarations, among other things, to the UNO, the USA Congress and to various governments; and that in these he urges that relations with the Soviet Union be broken off, that an economic blockade be imposed, that the subjugated nations be supported in their struggle, etc. They also know that J. Stetzko has visited the USA, Australia, Canada, National China, etc., has met prominent politicians and negotiated the introduction of the "Captive Nations Week" in the USA and that every year the Day of Ukrainian Independence is observed in the USA.

It is encouraging that they report these things so fully. In this way the people will be informed of our activities and learn that the Free World recognizes their right to independence.

But their effort to portray Stetzko as the agent of the capitalists is completely wasted. The people know that neither Bandera nor Stetzko are of feudal or bourgeois descent. They came from

he people and acted on behalf of the people. They were the executors of the will of their people and Stetzko is still so today. With this report our enemies have contributed considerably to the increase in the popularity of the O.U.N. among the people.

On the other hand the enslaved peoples know that it is the Communist Russian bosses who are the aristocrats and bourgeoisie of the plebeian caste, they are the executioners, blood-suckers and exploiters of the people.

Belonging to this caste of plebeian aristocrats and bourgeoisie, beside the party functionaries, are administrative functionaries, scientists, managers of big concerns, technicians in leading positions, the party writers, court poets and the sons and daughters of this elite, who are brought up in boarding schools, as in the time of the Tsars, in the cadet colleges and institutes for the daughters of the nobility, now for the future elite of the Communist Russian empire.

Parades, uniforms for all, even for the pupils, — and the people, deprived of their rights, are made to march past.

These bosses enjoy their privileges, look down upon and despise the people, and show themselves to the world as peace-loving peacemakers, and in the West people believe in them and are intent on assuring co-existence. No account is taken of the suffering of our nations, and the Western nations act as if they are convinced that the subjugated nations have reconciled themselves with their conditions and feel happy.

The article in **Robitnycha Hazeta** attacking the A.B.N. states: "Even incense won't help the dead", and then: "They (Stetzko and friends) cannot save the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists nor those who would wish to back them from the inevitable ruin and from physical and moral death."

If it is so, and they are condemned to death by history, why then so much noise against these people and their activities, why such violent attacks against A.B.N. and its leading personalities? They are not yet dead, however, and are carrying on an implacable struggle against the Russian Communist rule.

We know that right and truth are on our side. We know that our age is the age of the liberation of nations, of national, political and social freedom. The freedom of the individual and of the nation has been lifted up to the highest principle. The course of history is running in this direction and no one can go against it. The Russians know that their colonial imperium is doomed to ruin and that we have right and popular will on our side and will be victors. The abuse of the Soviet press cannot harm us, and it serves merely as a source of information for our nations, for they know how a Communist newspaper is to be read. They learn that they are not forgotten in the Free World and that here are their true sons and daughters, who speak on their behalf.

Evhen MALANIUK

To the Problem of Bolshevism

Foreword by the Translator

In the first half of the 20th century many Ukrainians left their native land and most of them made their second home in the United States of America. It was the élite of the people that gathered there: poets, political writers, scientists and members of the learned professions generally. Their work, though dealing with the most topical questions, has remained practically unknown in the West because it was written in the Ukrainian language. Many of these publications point to interesting facts, which have been ignored in the West, such as the falsification of history, for instance. Then there is creative writing, which captures naked reality in poetic form. One of these expatriates is the well known Ukrainian poet and publicist, Evhen Malaniuk, whose treatise "To the Problem of Bolshevism" is here offered to the Western reader. Only negligible cuts have been made in order to compress the work.

E. Malaniuk was born in 1897 and has had personal experience of Bolshevism. In the year 1917 we see him in the trenches of the gradually disintegrating Russian army, and later in the Ukrainian National Army. In 1925 appeared his first volume of poetry, "Stiletto and Style", which was followed at intervals of several years by other collections, published in West Ukraine, France and Germany, as well as journalistic work.

Malaniuk's lyrics have a tremendous dynamic force and an exciting rhythm. As a distinguished poet and critic said of him: "He sees the scarlet banners of stormy times fall in the smoke-filled sky. In the vast spaces he hears the yells of Mongols of earlier times. In divine anger he speaks of his home-land and, like Ezekiel, calls it a harlot who gave herself to every comer. He calls down upon her a cleansing rain and prays that she may rise again in the white robes of her snowy fields. — It is every Ukrainian's vision of the future, for they all know that only a national state of their own can provide the conditions in which the spiritual forces of the people can unfold." So much of Malaniuk as a poet.

In 1956 he published in the USA his treatise "To the Problem of Bolshevism", with which he turned from poetry to historical philosophy. In this article he draws not only on his personal experience, but also on the study he made — versed in several languages — of Russian and Western writers on the subject. More than twenty renowned authors serve him as witnesses in his case.

Malaniuk challenges old and deep-rooted misconceptions about the origin of kolkhozes and the whole complex of "Russia" generally. With irrefutable logic he demonstrates that the sovkhozes (state farms) and kolkhozes (collective farms) of the present day have their roots in Tsarist institutions, such as the

'obshchina' (village community) and that Bolshevism is not an idea which Lenin imported from Germany, but a system which grew organically among the Slavonic and Mongolian tribes of Muscovite Russia. He shows how the outwardly monolithic 'Russia' is in fact composed of diverse peoples, who have been harnessed to a system that is alien to them. Particularly interesting are his pointers to the falsifications in Russian history. It has been common knowledge for several decades now that the old history had been grossly distorted. The name 'Ruś', for instance, by which the southern, Dnieper Slavs were known, was appropriated by Muscovy, which caused the former to call themselves 'Ukrainians' in order to dissociate themselves from the Muscovites.

Malaniuk's truthful account of events, his profound knowledge about the old Muscovite empire, the Russian empire and, finally, the Soviet empire, and his penetrating analysis of the soil in which Bolshevism was able to develop, deserve to be acknowledged and heeded by historians everywhere. The evidence Malaniuk produces is so convincing that one is amazed how the facts of the case could ever have been overlooked.

His treatise is divided into the following chapters:

- Introduction
- I. The Ideology
- II. The Fertile Soil
- III. Tsarism
- IV. Church and Tsarism
- V. The Tsardom

There is also an extensive list of sources.

B.

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Introduction

The term 'Bolshevism', much in use at the beginning of the Russian Revolution, became unfashionable after World War II and is about to disappear altogether. This is probably not so much the doing of the Soviet rulers as that of those camouflaged international circles, who try their utmost to present the official Moscow ideology, i.e. Marxist Communism, as the predominant ideology of the present time, as a vision of the future, as a religion, and who see in it above all the one ideology that can be set against the nationalism they so abhor. These same circles have from the very start given the name of 'Russia' to the empire the Bolsheviks had restored, despite the new constitution and contrary to the official designation of U.S.S.R. (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics). The term 'Russia' corresponds no doubt more closely to their sentimental notions and at the same time lends respectability to the imperialist ambitions of the Bolsheviks, who have now become the "aristocracy" of the Soviet Empire.

There is little doubt that Moscow Communism, and the empire it rules, would long ago have ceased to exist but for the help it receives from these circles abroad. It would have collapsed, not only through the active resistance of organic forces within the U.S.S.R., but as a consequence of the absurd internal structure of the Soviet empire, which can only be maintained by millions of police and by the systematic suppression of individuality and the strangling of the spiritual life of the overpowered and enslaved peoples.

Communism is made the peculiar justification for the permanent system of Soviet terror and the periodic bursts of genocide and other kinds of mass murder, on the grounds that great aims demand great sacrifices. Thus criminal actions are presented as necessary measures of defence. In consequence there appeared after the last war similar distortions when the world Press used such cynical expressions as "Communist Koreans", "Communist Czechs", "Communist Germans" etc., as if in the territories concerned there had been an ideological alliance rather than the usual enforced occupation by Moscow of actual fact. The support which the U.S.S.R. enjoys from outside is, of course, not confined to helpful propaganda, but provides material aid, loans, diplomatic cooperation and, above all, political assistance in the final destruction of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. This is done with an eye to the colonial opportunities in the present U.S.S.R. and, especially, to the colonial potential, which forms an irresistible attraction for the greed of anonymous exploiting capitalism, whose myth Karl Marx has created.

The Communist legend, with its emphasis on internationalism and the "building of socialism" (clearly of the Marxist stamp), is no doubt an important tool in the hands of Moscow, but it is by no means the whole story. It rather serves as a screen, like every fabricated ideology, behind which the true nature of what is termed 'Bolshevism' is hidden. Bolshevism is a far more comprehensive concept than Communism, but the latter provides perhaps the most convenient pseudonym for the former. Neither "Socialism", nor "Marxism", nor "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", nor any other abstract term can adequately render the essence or the meaning of the historical phenomenon which introduced the new era in the history of 'Russia', which has so far lasted for several decades. This historical process cannot be reduced to just another of the many "...isms." It is an historical event which is organically connected with a distinct geographical territory, with a distinct population of a distinct human type, and with the history of a distinct people, and it is conditioned by a distinct cultural climate.

It would be naïve and quite unwarranted to attribute the rise of Bolshevism merely to the fact that in 1917 the emigrant V. Ulyanov (Lenin) returned in a sealed carriage to Russia, or to the "strategic genius" of the journalist L. Bronstein (Trotsky), or to the influence of the writings of the "prophet" Karl Marx. Let us leave this to the discussions among those circles we have already mentioned, whose "specialists on Communism" and "experts on Russia", consciously or unconsciously, either depict Bolshevism as a purely economic system or restrict their view to the aspect of the proletarian revolution or to the so-called economic interpretation of history (Marxism, Socialist Talmudism, etc.). We ourselves have neither the space, nor the time, nor any inclination for such theorising.

I. THE IDEOLOGY

Foreigners do not
understand what
goes on in Russia.

M. Litvinov (Wallach).

We will not begin with a definition. The phenomenon of Bolshevism is too intricate and has too many facets to be defined in more or less scientific terms or even to be comprehended at all by the rationalistic minds of the West. Only a handful of scholars are the exception.

Let us begin with the usual personal reminiscences. It is the autumn of 1917. The Russian trenches of the first World War have become almost deserted. The empire is *de facto* dismembered. It is the period of the Provisional Government under Kerensky. In Petrograd, Lenin's voice resounds from the balcony of the ballerina Krzhesinskaya's palace and keeps repeating the word 'Soviet' in various combinations. In the disintegrated Army any discipline that remains is purely from habit.

My rifle company (in which many Ukrainians served) receives from regimental command a telephonist, a typical Russian from the Ryazan area, red-haired, lively and cunning. At his telephone he avidly follows the course of events at home and treats every soldier to the political news. The speeches by Lenin and his associates particularly appeal to him.

A young cadet officer from an 'Intelligentsia' background, a budding opera singer and graduate of the Academy of Music, who holds liberal-democratic views and is enthusiastic about Kerensky, attempts to re-orient this telephonist. Incessantly one hears such phrases as "liberated Russia", "democratic government", "loyalty to the Allies", "war until victory." The red-haired, snub-nosed telephonist listens and tries to remain courteous (there is still a shadow of authority left), but in the end he burst out: "Do stop about your Kerensky and Democracy! It makes one sick. We don't need Kerensky. What we need is a firm authority, don't you see? The Bolsheviks, Lenin, that's an authority, but not that law-twister of yours. Lenin is the boss! The comrades tell me over the telephone what he says to the people. One can hear at once that this is the stuff. This is what we, the workers and the peasants, need — you don't, of course, you the masters and intellectuals!"

This red-headed, not very young Russian, who had never heard of Marx, was not a Socialist and belonged to no party, was already Bolshevik. It was amazing to hear with what reverence he pronounced the mere word. Perhaps it reminded him of the word 'bolshoy', or of 'bolshak' (the eldest of a Russian family) hallowed by tradition. Be that as it may, the fact is that in my regiment, in which

a great number of non-Russians served (Ukrainians and Cossacks among them), all those who were born Russians were already Bolsheviks in the autumn of 1917, quite independent of what social class they belonged to. They were Bolsheviks, not in the party-ideological sense of the word, but in the almost metaphysical sense of the whole concept, which can only with difficulty be comprehended by merely sociological methods of analysis.

In the first breath of Bolshevism, in the very first of Lenin's speeches, the Russian people sensed behind the Marxist terminology the traditional autocratic spirit, the spirit of historical tsarism, with which the true Russian feels so much at home.

Identifying the Revolution with a revival of religious and national consciousness, it was not only Klyuev and Yesenin, the gifted poets of peasant stock, who welcomed Bolshevism, but also the refined poet and scholar Andrey Belyy (son of Professor Bugayev) and the last of the great poets of imperial times, Alexander Blok, (cf. his poem "The Twelve"), as well as many other eminent Russians who can with justice be called the head and heart of their nation. The most outstanding officers of the old Army became Bolsheviks, as I myself could observe, and they provided for the Bolshevik army a professionally trained General Staff with Brusilov at the head.

In the White Army of Denikin, fighting against the Bolsheviks, the majority were non-Russians, mostly Ukrainians. The nucleus of that army formed the regiments of the Don and Kuban Cossacks. The leader of the Kornilov army, in spite of his name, was equally a non-Russian. It is after all well enough known that it was only the peripheral peoples who resisted the Bolsheviks and not national Russia herself.

By the same token, it can hardly be supposed that the aristocratic Chicherin, the Tsar's former Chargé d'Affaires in London, was a convinced Marxist, and it is certainly not by accident that he became the first Bolshevik Minister of the Exterior.

Enough has been said about these matters in the documentary literature on the subject, and we need not go into them any further. What can be established without any superfluous documentation is the fact that the so-called "Russian Revolution", which by its nature was to dissolve the empire, has found in the Bolsheviks a relief crew for the running of the imperial machine. The degenerate descendants of the Russian aristocracy were incapable of working that machine, particularly had they failed at that critical moment when with one blow the empire lost its colonies and only a denuded ethnographical Muscovite state remained.

There is an anecdote of those often dramatic days when the Bolsheviks fought for power. When one of the pretenders to high government position, known under the pseudonym of Zinov'ev, expressed doubts whether their not very numerous group would be able to take over and maintain the government, Lenin promptly

replied: "If tsarist Russia could be ruled by 140,000 noblemen, then that same Russia can be ruled by our Party, which already has tens of thousands of members."

Although Lenin cannot be called a genius, one must admit that he possessed a very wide knowledge, specifically about the psyche of the Russian people, the course of Russian history, the roots of Russian civilisation, and about the nature of power. In this last respect Lenin was certainly superior to our Ukrainian historians and poets (Hrushevsky and Vynnychenko), for he had doubtless studied the work "Of War" by Karl von Clausewitz more closely than the work of the other Karl, the "Capital" by Marx. It is an open secret that immediately after the overthrow the Bolsheviks took over intact the organisation and staff of the notorious tsarist 'Okhranka' (department of the secret police).

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One need not be a mystic to feel that we are living in an era in which evil has become an almost tangible thing.

We — especially we exiled Ukrainians — feel not only the existence, but the very essence of evil, and with such clarity as only medieval man felt it. The demoniac element in the complex of Bolshevism is undeniable, however much the false 'experts' may attempt, under the pretence of professional argument, to put forward their rational definitions, such as political economy, socialism, sociology and, of course, Marxism, i.e. "scientific Marxism."

Such 'experts', 'scholars', new-fangled 'historiographers', — among them a considerable number of somehow or other remunerated Soviet propagandists — assert, for instance, that the terror, the concentration camps, the mass resettlements, the constriction of the natural growth of people, are all inventions of the German Nazis, while every normal person knows that the latter were only inept disciples, two decades late, of the Bolsheviks. About such methodical mass tortures as the two great famines in our homeland, which the Bolsheviks organised in 1922 and 1933 and in which 30% of our people perished, the 'experts' remain silent; or, if they cannot avoid the topic, they insolently maintain, without any proof whatever, that there was starvation everywhere in the Union, "in the whole of Russia", and that it had been caused by the necessity of "building socialism", or at least by the necessity of "industrialising" the country; or, simply, that the threat from "capitalist" enemies made rearmament inevitable. This cynical lie is then taken up, after long discussions, by other 'experts', is printed in hundreds of tomes and thousands of copies, broadcast over the radio and studied at universities. And so the infernal machine goes on working; for the father of the lie is, as you know, Satan.

For various reasons we shall have to leave the undoubted satanic element of Bolshevism out of consideration, since an analysis of this

irrational part of the ideology would require another kind of treatment and a different terminology. In actual life, however, irrational and rational manifestations are so closely intertwined, the real and the mystical so often become merged, that the conscientious researcher frequently arrives at the conclusion that our so-called exact science is very limited and, indeed, it has in the course of the technological 19th century itself acquired the attributes of a strange and purely pagan mysticism (the taboo of the "unscientific").

In the examination of our subject we cannot avoid touching upon the theory, or the "science", propounded by Marx. It is after all the basis of the Communist philosophy and thereby of Bolshevism, which was to be a specifically Russian form of Marxism.

Karl Marx was born in 1818, the son of a christened lawyer from the Rhineland, the descendant, probably, of an old rabbinic family who emigrated from Ukraine in the 17th century. He studied at the universities of Bonn and Berlin and wrote his thesis on Democritus, the materialist philosopher of antiquity. He started to work as a journalist, emigrated to Paris where, together with Heinrich Heine, he published the magazine 'Vorwärts' (Forward). After the revolution of 1848 Marx returned to Germany, but only a year later, in 1849, he moved to London. There he lived, always in financial trouble and dependent on the help from relatives, until his death in 1883.

In view of the general familiarity with Marxism (in the schools of the USSR it is an obligatory subject and has replaced religious instruction), there is no need to give here an account of the bases of Marx's theory, which are expounded in the three volumes of his 'Capital' (first published in Hamburg between the years 1867 and 1894). That theory is so impregnated with economic determinism that every scientific character is lost, a fact which contemporaries and even Marxists themselves have pointed out. This, however, did not and does not prevent interested circles proclaiming Karl Marx a great scholar, who for the first time had provided the economy, and thereby history, with a scientific basis; whose theory represented a feat of logical thinking; who had turned the whole world of old ideas upside down, had opened up a new era in the history of mankind; and who had become, as a Soviet writer expressed it, "the Sabaoth of a new world." A few of his champions among his kindred, with typical lack of moderation and unconscious blasphemy, do not shrink from placing him as a reformer beside... Christ.

The scientific value of Marxism is, of course, far more modest than one might suppose from the noise made about it by Soviet and pro-Soviet propaganda. Marx's theory has long ago been assigned its proper place in time and space. Even true Marxists no longer dwell on it; they neither discuss nor defend it. In genuine science, Marx's theory has for some time now been the equivalent to "the Emperor's new clothes" of Andersen's fairy-tale.

But, as we have said before, there is a close link between the irrational and the rational, the supernatural and the natural. Marx's

turbid, confusedly talmudistic and in the end surely rather primitive theory about "classes" and "values" contained nevertheless something that acted like a spark on the minds of men and was ultimately to connect the author's name with the sea of blood and tears which engulfed above all our native country, which was also the home of the ancestors of the fateful man. There was something in that theory that eludes rational analysis. Between the lines there was perhaps something demoniac, something — I venture to say it — satanic.

The astonishing thing about Marx's theory, even if one considers only its formal character, is the complete absence of the spiritual element, the ethical. While the author is ostensibly concerned with the well-being of man (the proletarian, the worker), he puts in the place of man some transient species of a simplified Darwinian order.

The creative mind is eliminated; manifestations of the human spirit are denied existence; life is reduced to minimal, semi-animal functions. To call it anti-humanism would be an under-statement; it is de-humanisation, an abstraction contrary to all nature, with which that theory confronts us. The doctrine not only does away with God, which would be in keeping with trends in the scientific 19th century; it does away with man himself. For man is above all, whatever science may say, God's image and not a robot or a number in a concentration camp. All this is not a question of mere materialism. Materialism as a system of philosophy had been known long before Marx. The same Democritus (5th century B.C.) on whom Marx wrote his thesis, the originator of the theory of atoms and author of no less than 72 works on subjects of cosmology, ethics and the theory of cognition, was a learned physicist and the first of the materialist philosophers known to us. None of this prevented him, however, from devoting special treatises to spiritual matters.

The naïve, brutal and, in true German fashion, straightforward materialist Ludwig Feuerbach flourished shortly before Marx. He went as far as to maintain that "man is what he eats" (a pun in German: *Der Mensch ist, was er isst*), which did not save him, however, from being charged with "idealism" by both Marx and Lenin. Compared with what we in our time have seen of the effects of materialism, his maxim appears to us now as no more than the babble of a drunkard.

All this is to say that at the core of Marxism there is not only materialism as a specific philosophic system, but also something abysmal and terrifying. For if man, as depicted in that theory, is no longer linked to family, nature, the universe, the spiritual, God — then man, as we know him, ceases to exist altogether. Marxism is not only atheistic; it is, from an historical point of view, antichristian in the full sense of the word. There is no doubt whatever that under the cloak of quasi-scientific definitions Satanism lurks in the Marxist doctrine.

The first to point this out is said to have been the great Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko, who in 1898 wrote about Marxism: "...it is to be expected that we shall soon have (in fact we have it already) a formal religion based on the dogmas of hate and the class struggle." Then it was the famous philosopher Nikolay Berdyayev, who in one of his early essays (1906) stressed "the falsehood" in Marxism and called the doctrine a "prison of the mind" and an "evil of the future." Berdyayev was well aware of the demoniac nature of Marxism, with its cult of de-personalisation and "non-being", and foresaw in it the unquestionable antichristianism.

I can still recall the strong impression made on me by the fragment of an article or letter by Karl Marx which I happened to read. It was not the content, but the style that struck me (it was in German). It was decidedly biblical, the style of the Old Testament prophets. The proletariat was compared to the "chosen" people and Marx saw himself as Moses, their leader. Since style tells us much about the author himself, this brief excerpt was illuminating and provided a key to the understanding of the essence of the doctrine which lies behind its "scientific" and "economic" disguises. It also gave the answer as to why, from among other socialist theories, it should have been Marx's theory that so much kindled enthusiasm and possessed such marvellous energy, such an electric charge, that what is after all a grandiose movement could spring from it.

In my opinion, it is above all due to the personality of Karl Marx, to his innate character, which was stronger than the influences of education, environment or official nationality. The man who was supposed to be rationalism personified, emerges from contemporary memoirs and from surviving letters and other documents as a man "possessed", who indeed looked like an Old Testament prophet and who was a born leader — not just some kind of party leader, but a visionary, absorbed in an ideal, a myth, a distant goal...

In ordinary life he was a difficult man, highly intolerant, despotic, not open to argument. Dominated by his ideas, he was able to influence his contemporaries and environment and at times to extort blind obedience from them. He was a man of indomitable mental energy (not "materialistic", i.e. physical) and it was this force, of rather dark origin, which revealed itself in his "scientific" work, his journalism, his exuberant organising activity (Communist Manifesto, 1847), and produced such disastrous results.

The fact that Marx's theory was put into practice on the territory of the Russian empire and not, as one might logically have assumed, in already industrialised Germany, must not be regarded as an accident or as an historical misunderstanding. The communist Moses had for some time had his fanatical eye on that mysterious country to the east of Europe, as his notes and articles prove.

His comrade, Heinrich Heine, poet and acute observer, showed particular sympathy for Russia and associated it with definite hopes.

All that was needed was a mental bridge, a metaphysical contact with one specific point in the complex of "Russia" and the psyche of her intellectual élite. And that point was to be the Russian Messianism, for Marxism itself was and is only a quasi-scientific form of Messianism.

Nor was it accidental that Russia's great poet Alexander Blok greeted the Bolshevik overthrow with his blasphemous-messianic poem "The Twelve", in which he placed at the head of the twelve Red guardsmen the figure of Jesus Christ, in reality, of course, Antichrist.

II. THE FERTILE SOIL

Four years after the appearance of the first volume of "Capital", Dostoyevsky published his novel "The Devils" (or "The Possessed") (1871), which one would associate rather with Marx's "Communist Manifesto" of 24 years earlier — "Europe is haunted by the spectre of communism" (1847). It is exceedingly strange, but characteristic, that scholars should take so little notice of this novel, which is a first rate source of enlightenment on Bolshevism and indeed constitutes one of the most important documents in the vast literature on the subject. Unfortunately, the "experts on Russia" preponderate among scholars, and they carefully dissect the problem, with an energy that could be employed to greater advantage, without getting at the heart of the matter. Three quarters, if not 90% of these "experts" tear the historical event of Bolshevism out of the context of history, of time and space, as if it were something that had developed in the stratosphere and not on this iniquitous earth of ours. The anti-historical approach is the worst sin of these "scientists." They split *a priori* the problem seen in abstraction and arrange it into groups of aspects (sociological, social, economic, material, etc.).

"The Devils", it is true, is fiction, a work of literature rather than science. But it can be proved by a number of examples that novels of this kind make a far greater contribution towards the illumination of a problem than documentary material or scientific treatises, especially when such treatises are written by scholars without imagination or on a purely rational basis.

The mere fact that the novel was originally proscribed by the Bolshevik government and appeared only later, when the Soviet empire had consolidated itself, in the "academic" complete (i.e. not popular) edition of the works of Dostoyevsky, is highly significant. One may be sure that the novel is not to be found on the shelves of the public libraries of the U.S.S.R. It is in the nature of things that the book should play no part either in the so-called anti-Communist campaign outside the U.S.S.R. conducted by Russian emigrants, or in the propaganda of the fifth column.

These circles have good reasons for ignoring or keeping silent about "The Devils." In the whole of world literature there is no other work that provides deeper insight into Bolshevism and hence is more anti-Bolshevist than "The Devils", with the exception perhaps of Saltykov-Shchedrin's "History of the Town of Glupov" which is, however, almost incomprehensible to anyone not acquainted with the complex of "Russia" because of its style, and, possibly, the books of the English writer Joseph Conrad (a Pole from Ukraine), "The Secret Agent" and "Under Western Eyes", which do not seem to be particularly popular either.

Dostoyevsky's "The Devils" is probably the greatest work this very prolific author has written. The novel somehow bursts the frame of conventional writing, perhaps even of literature altogether, as is the case with the "Undivine Comedy" by the Polish writer Krasinski: in its visions this crosses the boundaries of ordinary literature and provides another valuable clue to the ideas behind Bolshevism, being at the same time a strange prophecy.

It is well known that Dostoyevsky was a psychological wreck, suffered from epilepsy and was a compulsive gambler. Apart from the difficulties arising from his national origins and his family environment (he was the grandson of a Greek Orthodox priest and the son of an unbalanced father, whom he hated), he had been drawn into a revolutionary circle, was condemned to death and then, under the very gallows, "reprieved" by Tsar Nicholas I and banished to Siberia. This severe mental shock and years of forced labour wrought havoc on Dostoyevsky's sensitive mind. The man, who had already lost his roots, was morally broken for ever. The pathological element in his writing is consequently strong. Far more than anything by a healthy writer, his novels are a rich mine for psychopathologists and criminologists. The actual stories of his novels are interwoven with the treatment of important psychological, philosophical and religious problems, particularly Christianity and Orthodoxy.

Always in financial trouble, he tended to draw out his books and make them more complicated, often to the detriment of composition. This is why, apart from their moral indigestibility, they are so difficult to read.

"The Devils" stands out among Dostoyevsky's other work by the extraordinary clarity of the prophetic vision of Russian Bolshevism and the way in which it uncovers the Bolshevik "subsoil" of Russia. Its clairvoyant description of several historical events in the future (the 9th/22nd of January incident; the Rasputin episode; the figure of Lenin, even of Trotsky; and much else) cannot fail to make a deep impression on the modern reader. It was this epileptic, with his diseased mind and depraved tendencies (Stavrogin's confession in "The Devils" is autobiographical, according to the testimony of contemporaries), who was to foresee the future disasters, and he paid for his prophetic vision with suffering throughout his life. While

referring the reader to the novel itself, I may be permitted to quote here one of the passages which gives the gist of the views held by one of the characters, the "ideologist" Shigalyov. It is the conversation between Verkhovensky and Stavrogin.

"He (Shigalyov) has invented 'equality'... Spying. Every member of the society spies on the others, and he is obliged to inform against them. Everyone belongs to all the others, and all belong to everyone. All are slaves and equals in slavery. In extreme cases slander and murder, but, above all, equality. To begin with, the level of education, science and accomplishment is lowered. A high level of scientific thought and accomplishment is open only to men of the highest abilities! Men of the highest ability have always seized the power and become autocrats. Such men cannot help being autocrats, and they've always done more harm than good; they are either banished or executed. A Cicero will have his tongue cut out, Copernicus will have his eyes gouged out, a Shakespeare will be stoned — there you have Shigalyov's doctrine! Slaves must be equal: without despotism there has never been any freedom or equality [an inconsistency, typical of Dostoyevsky's heroes; see above, about the despotism of higher ability], but in a herd there is bound to be equality — there's the Shigalyov doctrine for you! Ha, ha, ha! You think it strange? I am for the Shigalyov doctrine!

...The moment a man falls in love or has a family, he gets a desire for private property. We will destroy that desire; we'll resort to drunkenness, slander, denunciations; we'll resort to unheard-of depravity; we shall smother every genius in infancy.

...Slaves must have rulers. Complete obedience, complete loss of individuality; but once in thirty years Shigalyov resorts to a shock, and everyone at once starts devouring each other, up to a certain point, just as a measure against boredom. Boredom is an aristocratic sensation; in the Shigalyov system there will be no desires. Desire and suffering are for us; for the slaves — the Shigalyov system.

...We'll have a few fires — we'll spread a few legends... an upheaval will start. There's going to be such a to-do as the world has never seen."

("The Devils", Part Two.)

As a youth I tried to read this novel, but without success. It appeared to me as the fabrication of a psychopath, and I dropped the book. It was only in the early thirties, when a complete picture of Bolshevism had emerged, that I was irresistibly drawn back to "The Devils"; I then read it with great attention and returned to it again and again. It became quite clear to me why the police-controlled education authorities had to hide the book from the general public: It was a prophecy come true, a magic mirror of reality; it unmasked the "Revolution" and provided a relentless analysis of Bolshevism and its roots. Dostoyevsky had also given subtle hints about the threads that connected the "native" Bolshevism with international and communist Socialism.

An important complement to "The Devils" is the work of the satirist Saltykov-Shchedrin, entitled "A History of the Town of Glupov" (from "glúpyy" — stupid). A former Governor himself, the author was the best judge on Russia's administration. In the form of satire, very involved and grotesque for the benefit of the censor, his book gives in essence the history of "Russia." The author was a positivist and rationalist, an educated and shrewd man, who had nothing to do with mysticism (nor, perhaps, with religion). Content and style of his book are, of course, entirely different from those of "The Devils", but it maps out, with near-mathematical conciseness, a kind of ground-plan of the terrible empire. The "Russian system" is brought out in full relief and the potentially Bolshevik foundations are clearly visible (Shchedrin prophetically uses even the word "communism" several times). His stylised "Description of the Governors" (heads of state, chiefs of police etc., i.e. rulers, in whom we recognise the tsars, dignitaries and politicians of the empire), with the brilliantly and prophetically depicted Ugryum-Burcheyev at the top, is an extraordinary literary achievement. The figure of Ugryum-Burcheyev shows so many similar traits of character that it might be a portrait of Stalin.

The author deliberately wrote in the civil service jargon of government offices, a style only comprehensible to those familiar with "Russia", and the book has therefore hardly been translated. It is, of course, in this specific language that the essence of the book is to be found.

The same subject is treated by a foreign eye-witness in the best book ever written on "classical" Russia. It is the well known but little studied book (Paris 1843) by the Marquis de Custine, who was a clear-sighted observer with a very fine ear. His work has nothing in common with the demoniac metaphysics of "The Devils" or the grotesque satire of Shchedrin, but it is a sober and penetrating account, full of that brilliant "esprit" for which his nation is famous.

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A familiarity with the literature on the subject and with historical sources, the knowledge of facts, personal observation and at least a rudimentary feeling for the metaphysical side of things, inevitably lead the impartial investigator to the conviction that the territory of the historical Russia provided a particularly favourable ground for the realisation of Marx's theory and that Bolshevism could only rise in the Muscovite domain.

It is by no means easy to discuss the subject of "Russia", let alone to make assertions about it. One knows from personal experience how this topic has for long been deliberately complicated and obscured and literally surrounded with a smoke-screen of lies, and how it has in certain spheres (scholarship not excluded) become a peculiar taboo. A Ukrainian investigator faces particular difficulties, since his findings, however objective and scholarly they may be, are liable to be dismissed as "zoological chauvinism."

This is precisely what happened to the objective and painstaking Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky, whose vast body of work the "revolutionary" Soviet government declared as "zoological chauvinism" and "fascist bogus history" and caused it to disappear, thus depriving generations of Ukrainians of the possibility of studying it. Such measures are after all quite natural for that government and hallowed by tradition. It applies similar methods even to representatives of the "progressive" and ruling nation of "Russia." Is it not a fact that the Russian historian N. Polevoy was eliminated by the government because his conception of history contradicted that of Karamzin, of which the men at the top happened to approve? Has there not for years been a ban on the work of the historian Pokrovsky who, although a Marxist, was a genuine scholar? And did not Tsar Nicholas I declare the eminent thinker Peter Chaadayev, a former Guards officer of the Moscow nobility and friend of Pushkin's, to be insane (with all the legal consequences that it entailed) only because he had published an excellent historical-philosophical article? There are innumerable examples of this police supervision of intellectuals from the times of the Muscovite State to those of the later Petersburg and Soviet empires.

Abroad the situation is no better when it comes to knowledge about Russia. Moscow's untiring and cunning external propaganda over the centuries has seen to that. Western Europe has never sufficiently evaluated that propaganda, whose intensity, method and scale have only during the Soviet period become evident. Back in the Moscow period, Ivan IV, the Terrible, this first overt imperialist (whom the Soviet writers were instructed to extol as a genius and the prototype of Stalin), had the legend spread abroad that he was a descendant of Alexander of Macedonia and, possibly, of Cleopatra of Egypt, and that his predatory wars were undertaken for the sole purpose of propagating Orthodox Christianity — which did, however, not prevent him from butchering 40,000 Orthodox citizens of Novgorod.

Then there was the considerably perfected foreign propaganda, conducted in masterly fashion by Catherine II, that German adventuress on the Russian throne, the goddess of the (well paid) French Encyclopaedists, the "Semiramis of the North." For the attainment of her own ends she succeeded in winning over three quarters of the Polish élite of the 18th century, who sold the future of their country to its most terrible historical enemy in return for a permanent fixed allowance from the Tsarina.

From extant documents we know that the secret service of Nicholas I endeavoured to bribe such an eminent French writer as Balzac into writing a book on Russia that would counteract the views expressed by the Marquis de Custine. This was by no means an unrealistic approach (Balzac was fond of money and needed it) and it was probably mere coincidence that it came to nothing (thanks

to a rich match Balzac made in Ukraine). But for two centuries there were many small and big Balzacs and Voltaires in the pay of the Petersburg secret service. There are strong grounds for the belief that the famous diplomat of revolutionary France, Talleyrand, the excommunicated bishop who became a minister under Napoleon and Louis Philippe, was an agent of the Tsarist secret service. Moscow's agents abroad in our day have indeed a great tradition and work according to well tried methods. (The mysterious figure of Bormann in the Hitler era may here be remembered.)

But to cut short this aside, although it is a highly important topic, let us simply face the fact that the world has been given a certain picture of Russia, now threatening, now pacifist; now primitive, now mystical; now barbaric, now civilised (ballets, etc.); but at all times the image has been created of an "undivided" national entity, and it is that image which survives to this day.

For the historians of Europe (and of the world in general) this "Russian" conception has remained intact, and other views, e.g. Hrushevsky's, are regarded as being tendentious. Thus, the country which up to the 17th century was officially named "Ducatus Moscoviensis" and during the 17th century "the Moscow State", became in the course of one single century, the 18th, the "Russia" existing since eternity, despite the fact that both the empire itself and its (old Ukrainian) name date only from 1709, the year of the catastrophe of Poltava, so fateful to the whole of Europe.

From the 18th century onwards the Tsars look outwardly like the kings of Western Europe. The Romanov dynasty became in a short time 90% German, and so did a considerable majority of the dignitaries and aristocrats. (The Prussian element took the place of the Tartar element of the former Moscow Principality, as it were, and the numerous Urussovs were replaced by the no less numerous Benckendorffs.)

In short, from outside the Petersburg empire appeared perfectly normal. To the mind of the average European of the second half of the 19th century "Russia" was, perhaps, somewhat exotic and backward, but on the whole a large state like every other state, and it did not display anything out of the ordinary, no trace of "another world." The Marquis de Custine was one of the very few who, in the first half of the 19th century, detected something entirely different...

Among scholars, in literature, in politics, and in the imagination of the West generally, a notion of Russia was formed which, due to the law of inertia, survives and exerts its influence to this day. It is extremely difficult to combat this erroneous idea by literary, rational means, and only an intimate acquaintance with "Russia" can enable anyone to attack it at its roots. Such direct acquaintance is today only too painfully forced upon the Germans, the Czechs and the Slovaks; and the people of Poland, as well as of Bulgaria, Roumania

and Hungary, have in our day renewed experience of that system, for which they have to pay dearly.

We know from personal experience that a Western intellectual would look in astonishment at anyone who told him, for instance, that the Russian peasants had for centuries no legal right to property of any kind. He would politely point out to his informant that this was a statement which was no doubt prompted, quite understandably, by his own nationalist bias and his aversion to (Moscow) Russia. That same European remains in ignorance about the many different, strongly contrasting cultures, which are to be found on the territory of the Soviet empire. The past history of the Caucasus, the ruins of the splendid civilisation of Turkestan, the monuments of antiquity in the Black Sea area — what are these to him? All he knows of Ukrainian history is, perhaps, the romanticised Mazepa (from the interpretations by Byron, Liszt, and the painter Horace Vernet). Even such highly sensitive men of the West as the poet R. M. Rilke are unable to perceive the essential difference between the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Kiev and any other church, e.g. that of Basil the Blessed in the Red Square at Moscow. The outdated, almost fossilised idea of an “undivided”, “great”, “limitless” “Russia” exerts a hypnotic influence on the observer and distorts his view of even the most obvious reality. (Rilke, for one, had seen with his own eyes both Kyiv (Kiev) and Moscow.)

Intellectuals of this kind see in Bolshevism a “great Russian Revolution”, not realising that both “evolution” and “revolution” are in the context with the, for them, wholly inscrutable system of “Russia” nothing but empty words that mock their meaning. (See Joseph Conrad’s brilliant article on the eve of the revolution of 1905, “Revolution and Autocracy.”)

To such intellectuals the incident of “the sealed carriage”, in which Ludendorff is said to have transported Lenin to Russia with the malicious intent to harm the Allies, is more important than the removal of the seat of government from the quasi-European Petersburg to the national Moscow, an event whose significance from the historical-philosophical point of view has not been understood. Such intellectuals would also be surprised to learn (and would explain it as coincidence) that the Cheka (later NKVD) has its headquarters at the Lubyanka, the very spot which housed the notorious torture cells and prisons of the secret service of the old Moscow State.

This type of over-rationalising super-intellectual has lost the art of historical thinking. In the age of technocracy his intellect has become mechanised and his intuition has evaporated. Even the terrible suicidal destruction of Europe, which we have witnessed in the apocalyptic years of the Second World War (brought on by Hitler), is judged from the determinist point of view — that historical philosophy so well reasoned by, e.g., Oswald Spengler, but so catastrophic in its consequences to Europe. And this type of

intellectual is still dominant today (a glaring example is A. Toynbee, as well as men like Sartre and the legion of "repentant communists" and ex-Trotskyites in the literature of our time). Young, promising forces, who chose a new direction, are carefully held in check by those circles who have monopolised the means of mass communication. As Dostoyevsky put it in "The Devils", they "smother every genius in infancy."

It is these factors in our age which contribute to the continued existence of Bolshevism. Even if it decays from within, those interested circles will rush to its aid and preserve it at all costs until the "propitious moment" when its ideology "will shine forth all over the world" from the modern Mecca of "the new faith."

(To be continued.)

Anatol W. BEDRIY

FOR A NEW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The idea of the establishment of an anti-Bolshevik bloc of nations originated before the second World War. The leaders of nations then enslaved within the Soviet Union realized that the liberation movements of these countries must unite their forces if they want to destroy Russian enslavement of their countries. These forces were joined by some statesmen of the Baltic nations (Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) who foresaw the imminent aggression by Russia against their respective states. These initial contacts were renewed in the early 1940's when representatives of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Tatars, North Caucasians, and Turkestanians met on November 21-22, 1943, and formed the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

In Western Europe the work of the ABN started formally on April 16, 1946, at the first Congress of ABN. The ABN grew, because many groups from countries occupied by the Russians after the second World War joined its ranks. Strong groups of Hungarians, Bulgarians, Slovaks, Croatians, Slovenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians realized that unity is essential. They were also joined by Cossacks

and Idel-Uralians. After several years of work the ABN was successful in attracting to its ranks groups of Czechs, Rumanians, Serbians, and Albanians. Recently the ABN expanded still farther by admitting to its membership Cubans.

The activities of ABN among Western peoples were conducted with the aim of convincing their leaders that in their own interests they should recognize the ABN ideas and principles through the formation together with the liberation movements of the subjugated nations a united front against the expanding Russian empire.

The first to react favourably was the Scottish League for European Freedom. Soon ABN made friendly contacts with statesmen of Spain and Turkey. Later on, possibilities for ABN expansion arose in Asia, when the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League concluded a working agreement with the ABN. An ABN mission was set up in Formosa. The President of ABN, Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko (former Prime Minister of Ukraine), visited South Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan, Free China and other countries. A well organized ABN movement arose in Australia. Leading personalities of several South American nations established cooperation with ABN, especially from Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina. An ABN association was started in Canada. Recently ABN gained many friends in the Scandinavian countries and formed branches in Italy and in India. In the United States an association was formed under the name of the American Friends of ABN, Inc., in the early 1950's.

The American Friends of ABN proposes the following policy for the United States' relations with the Russian-Communist bloc:

The main danger to America's existence as a free and democratic nation comes from Russian imperialism and Communism. Therefore, the main objective should be to defeat this enemy. The best way in accomplishing this is through the recognition of the right to national independence of all peoples, which are fully or partially enslaved by Russian and Communist imperialists and through the assistance given to the freedom-fighters of these nations. **The revolutionary national liberation struggle of the enslaved nations is the Achilles' heel of the Russian Communist empire.**

Russian and other Communists advance and conquer by means of skilful manipulation of two methods: first, using the basic universal human ideals, promising to liquidate all ills and oppressors of mankind. Adopting the most advanced methods of propaganda warfare, they were able to develop their own fifth columns in various countries, which are later on used as tools of subjugating and conquering these nations; second, behind the Communist movement stands Russian imperialistic power which achieves final conquest by means of military force. Therefore, **Russian aggressive power and Communist movement must be combated simultaneously.** In advance of any other activity in this respect there must come **the ideological front**, which should be based on inalienable ideas and principles. Russian imperialism and communism should not be combated by

purely negative ideas (like "anti-Communism"), nor by ideological-political non-determination (positivistic approach), nor by imperialism under different names, nor by any kind of concepts of regional arrangements (like "progressive" detachment of the satellites from Russia).

The most powerful weapon in combating Russian imperialism and communism is the **idea of a national independent state**, according to the principle: one nation — one state. This idea attacks effectively the hostile anti-national forces and turns the enslaved peoples against the colonial oppressors. If implemented universally and consistently it would convince all subjugated peoples that it is not used opportunistically with the purpose of exploiting the freedom fighters in the interest of power politics. On the other hand, strict fulfilment of this idea will preclude toleration of any form of imperialism. Therefore, any kind of imperialism has to be renounced. Dealings with Russian Communists on the basis of recognizing their right to imperial domination over even a few nations or on the basis of power blocs as a long-lasting world order weakens the front against the enemy. Also cooperation with anti-Communist Russian groups which profess imperialistic aims toward neighbouring nations should be rejected. Cooperation should however be sought only with such Russian groups that would recognize the right to national independence of all nations without any reservations with the necessity to liberate them from Soviet-Russian colonialists.

The right of all the nations now included in the U.S.S.R. to secede from it and exist as sovereign independent states must be recognized even now and they must be treated accordingly. Recognition of their right to sovereignty and independence must not be delayed to some future date and made subject to any conditions.

In order to unite all the liberation movements of the subjugated nations into an organic long-lasting bloc and to prevent territorial disputes, the **ethnic principle** should be adopted as the basis for delimiting frontiers between nations at present enslaved. Naturally, to ascertain political preferences of a particular frontier area where the situation is not self-evident, self-determination and free choice must be applied.

Adoption of the principle of self-determination, however, does not mean acceptance of the actual demographic situation which will occur after liberation, because this condition will reflect all the injustices and ravages resulting from the genocide policies of Russian imperialists, who are exterminating nations, depopulating whole regions, and resettling large bodies of population — all this with the purpose of strengthening Russian domination over the enslaved nations.

With respect to the future political systems within the countries, which are presently enslaved, after their liberation, the American Friends of ABN would like to see the instalment of constitutional

democratic forms of government. However, we recognize **the right of each nation to choose freely its own form of government**. That is the **principle of internal popular sovereignty**. To impose any particular form of government upon a people by outside force would mean a new **de facto** form of domination.

With respect to future relations among nations after the re-establishment of their independence, the concept which closely relates to the other ideas and principles elaborated above is the concept of a **community or family of closely interconnected independent nations**, each of which would decide its international involvements by its own sovereign government. We are for a brotherhood of nations, instead of international strife, extermination, and a few competing power blocs. A world order should be favoured which would be based on international agreements but not on supra-national decisions. This idea closely resembles the present cooperation among West European nations.

To have the vision of a better world is one thing; to find proper means of reaching it is another thing. The American Friends of ABN rejects nuclear war as the method of building a better world. Such a war would not only be tremendously destructive, but also nuclear arms alone are unable to change the long established attitudes and views of people. In order to destroy Russian imperialism and to rebuild national independent states it is imperative that the masses of each nation participate in and contribute to the struggle. A revolutionary change is needed in the minds of leaders of nations. Only such leaders with a new outlook can take up the battle. This will be the struggle of national revolutionary forces against imperialistic reactionaries and their false ideologies. Those who recognize these true principles would unite. Thus the first aim is to **achieve unity of like-minded freedom-fighters**.

The second principle of action is to urge the **free peoples to join this movement**. By assisting the freedom-fighters free nations thus will help themselves to avert the threat of aggression against their own countries from the same enemy. This can only be an alliance among moral and political equals. Those who have more material power should not try to dominate politically the freedom-fighters.

Through a continuous growth of a world front of national freedom-fighters the **Russian prison of nations will be attacked from within and from without**, without resorting to nuclear arms. Within each enslaved nation there linger great forces yearning for the fulfilment of eternal desires of dignity, respect, personal freedom, religious worship, social self-realization, ethnic self-determination, independent national self-government, etc. From without should come moral support, ideological offensive against Russian imperialism. Effective **material** assistance, communication media, technical know-how, training facilities, etc. should also be forthcoming.

The enslaved nations will not be liberated as the result of any evolutionary or gradualistic processes. The reactionary Communist forces will not be defeated through cooperation with them of the free nations. The concept of coexistence between free nations and imperialistic Communist governments is wrong, because Russian-Communist colonialism is thereby justified and strengthened.

The American Friends of ABN advocates the method of **maximal pressure against the enemy**: the more Russian imperialism expands and resists, the more it should be attacked but not appeased; the more it retreats, the more it should be exposed and pursued but not tolerated and left alone.

The American Friends of ABN opposes any political cooperation with and recognition of the regimes occupying the enslaved nations. All of these regimes were imposed from the outside with the decisive assistance of the Russian army. All the countries enslaved are more or less provinces of the Russian empire.

As to the so-called Yugoslavia, the Titoist movement imposed by force imperialistic communism upon the peoples which were and are opposing it. A similar situation occurred in parts of China and Vietnam, and in Cuba, where local Communists could not have achieved domination over the respective peoples without a massive military and political backing of Russia. Free nations should denounce all of these regimes as unlawful and colonialist and instead should extend recognition to the movements striving to liberate their countries. On such grounds the American Friends of ABN is urging the government of the United States to work toward expulsion of all the Communist delegations from the United Nations, because they do not represent their countries. Also formal recognition of these regimes should be revoked. All cultural and economic dealings with them should terminate. On the other hand, every possible assistance should be given to the freedom-fighters.

All descendants from countries presently enslaved by Communist Russian imperialists should join the ABN movement, because no country can be liberated alone, in result of isolated action. The basic obstacle will always be there, namely, the power of the Russian empire. It is true, that imperial control can in some areas at some time lessen with the aim of achieving some tactical results. In the long run, however, neither Poland, nor the Baltic nations, nor the Czechs would profit from their aloofness from a bloc like the ABN. Isolationism of this kind is rather in favour of Russian plans: it helps Russia to control each nation separately.

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MARGINAL REMARKS ON A NOTORIOUS FALLACY

A notion, in circulation still at the end of the 19th century, according to which Russian literature grew up, so to speak, overnight, is not quite devoid of substance. Prior to the 19th century Russia produced in literature but little that could be considered her own, in terms of originality or significance. This, of course, is in a sharp contrast to the assertions of many a Russian literary critic and others who follow that trend and persist in tracing Russian literary heritage as far back as the 11th century. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The origin of genuine Russian letters is of much later date.

That it actually emerged centuries later than (and for that very reason it must not be identified with) already developed 11th century literature of the Kievan Rus', lies beyond any doubt. Whereas civilization of the Kievan Rus', the ancestor country of the Ukrainian nation, was by that time about to reach its peak, a Muscovite principality, the core of future Russian nation, was not yet in formation. In fact, of the three Eastern Slavic groups, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Russian the latter was the slowest in achieving maturity and entering historic scene. Before all other things happened it had to become yet Slavonized. At the dawn of civilization the Proto-Russian ethnic group comprised largely a conglomeration of Finno-Ugric tribes, such as Chud', Liv', Vod', Yam', Ves', Perm', Merya, Mordva, Muroma, etc. that lived widely scattered over the area which had been later integrated into Russian territory.

According to well documented research of internationally known scholar, Prof. V. Shcherbakivskyj¹, the general pattern in which the languages of each of the three Eastern Slavic groups emerged, gives priority to Proto-Ukrainian (as represented by Polyany, Derevlyany, Buzhany, Volyniany, etc. that is to say, ancient Ukrainian tribes who achieved considerable civilized level and were most numerous among the Eastern Slavs). The Proto-Ukrainian, along with the influence as exerted by some North-Eastern tribes from Novgorod and Polotsk, molded in turn the Proto-Byelorussian tongue that went into use

¹) V. Shcherbakivskyj, *Formatsiya ukrains'koi natsii* (The Formation of the Ukrainian Nation), New York, "Hoverlya" Publ. Co., 1958, (Scholarly Series no. 1), pp. 131-142.

among Drevichi.² A very large and historically important tribe of Krivichi³ is believed to be the one most responsible for carrying on factual Proto-Russification of those Finno-Ugric nomads who emerged eventually, not without necessary Slavic admixture, into Proto-Russian population. Thus, according to Shcherbakivskyj, Byelorussian speaking Krivichi were instrumental in developing Proto-Russian version of Byelorussian and in colonizing through their tireless efforts vast areas inhabited by Finno-Ugric tribes. That area, non-Slavic originally, was to become future central Muscovite territory. The process of this third Slavonization (first being Proto-Ukrainian, and second Proto-Byelorussian) had run still before the eyes of the Kievan chronicler who succeeded in describing historic events till about 1100.⁴

Accordingly, there was no such Proto-Russian tongue from which should have had emerged separately (as Russian and Soviet linguists alike, assert) Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Russian languages. The etymological processes had been of entirely different nature, motivated by influence of higher upon lesser developed cultures.

To argue therefore that literary monuments of the early period of Kievan Rus', to name a few, highly rhetorical "Oration of Law and Grace" by Hilarion, written between 1037-1050, or a century later literary gem, "The Song of Igor's Campaign" of 1187, or even the Kievan Chronicles or Annals (*Lietopisi*)⁵ belong to "Russian" heritage (in the present meaning of the term Russian which replaced in the 18th century, during the reign of czar Peter, the old term "Muscovite") lacks any factual or logical foundation. Such erroneous presentation is nothing but an imperialistic assumption on the Russian side. Without linking Russia proper to the ancient Ukrainian state Rus' there would be no justification available for Russia's claim to Ukrainian soil or people. It is clear that merely political factors are involved in this and other similar unnatural Russian claims to foreign heritage.

Contrary to historical evidence, a fallacy of this kind, namely, the cultural heritage of Kievan Rus' being misinterpreted as that of Russia, prevails until the present day and is exemplified in many a textbook of the history of Russian literature. The truth is that in those days there existed no prerequisite yet on proper Russian soil for that distinct type of higher developed culture. The Russian newcomers to the Ugro-Finnic north-east had been too vitally involved in the processes of the absorption of the aborigines and colonization

²) Ancient inhabitants of the present Byelorussian territory.

³) Primarily an ethnic Lithuanian group that adopted from Drevichi the Proto-Byelorussian.

⁴) Author of the annals "Poviesti vremennykh liet", known otherwise as "Primary Chronicle."

⁵) "Primary Chronicle" (or "Nachal'naya lietopis") covering the period from "the beginning of Rus'" to 1110, while the so-called Kievan Chronicle continues the history to 1200.

of their territory, in the first place. On the other hand, all that Kievan outcasts in those northern provinces⁶ of the Kievan Rus' cared for, was to ruin the metropolitan culture which they did not feel part of any longer.⁷

Modern term "Russian" as superimposed over historic and cultural aspects of Kievan Rus' provides the case of shrewdest misrepresentation of clear-cut semantics. Political term "Russia",⁸ being a product of the 18th century, designates the empire of the Russian nation, while the term "Rus'" was the name of the old Ukrainian state comprising primarily Ukrainian entities with some non-Ukrainian provinces, including present central Russian territories in the North, different in size or number at various periods. There is high time that the Russian fallacy, political in nature and imperialistically motivated, be finally dismantled and substituted by true perspective. Origins of Russian civilization are of much later date than the Russian scholars would like us to believe. Russia proper could neither be associated with Kievan Rus' by name nor was she made of the same elements as the ancestor country of Ukraine. Russia was anthropologically, historically, geographically, and also psychologically and spiritually altogether different from Rus'-Ukraine. Whereas Kievan Rus' excelled in spiritual as well as material culture, dogmatic and materialistic aspects dominated the Russian scene at the dawn of civilization and ever since. "God, fatherland, virtue, honour" — had been ever the elevated principles of Rus'-Ukraine; "money, more land and influence" — such were the values of Ivan Kalita (Money-Bag), the Muscovite prince, typical incarnation of the Russian spirit.

When the Kievan Rus', due to her political downfall, caused by the Mongol invasion and improperly-applied democratic system (another distinctive mark that had nothing in common with despotic Muscovy or Russia, its continuant) ceased to act as intensive cultural torchlight for the entire Slavic east, Russian area proper including, nothing similar to her magnificent stature took place in its stead far in the north. It was as though the sun disappeared and enveloped everything in darkness. The proper Russian lands were not able for centuries to emanate their own light. On the literary scene, for instance, "Zadonshchina" ("Campaign beyond the Don"), written some three centuries after "The Song of Igor's Campaign", was but a pale imitation of the latter and, in terms of artistic accomplishments, a far cry from the original. Aside from second-hand "Lives", "Journeys", "Legends", "Histories", or "Correspondence between Ivan the Terrible and Andrey Kurbsky", epistolary "Autobiography" by Avvakum and non-literary work "Domostroy", there is nothing

⁶) Rostov, Suzdal, Vladimir on Klyazma, and later Moscow.

⁷) As in case of Andrey Bogolyubskiy who furiously, as no vandal before, devastated Kiev in 1169.

⁸) "Rossiya" in Russian language, to be distinguished from the not identical term "Rus'."

of importance that the old Muscovite principality could name among its literary achievements. Complete stagnation of cultural life was an accompanying feature of Muscovy's coming of age and growing to menacing power in the 16th century, thus displaying rather the Mongolian stamp than the image of the ancient Rus'.

At the same time, however, in spite of political and social disintegration, the culture of Ukraine, so brightly illuminating once Eastern European horizons during Ukraine's former period of statehood as Kievan Rus', did not succumb altogether. Moreover, the fertile Ukrainian soil proved to become body for new influx of fresh blood that fertilized the East again. It gave shape to the intellectual and cultural upheaval for the progressively petrifying corpse of aging Muscovy, too. If it would not be for the Ukrainian and Byelorussian men of culture, such as Slavynetzkyj, Tuptalenko (Rostovskyj), Yavorskyj, Prokopovych,⁹ Polotskyj and many others, Russia, despite all Peter's reforms, would be even in lesser degree prepared for the attempted "Westernization" (note the belated attempt in the 17th century to "westernize" Russia as compared with the fact of profuse Western influences in Rus'-Ukraine).

This effort to westernize Russia on the eve of the 18th century did not virtually succeed as has been proven subsequently. So to speak, Russia was ready for Westernization at the period of her "dark ages" when, according to pseudo-scholarly Russian presumptions and pretensions to the Kievan Rus' period, she must have been immediate recipient of Western European currents.

In fact, it took another century and a half until another man of Western orientation, a Ukrainian, Nicolas Gogol (1809-1852), brought the awakening of Russian letters, retarded for centuries, into full swing. A man of Russian genius, Ivan Turgenev, had fully realized tragic results of such belatedness, cultural and political backwardness including, which caused him to utter a bitter remark in his well known conversation with Fedor Dostoyevsky, abusing Russia and the Russians.¹⁰ Men of Russian culture alike could not compromise with that belatedness which meant physical serfdom and spiritual mortification. Men like Turgenev and Tolstoy did everything in order to unburden their heavy ancestral Russian conscience. That is why they were not infrequently "at war" with their own government.

Spiritual worlds of ancient Rus' and Russia stand apart on almost diametrically opposed poles. Ukraine, physical and spiritual heir of Rus', did her best to share the ethical and artistic values with her opponent, Russia, but to no avail. Russia, as a whole, was either

⁹) Prelates of Ukrainian origin, St. Demetrius Tuptalo (1651-1709), Metropolitan of Rostov, Stephen Yavorsky (1658-1722), locum tenens of the patriarchal chair, and Feofan Prokopovich (1681-1736), Archbishop of Novgorod.

¹⁰) Among others, Turgenev remarked: "I consider myself a German and not a Russian, and am proud of it" (John Cournos, *A Treasury of Classic Russian Literature*, Capricorn Books, New York, 1962, p. 50).

spiritually immature or downwright obstinate in relation to humanistic ideas. The spirit of Russia was all for materialistic and territorial expansion, there was hardly a room in Russian mentality for "live and let live", so to speak for enjoyment of "beautiful life."

As for Russian culture and spiritual world, including letters, being capable to influence the traditional Ukrainian thought, one feels in agreement with the American scholar who stated: Whatever implication results from the relation between Ukrainian and Russian literatures, one thing is certain that Ukrainian has given to Russian more than it ever received.¹¹ This confrontation has its tragically true connotation.

¹¹) Prof. Clarence A. Manning, "The Relations of Russian and Ukrainian Literature", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, Summer 1952, p. 207.

Slava Stetzko

VALERIY TARSIS AND HIS IDEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK

The Author of "Ward 7"

Valeriy Tarsis was born in Kyiv in September, 1906. His father was a Greek, and his mother, Elizabeth Prykhodko, came from an old Ukrainian family. Tarsis studied in Kyiv schools until 1924, when he went to the University of Rostov-on-Don to study in the Faculty of History and Philology, where he passed his final examinations in 1929. In 1942 he fought at Stalingrad and was seriously wounded. He is married to a Latvian, Rosa J. Alksnis. Her father, Jakob Alksnis, was shot in 1937 on Stalin's orders. His brother was a commander of the Soviet Air Force.

Valeriy Tarsis' book *Ward 7* is an eloquent example of typically non-Russian thought and sensibility. Valeriy Tarsis, while regarding himself as a Russian, has renounced essentially Russian nationality through his ideological outlook. On his father's side Greek, on his mother's, Ukrainian, Tarsis avows his attachment to the great classical ideals of ancient Greece, to the individualism of German philosophy, and the anti-collectivism of the Ukrainian view of life. His ideological principles are essentially related to those of the great Ukrainian political thinker, Dr. D. Donzow, and of the German philosopher, Nietzsche. Nothing of the non-resistance to evil of a Tolstoy, none of the herd-instinct of a Lenin, nothing of the Russian mentality at all is to be found in him. It is amazing how Tarsis displays personal values and how he expresses his outlook in accordance with Greek-Ukrainian ideas.

Tarsis writes: "Their (the Communists') alternative to man is the collective, to personality — the crowd. It took millenia for the personality to develop out of the crowd."

Further: "If man is to be saved, the world must be individualized, must be liberated from the dull mass of the soulless who know only their stomachs. The mass drives man back to his primitive state — to the crowd of human apes. We must create a society of noble personalities, then life will be worthy of human beings."

And again: "He was rather pulled back into the past, two thousand years back — to Hellas, land of philosophers and poets."

Again: "The Etruscans three thousand years ago had a higher culture than we have now, not to mention the Greeks."

Again: "At dark moments he reached for his notes; there was the voice of Marcus Aurelius: 'Live your life as if you had to depart from it at every moment and as if all the time which remained to you were an unhopd for gift'."

And Valeriy Tarsis also writes: "This is my opinion. The elimination of the mass, the immortality of the personality."

It would be a grave mistake on the part of the Western public if they were to regard Tarsis as a Russian in the cultural, or ideological sense. He has nothing in common with the acceptance of typical Russian social institutions, with the collectivist spirit of Russian peasants, with the apotheosis of the herd-spirit of the Russian people or with the negation of individuality.

Although politically Russified, like many of the German nobility and many Poles and Ukrainians under tsarist domination, Tarsis nevertheless stands on this side of the barricades, on the side of the Occident, as opposed to the Eurasian intellectual world of the Russians.

He writes: "The 'comrades' have no idea what art looks like. They simply cannot grasp the fact that only extraordinary characters in extraordinary situations can be the heroes of a book. Show me in which masterpiece of world literature the main role is played by a man from the crowd. Art begins where the universal norm is broken through."

"The mass never pardons a man for the quality of genius. A genius is always a martyr."

Again: "Lackeys and cowards always fear the truth, especially when they meet it face to face."

Again: "There is not nearly enough food and living space for all of our citizens. The docile robot is the ideal of Soviet society. In the hospital we effect cures with a slap on the face."

"What indeed is Communism? The glorification of poverty, the ruin of the personality..."

And how pugnaciously, how deeply he grasps the destiny of man: "Man's true native land is Heaven, is God, in whom man's soul lives. This distinction is clear and final, for the Lord God proclaims: 'I have come into the world not to bring peace, but the sword'."

Tarsis' tragedy is that he believes that his values could be immanent in the Russian people, and that he deceives himself just as many other great non-Russian spirits (e.g. Count Witte) deceived themselves when they served the Russian Tsar. For the French Encyclopedists and for Voltaire, too, Catherine II was the Semiramis of the North. Tarsis, the Greek and the Ukrainian, deceives himself cruelly in his intellectual world, for he believes that his world of ideas is Russian.

The tragedy of the Ukrainian Hohol (Gogol) is repeating itself, although the latter was a more self-conscious Ukrainian than Tarsis, for he, too, unfortunately wrote in Russian, on account of the prohibition of Ukrainian. Tarsis' intellectual world is very different from that of a Tolstoy or a Dostoyevsky. His spirit is pugnacious, his courage unbroken, his Christianity is not eastern and pacifistic, but, as in Ukraine, western and militant.

He writes: "At that time I began to read daily from the Bible, and I must confess to you with the deepest conviction: that is the most dangerous, the most alluring book in the world. I am not surprised that the 'comrades' have realized this and forbidden its dissemination."

We wish to warn the Western cultural world against identifying Tarsis' world of ideas with the ideology of the Russian people, in order that the mistakes of the past shall not be repeated.

Although politically Russified, Tarsis belongs ideologically and culturally not to the Russian, not to the Eurasian world, but to the West — and Russia is not of the West. This is the key to the understanding of all that is Russian and to the planning of the intellectual political offensive by the Western world.

Tarsis writes: "These much exalted 'people', whose wellbeing depends on crime, are a pure fiction. Man and the crowd can never form a people together. These concepts are simply incommensurable. They are like two elements which battle irreconcilably with each other. They are like fire and water. Only one of two things can happen: either man is victorious over the crowd; or the crowd will stamp man into the soil. There is no third way. Neither language nor belonging to one and the same land can produce common ground between Stalin or Khrushchov and myself. We both speak Russian, but we do not understand each other — and we shall never understand each other."

Only a Hellene, and no Russian, can write like this! Tarsis writes: "Above all, the enslaved peoples of Russia must become free, so that democracy can again be set up throughout the whole world."

We quoted here several of Tarsis' thoughts, as evidence for the correctness of our judgement that his attitude is intellectually and ideologically non-Russian and, in the deepest philosophical and cultural sense, Western.

R. VOLODYMYR

Translated from Ukrainian by R. Kuchar

ON THE THRESHOLD OF SPRING

The road is vanishing somewhere...
So are the early travellers,
Befogged amidst the beckoning remoteness;
In front — a hearty youngster, fresh as the spring crop,
Behind the lad — the unknowingly precocious father...

Around them, stealing, looking backward,
Then pausing, then reluctantly,
In longing expectation,
The foremost of explorers —
Forerunner of the spring.
The stripes of paths half-frozen, shadowy,
The morning, vapour-webbed, with shiver haunted,
Yet lofty melodies of heavenly musicians
Resound already and awaken nature...
The languid beam would pass along the murky ether,
Enliven suddenly, erect in radiancy,
And, brilliantly transfigured,
Emerge as life-engulfed, eternal all-embracing warmth,
That puts a loving touch wherever it appears...
In consequence, out of the snowy ocean
Rise up, amid the billows, vibrant islands in creative effort...
In rage the deadly desert is retreating,
By winning banner, evergreen of vigour, overtaken —
The valiant invasion of rebirth recaptures ground.
The sun-bathed arrow acts as sorcerer:
The soggy routes change into foamy streams,
Surrounding clearings into groundless mire,
The valleys into palpitating lakes,
Whole torrents flow, propitious offspring splashing,
And fragrantly exhale the saturated soil,
Well rested, jubilant, inevitably bountiful...

"Oh, whither do you rush, my rivulet?"
 The early springtime travellers stop here —
 "Oh, rivulet, why do you strive?"
 Thus pondering on a tiny maple foot-bridge
 The man's brow clouds with dim anxiety,
 And meanwhile the sparkling creek assaults,
 The pebbles hasten in perpetual cadence,
 The loosened ice floe menacingly charges...

Like water elements
 So rise the winged thoughts
 In search of a home beyond the far horizons —
 Into the realms immeasurable, spheres unattainable, planets
 inconceivable...

The firmament seems moving, soaked foundations throbbing,
 Lagoons of waterways keep roaming,
 In currents breeze and whirlwind onward dashing,
 Nearing the gay waterfront,
 And every growth joins in the liquid ways of nature,
 And in majestic sunlight the plateau sweeps along,
 Here alleys soar, there byways climb and caverns swell,
 High waters mounting ever more,
 The tides are racing, mere deluge hovers,
 And the flooded soul at last invades the universe:
 The bursting breast gives forth its song of triumph.
 "What is it?" Father's call perceiving,
 Inquires his son,
 In single effort bound to solve all secrets of the world.
 "What is it?" and "What is it?" Now as once upon a time...

The boy's inquisitiveness thus recalls
 His own unquenchable thirst for knowledge,
 And from the past his "whats" and "whys" re-echo
 Demanding answers from his father.
 It likewise came to pass that glorious spring evoke,
 Snows were just melting, skylarks chanting hallelujah,
 A psalm in bosom germinated which then exploded in hosanna,
 The time was ripe, and nature eager to conceive new life,
 While father's earnest eyes but gazed at his successor,
 Unnamed adversities foreseeing...
 "O say, what is it?" Now again the son commands his father,
 As though unable to distinguish
 Good tidings, clearest sounds of nature:
 Here is the vanquisher of winter,
 The spring of yesterday, this day and morrow!

PATHETIC ELEGY*(A fragment from the poem)*

Abiding by design is none of eagles' ways,
Their lifetime short yet marked by greatness,
To reign, in elevated, silent realms reside,
Or die — such is the eagles' destiny,
Another mode unknown.

They eat to live, not live to eat,
Theirs is a lofty, not a lowly flight,
Far-reaching, penetrating glance
Belongs to the masters of our space.
Whenever target picked,
He speeds like arrow,
Will deadly hit
And instantly with game
In gorgeous heights thus fade away.
His needs among the cliffs contented,
The eagle peers into the distant spheres,
Intently soars above his principality,
With awe-inspiring presence
Forestalling turmoil, or restoring order.

Who saw an eagle die?
The feathered chest with bullet pierced,
The forceful wing by tempest broken,
Or else his mighty claws entrapped in victim's fur —
Such is an overlandly ruler's last encounter.
His burial of no importance —
As soon as space existence terminated
(For vegetation in captivity he was not born)
Whatever happens with his remnants — just the same,
May ravens drag his bones,
May sunshine dry them up,
Let water overcome,
Or friendly wind all over countryside disperse,
For aught one cares.
With eagle's expiration though
Most prudent nature is concerned —
Might not affect his going an established balance?
In fact, would multiply all sorts of lower creatures,
Hereafter causing usual disorder,
When dignity, with shadow hovering, imperious, is gone,
Since leading strategist had ceased to be.

LIFE

What price of life?
For ecstasy the tribulations
Of days innumerable and nights!

What is our life?
An everlasting erring cycle
Of trodden trails and avenues...

However, life —
Of golden-woven aspirations,
Or hopes entirely relinquished,

Oh, yes, this life
Could be a mighty sanctuary
For those inspired and dedicated.

From Vasyl Symonenko's Diary

18 September 1962

I begin this diary not because I wish to delude myself with a sense of importance. I need a friend with whom I might share my questionings. I know of no more loyal and gracious comrade than paper.

The earth is now bearing me around the sun for the 28th time. So far, I have accomplished little of any merit. I have, however, learned to drink hard liquor and stink of tobacco. I have learned to keep my mouth closed and be prudent when I should have shouted. Most terrible of all, I have learned to be insincere.

Lying is probably my profession. I was born with the liar's gift. Liars come in three categories: some lie for moral or material gain; others lie for the mere sake of lying; still others approach lying as an art — they actually devise or contrive logical endings to the truth. These liars, from my mendacious point of view, seem noble. They are artists. They form the reserve units of literature. Without them, life would be tedious. Without them, even truth would be deficient and mundane, tiresome and petty. Noble lying enhances truth.

Believing this, I most commonly resort to the third category of lying. People like me are essential to literature. We use our feeble thoughts to fertilize the soil from which a giant will spring — a future Taras or Franko¹. I await him as the devout await the advent of Christ. I think I shall be fortunate enough to hear a joyful hosanna to his coming. Only let him not despise us, the groundlings of poetry. It is from us that he will spring...

19 September 1962

Children, without knowing it, once in a while say profound things. I remember the time about a year ago when Oles and I were walking past the Kazbet Market. Looking at the tyrant's statue, he asked, "Papa, who's that?"

"Stalin."

He stared at it for a moment, and then said, "But why did he climb up there?"

Stalin, of course, did not ascend the pedestal, nor did people place him there. He clawed his way up by treachery and wickedness. He clawed his way up arrogantly and bloodily, like all butchers. Today this tiger who fed on human flesh would explode in fury if he were to learn what a windfall for scrap-metal collectors his crude and trashy statues have become.

It is terrible when what was glory and deification in life becomes curse in death. His was not true glory but a toy to gladden grown-up people. Only the weak in heart and in head fail to understand this.

8 October 1962

Three days and a hundred impressions. Vinhranovsky, Pyanov, Kolomiets, and your humble servant made a bachelor excursion to Kryvyy Rih and Kirovohrad.² Our audiences were small, but I was content. Mykola's³ poems simply burst with thought and passion. Being with him makes one's soul expand.

Pyanov and I argued about **Roses of Mourning**. It seems to be a mistake to confuse the Madonna of the artists with the truly religious Mother of God. Hypocrites in the garb of the excellent Jesus and His Mother have changed them into violators of the human flesh and spirit. When a legend of transcendent beauty (and I consider Jesus and the Virgin Mary uniquely that) becomes a means of spiritual oppression, then I cannot judge the "dramatis personae", no matter what the infidel hiding behind their names does. No exaltedly noble or humane precepts of any teaching can serve progress when they become fixed dogma...

¹) Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) and Ivan Franko (1856-1916), the two most renowned Ukrainian national poets.

²) In Russian *Krivoy Rog* and *Kirovograd*.

³) Mykola Vinhranovsky — a young poet and film actor.

Besides, in **Roses of Mourning**, I had not the slightest intention of "overthrowing the gods." I was opposing the new religion, opposing the hypocrites who, not without success, are trying to turn Marxism into a religion and a Procrustean bed for science, art, and love. The depressing use of cybernetics and genetics, the rapid blossoming of toadstools in literature and art, the constant appeals for sacrifice, the endless promises of a "future paradise" — is all this so far removed from the tragedy of Bruno and Galileo, the psalmists and the icon painters, the monasteries and the Kingdom of Heaven?

If Marxism proves unable to withstand the insane offensive of dogmatism, it is doomed to become a religion. No teaching can monopolize the intellectual life of humanity. Einstein, after all, did not share my own political thinking, but he was able to make discoveries that have shaken science.

16 October 1962

There is nothing more terrible than unlimited power in the hands of a limited man. In frustration and fury, the collective-farm chairman from Yeremenko's village screamed at a meeting:

"I'll give you a new taste of 1933!"⁴

Naturally nobody thought of grabbing this scoundrel by the scruff of the neck. Yet with one idiotic phrase, the fool was destroying the work of dozens of sensible people. If our leaders had more brains than they do, such loudmouths, would be admiring the sky from behind bars.

21 October 1962

I can't stand official, patented, well-nourished wisdom. It makes no difference what quotations the worthless use to shore up their intellectual ceiling, it is still too low for a normal man. Just as space is unthinkable without movement, so is poetry unthinkable without thought...

Our humour is debased, our satire impoverished. Teddy boys, tight-fisted merchants, drainpipe trousers, chic hairdos — is it worth the time of serious people to waste words, not to mention their nerves, on such pettiness? Yet how our literary bigwigs brood over them! I have never tried to write penetrating reviews of trivial works. You can dive only so deep into the mud even if you are a Japanese pearl fisherman...

21 June 1963

It is half a year since I last looked into this book, although things have happened that should have somehow been recorded.

I have nearly choked with the powder smoke from the ideological battles. "Realism" has won another victory — not by works, of course, but by administrative measures.

⁴) 1933 was a year when the forced collectivization of agriculture was at its height, and millions were dying from famine and police action.

The formalist madness,⁵ it seems, was about to swallow us all. Yet, in Ukraine at least, I have never met a single abstractionist or neo-futurist. It is true, nonetheless, that the threat of formalistic stupidity is real, it was real then and is real now. For isn't it formalism when hundreds of hacks use patterns handed down to them to rehash a dozen so-called imperishable ideas — love your work, honour your father and your mother, don't sniff at your neighbour? Formalism begins where thought leaves off.

If the poet produces no new thoughts or emotions, he is a formalist, no matter how much he may advertise his imagined adherence to the realists. Lickspittle realism is a contradiction in terms. There is the realism of Shevchenko, and there is the realism of Dmyterko's lackeys.⁶ They are quite different things! The heirs of literature are hardly the Dmyterkos of this world. They live with it but not for it. They are in no position to condemn me for formalism when they themselves produce nothing.

6 July 1963

Is this true of everybody, or only of me? My courage is undermined by doubt. How will I respond when real troubles hit me? Will I stay a man, or will I shut my eyes and my mind? To lose one's courage is to lose one's human dignity, and dignity I prize above all else. Even above life itself. But so many of our people — sensible people, talented people — have saved their lives at the cost of their dignity, and have turned into animals — and unwanted ones at that. What a terrible thing!

Last Sunday we went to Odessa. The local nitwits regaled us with their terror. Think what might happen! They refused to let us read at the Shevchenko celebration. Some people seem still to be scared of Taras. Philistines of the revolution!

22 July 1963

I suppose now I've begun to die. Physically I am nearly finished; morally I still have strength. I don't feel afraid to die. Perhaps because death still seems distant. Strange: I don't want to die, but I don't particularly want to live. If I could have ten years more, it would be enough, and more than enough.

I look back with irony. I shall soon be 29, but what have I done — what have I even begun — that is worth anything? It hasn't been

⁵) "Formalism" is one of the main artistic crimes in the Soviet Union. The term refers to an emphasis on form at the expense of "socialist" content. The regime damns anything highbrow as formalist, but lauds trite "realism." All "socialist realism" is formula stuff, the ultimate being an idyll of life on a collective farm, culminating in a scene of a handsome young man embracing a tractor.

⁶) L. D. Dmyterko is a Ukrainian Party writer, praised more for his political time-serving than his creative work.

life; it has been petty worries, petty failures, petty disappointments, petty successes. I haven't lived as I dreamed of living. The happy man is he who expects little of life. The simplest and shortest road to happiness is to be a Philistine. A brain capable of thought is incapable of giving its possessor happiness.

3 September 1963

This summer, filled with physical and moral powerlessness, is behind me. Autumn is nearly here, and I look with hope at its limpid eyes. And yet what a poor and meagre autumn! . .

I hear nothing from my friends. Not a word. The press grows ever more worthless and insolent. **Literaturna Ukraïna** castrates my article; **Ukraïna** demolishes my verse. The lackeys all do as they wish. Let us pray morning and night in gratitude for this freedom...

Our master is the press.

That makes for progress!

5 September 1963

Yesterday I wrote a story, and at a single sitting, though I had thought it out beforehand. I like it today too. Pity that nobody will read it.

I get lonelier and lonelier here in Cherkassy. I miss my old newspaper friends. The paths of friendship between me and Nehoda and Ohloblyn can be said to be overgrown with rank weeds. One of them needed me as long as I could be of help; the other shifts with the wind, and will undoubtedly attack me with the same enthusiasm with which he used to praise me. He has already shown this at a number of public meetings. Let us, however, go on with the job.

20 September 1963

I feel no disdain of people. If I have no friends any more here in Cherkassy, it does not mean that I regard everyone as abject and unworthy (as my wife tries to tell me)...

It seems my writing is worse now than a year ago. My brain and heart have become indolent.

Note. Vasyl Symonenko (1935-1963), young poet whose rebellious poetry is widely circulating in Ukraine in a clandestine manner. See previous issues of "The Ukrainian Review."

Volodymyr LUTSIV

Kobza-Bandura and "Dumy" and Their Significance in the History of the Ukrainian People

Before proceeding to the discussion of the Ukrainian Cossack musical instrument, the "kobza", its origin and external appearance we should answer the following questions:

1) How did kobza-bandura appear in Ukraine and what did it look like in its original state?

2) Since when and why do we regard kobza a Ukrainian musical instrument?

First of all let us try to answer the first question.

For the first time we encounter a similar name for a musical instrument among the Scythians, a nomadic people which came to Ukraine from Asia. Scythians had a string instrument named "kobo." This instrument had a long neck, a sound-box, i.e. a round box in this case similar to that in the banjo and three strings. Being a pluck instrument, it was played, probably, in the same way as a guitar. Later we find similar instruments with two or three strings among the Polovtsi (Cumans) and Tatars. There is nothing surprising in this in view of the fact that many oriental peoples had similar instruments at that time. Among the Tatars this instrument was called "kabyz."

Students of antiquity and of the origin of instruments regard these instruments as predecessors of the kobza.

The earliest mention of the existence of string instruments in Ukraine is probably the statement by the Byzantine author Theophylactus who speaks about three Slavs captured during a battle against the Greeks in the year 591. He writes that they were unarmed, but had string instruments which he calls "kitharas."

The 10th century Arab traveller Ibn-Fadlan describes an Old Ukrainian funeral in A.D. 921. He says that fruit, drinks and string instruments were placed in the grave beside the remains of the deceased. In the same century another Arab traveller Ibn-Dast mentions in his writings that he saw various kobzas, psalteries and pipes two cubits long, and the kobza had several strings.

The oldest pictures of string instruments in Ukraine are found in the form of frescoes on a wall in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv built in 1037 by Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise. One of the pictures shows an instrument which has an oblong oval sound-box and three strings (see fig. 1). Other frescoes show musicians (buffoons) playing on the harps, flutes, cymbals etc. It is worth mentioning that even prior to the 10th C. Byzantium used to cultivate instrumental music. The Kyiv Rus' State absorbed from Byzantium, together with Christianity, a part of its culture, including music.

At the courts of Ukrainian princes at that time there used to stay eminent singers who during festivities entertained the prince and his company by singing laudatory odes in his honour. These singers were called "boyany" (bards), or "skomorokhy" (buffoons), and were an obligatory adornment of princely palaces in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Novhorod-Siversky, Halych, Ostroh, Novgorod and other cities. One of the greatest literary monuments of that period, "The Song of Ihor's Campaign" (1187), calls the court singer "vishchyy boyan" (prophetic bard), admires his singer's talent and play on the psaltery, one of the instruments of that period.

The times of Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054) were a period of a great cultural development, including the flourishing of the musical art. However, after the rape of Kyiv by the Suzdal prince Andrew Bogolyubsky in 1169, its destruction by the Tatars in 1240 and subsequent Tatar invasions, the chronicles rarely mention musical instruments or music.

When Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky founded the military and religious order named "the Zaporozhian Sich Brotherhood" in the 16th century, the kobza finds in the latter an excellent milieu for its development and fulfils a peculiar role throughout the entire Cossack period and even up to the present time. This is what Professor Dmytro Yavornytsky, a student of Zaporozhian Sich Cossacks, writes about the Cossack kobza, or rather about the instrument on which the Cossacks used to play, in his book "The History of Zaporozhian Cossacks":¹

"The musical instrument the name of which is derived from the Tatar word "kabyz" is about 1½ arshines (3½ feet) long, with a disc in the middle and many strings, with a precious neck ornamented with mother-of-pearl. In the opinion of the Cossacks it has been invented by God Himself and the saints."

The original shape of the kobza can perhaps be seen on various old illustrations, paintings and drawings of the folk hero, Cossack Mamay, with a kobza (see fig. 2). Even in its primitive shape and design the kobza was a gentle instrument which fully matched the sentimentality of the Ukrainian people and served as accompaniment during the performance of historical ballads (dumy) and songs. Beside his sabre and his pipe, the kobza was an inseparable escort of the

Cossack and accompanied him in his campaigns, at the Zaporozhian Sich fort beyond the rapids of the Dnipro River, in his gay and sad moments.

Why did the kobza find such a favourable soil for its development among the Cossacks? This is what the Ukrainian composer D. Revutsky writes in his book "The Ukrainian historical ballads and songs"²:

"Reading through the material about the Cossacks, and especially the Zaporozhian Cossacks, one gets the impression that the idea of a Cossack suggested that, besides his main profession of a soldier, he had to be also a musician, i.e. to play on the kobza."

This development took place in the 16th century and here we come across an instrument named "bandura."

How did the bandura look like and whence did it come to Ukraine?

Many West European peoples had in the past string instruments similarly named in the form of the lute (see fig. 3). Thus, for instance, we find in Spain the "bandurria", in Portugal — "bandurra", in Italy — "pandora", in Germany — "Bandor", in England — "bandore", and so on. These instruments had a shorter and wider neck, and the number of strings varied from four to eight, and depending on the number of strings the sound-box was larger or smaller, deeper or flatter. It is an interesting fact that the instrument of the "bandore" had for the first time been made by an Englishman, John Rowse, in 1561, which prompted the Russian historian Faminsin to surmise that the bandura came to Ukraine from England, which, however, is not backed by any definite evidence. Some students of the folklore even think that the bandura is closely connected with the psaltery, from which the bandura probably is derived, but this is not based on facts.

How did the bandura look like at that time? Probably like the present-day lute. The number of strings varied according to type between four and eight, and the playing was performed like on a guitar, i.e. the strings had to be pressed on the neck. It seems then that the playing was identical with that on the kobza. What was then the difference between the bandura and the kobza? This is what M. Hrinchenko writes about it in his book "The History of Ukrainian Music"³:

"While the kobza was considered a purely Cossack instrument, an instrument of the soldiers, which was mainly used for the performance of historical ballads and songs for the common folk, the bandura was regarded as an urban instrument used by professional musicians at banquets at courts for the performance of love songs and in general songs of a gay genre."

Did the bandura in fact come to Ukraine from the West? There is no certain answer to this question, but if one is to judge by the similarity of names of some West European instruments, one may

answer "yes." However, it is difficult to base a final verdict on this evidence. Let us suppose that the kobza and the bandura were two different instruments, one probably of Asiatic origin (kobza) and another of the European (bandura). I am going to quote an excerpt from a 17th century historical ballad "The ballad on the death of a Cossack bandurist", where it is sung *inter alia*: "Ah, my kobza, my companion, my painted bandura, what am I to do with you?" As we see, both instruments are treated here as one. This is what the bandurist Vasyly Yemets writes in his book "About Cossack Bandurists"⁴ on this subject of difference with the above-mentioned M. Hrinchenko:

"1) The three-stringed kobza was never a specific Ukrainian instrument.

2) The kobza must be regarded a truly Ukrainian national instrument since the 16th-17th centuries (the exact date does not really matter), that is from the time when the Ukrainians enriched it with additional strings, having correspondingly changed its shape, and when it received also another name, the bandura.

3) The names "kobza" and "bandura" refer to one and the same Ukrainian national instrument.

The Cossacks played on the improved kobza, having increased the number of strings to seven or eight, and later to 16, and because not only its shape but possibly also the very method of playing changed."

What conclusion are we to draw from it? Unfortunately, we do not possess sufficiently convincing arguments either for or against. One has to agree that the instrument on which court musicians played for the rich and eminent people was the bandura, the name of which, or even a similar instrument was brought from the West.

Both names were used over a certain period of time, but the bandura players were often called "kobzars." In the 17th to 18th centuries there appeared the so-called "prystrunky" on the bandura, i.e. progressively shorter side-strings placed on the sound-box to the left from the neck. This provided the argument that, apparently, the kobza was an older instrument without the additional strings, while the bandura was the newer one. The earliest certain date of the appearance of the "side-strings" is 1785, but it can be justifiably assumed that this took place as early as the first half of the 18th century. We do not find a similar phenomenon on any other musical instrument. The "prystrunky", i.e. the shorter "side-strings" have made the bandura original, therefore the bandura is a Ukrainian contribution to the musical world.

It is worthwhile to quote here an interesting fact, namely: one of the Petersburg newspapers from 1772 published an advertisement by the instrument maker named Eckholm offering violins, banduras, lyras etc. for sale.

The number of strings of the bandura of that period did not exceed eight to ten. Gradually the method of plucking the strings without

pressing them to the neck, as was done previously, was adopted. The 18th C. ethnographer Atanasiyiv wrote that bandura had 10 strings (see fig. 5).

The transition to the new method of playing took about a hundred years, i.e. from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th C. Now the bandura had already 12, 18 or even more strings. It entered the 19th century as a new instrument in new conditions (see fig. 6).

Here I should like to give a few interesting facts about the "kobzars" (kobza players). Thus we find even as early as 1441 the kobzar Rafayil Tarashko as a court musician in Cracow. In the 18th C. kobzars were sometimes taken to Russia often against their will. There were kobzars-bandurists at the court of Tsar Peter I. One of them, Oleksa Rozum, was even an intimate friend of Princess Elizabeth, who later became Russian Empress.

In 1738, by an imperial order a conservatoire was set up in Ukraine with the purpose of supplying musicians for Russia. The kobza-bandura was one of the instruments included in the syllabus. The younger brother of Rozum is known in history as Hetman of Ukraine Kyrylo Rozumovsky. Among other things, he set up a highly cultured musical centre in the town of Hlukhiv (at one time the capital of the Ukrainian Cossack State), where there was a permanent local orchestra and Italian, and French operas and concerts of chamber music, as well as performances of the bandurists, were staged at the court theatre. It should be mentioned that Hetman Rozumovsky founded a serious musical library which has survived to our times and is regarded as one of the most valuable in Eastern Europe. The son of Hetman Rozumovsky, Andrew, who was ambassador to Vienna used to take with himself on his trips a group, or rather a quartet of bandurists. In Vienna he made acquaintance of the world famous composer Ludwig van Beethoven and subsequently became his closest friend and patron. Many a time Beethoven listened to the playing and singing of the bandurists. At the suggestion of Count Andrew he wrote his well known cycle of string quartets, Opus No. 59, and it is not unlikely that their beginning, the first theme (*Thème Russe* in the original), he composed under the influence of the singing and playing by the bandurists. This theme has without any doubt a colouring of Ukrainian melodies. Beethoven dedicated these quartets to Count Andrew.

Hetman Ivan Mazepa played on an instrument which is referred to as "Mazepa's bandura", but in fact it was a kindred instrument, the "torban" (theorbo). Apart from his ability to play musical instruments, Mazepa had the reputation of a poet and composer of songs. One of the popular Ukrainian songs, "Ah, woe to that lap-wing..." (*Oy hore tyi chaytsi...*), is often ascribed to him. The Tarnavsky Ukrainian Museum in Chernihiv preserved, until 1917, among other mementoes from the Hetman period, a bandura, or rather 'torban' of Hetman Mazepa, adorned with his coat of arms (see fig. 4).

After the tragic battle of Poltava in 1709 and the final destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich Cossack fortress in 1775 the popularity of the kobza suffered a gradual decline. There were no longer kobzars with every Cossack "sotnya" (a "hundred", i.e. a company), because there was no free Cossack army. A systematic curtailment of the freedom of Ukraine and the destruction of the cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people by Russia began.

Speaking about the kobza, we must mention the "dumy" (pronounced "dooma" — historical ballad) and vice versa, because these two notions are closely connected. What is a "duma"? Precious remnants of ancient epic poetry have survived until the present day among various peoples, for instance among the Serbs (heroic songs), the Finns (runes), the Russians (byliny). Among the Ukrainians they are called "dumy." (F. Kolessa, *Ukrayinski Dumy*, L'viv).

A duma is a historical and epic or epico-lyrical poem which is recited and sung and deals with the historic or legendary popular heroes. These songs-stories depict remarkable moments in the life of the Ukrainian people.

For the first time a "duma" was mentioned in the "Annals" of the Polish historian Sarnicki in 1578 who quoted there a "duma" about the death of two brothers Strus in the struggle against the Wallachians in 1506.

The "dumy" have preserved the national treasure and the heroic poetry of the Ukrainian people. The characteristics of the "dumy" are their high moral and aesthetic level, the ability to characterise its heroes individually and psychologically, the ideals of freedom and comradeship. The "dumy" lack any mythological figures, their heroes are people, representatives of a given historical epoch. An interesting peculiarity of the "dumy" is hyperbolisation, thanks to which the qualities of a hero or person are emphasized. The "dumy" uphold the positive values: courage, patriotism, faith, love of freedom etc. and condemn the negative ones: fear, insincerity, treason. The "dumy" are a continuation of the folklore of the Kievan Rus' period with its spring songs, harvest songs, carols and its highest literary work "The Song of Ihor's Campaign."

This is what Filaret Kolessa, an eminent Ukrainian 20th century folklorist, says about the "dumy":

"Many "dumy" have remained in the memory of whole generations until our own days and not only in word form, but also in melody." He states that the "duma" represents ancient folk music, that poesy and music of the "dumy" is closely connected with such ancient types of folk poetry as the lamentation. The "dumy" are as important as historical documents for the elucidation of above all the Cossack period of Ukrainian history. In that period so rich in "dumy" and songs in general the kobza played a great role, for it was the means by which the kobzars sang about the past and present. Thus,

in parallel with historical events, the "dumy" show how Cossacks made expeditions from their fortress, the Zaporozhian Sich, how they returned there victorious, or from the Turkish or other captivity. There they found protection from the persecutions of the Turkish and Tartar khans and Polish and Russian invaders.

While the "dumy" from the 15th and 16th centuries sing mostly about unknown (epic) heroes, these from the end of the 16th and 17th century show known historic figures like Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and his chief lieutenants — Maksym Kryvonis, Ivan Bohun, Nechay and others. Epithets and similes play a great role in the "dumy", helping to create the personages of the heroes. The already mentioned Filaret Kolessa states that the performance of a "duma" by the singer-kobzar, or lyre player to the accompaniment of a kobza or lyre is remarkable for a great wealth of variations and improvisations by this or that singer who almost always brings in his changes and additions. Each kobzar has his own individual style in which he performs the "dumy" of his repertoire. Particularly rich in improvisation are lyrical oral and musical digressions, finales of what may be termed verses and preludes. The tellers of the folk ballads, the "dumy", are at the same time folk poets and composers, singers and musicians. The "dumy" have been an important source of literature, music and art. The writers Shevchenko, Hohol [Gogol], the artists Repin, Shevchenko, Vasylykivsky, Narbut, the composers Lysenko, Sokalsky and others borrowed subjects, motives and pictures for their works from the "dumy."

In regard to their contents the "dumy" are divided into two classes. The first, chronologically the older, groups the ballads dealing with the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Tartars and Turks. The majority of the "dumy" of this period are marked by their lyrical character and a melancholic mood. For instance the "duma" entitled "The Lament of the Captives" begins thus:

"On a holy Sunday morning, very early at dawn,
It was not the grey-plumed eagles that started to scream,
But the poor captives in the hard Turkish captivity who began to cry..."

Or the "duma", "Ukraine in Sorrow":

"Ukraine is in sorrow, for life there is no more,
The Horde has trampled little children to death with their horses..."

Or the "duma", "Kozak Holota" (Cossack Tramp), in a somewhat less melancholic mood:

"Across the Kiliya plain and along the beaten track of the Horde
There roamed Cossack Tramp
Who feared neither fire, nor sword, nor even the third swamp..."

and goes on to describe him:

"The Cossack wears a lambskin cap with a hole on top,
Thatched with grass and lined with wind..."

kobzars as the best people of the epoch, compared them with Homer. (The poems "Haydamaky", "The Blind"). In the poem "Perebendya" (see "The Ukrainian Review", Vol. XI (1964), No. I, p. 3-5) he depicts a kobzar and describes his significance for the people: to scatter to the winds human sorrow, although his heart itself is full of sorrow and sadness, to serve the community in the way it needs him. But the kobzar, too, must have relief, and he finds it in conversation with God, when no one sees him.

In his work "On the Little Russian Songs" (1833), M. V. Hohol wrote: "The 'dumy' are popular history, living, vivid, colourful, full of historical truth, revealing the entire life of the people. For Ukraine its folk songs are everything: poetry and history, and the ancestral grave... He who does not understand them profoundly will not learn anything about the former way of life in Ukraine. The historian should not look in them for the indication of the date and place of a battle, or an exact explanation of a truthful report, but when he wishes to learn about the real way of life, elements of the character, all the finest hues of the feelings and emotions, sufferings, joys of the people described, when he wishes to drink the spirit of the past age, the general character of the entire whole, or separately every particularity, then he will be fully satisfied: the history of the people is revealed before him in its splendid majesty. Everything in them is penetrated by and everything in them breathes the sweeping freedom of the Cossack life."

Hohol worked on a collection of songs and "dumy" and together with M. O. Maksymovych their collection was published in 1834. The first publication of the "dumy" together with the musical score to them was accomplished due to the efforts of Maksymovych in the collection "South Russian Songs", Kiev, 1857.

In the article "The 'Kobzar' of Taras Shevchenko" the Russian critic Dobrolyubov wrote as follows:

"It is known that all the vicissitudes of Ukraine, all the true character of Ukraine have been cast into song. The song and the "duma" constitute there a popular shrine, the best wealth of the Ukrainian life. Love of the native country burns in them, the glory of the past sparkles in them. The entire circle of vital interests is condensed in the song, is merged with it, and without it life itself becomes impossible."

Count Tolstoy writes in a letter to one of his relatives: "No national music of other peoples, even that of the Russian people, shows so much individuality, as does the Ukrainian. When we listen to these songs and 'dumy' the entire history of Ukraine passes before our eyes and we understand the character of that people better than by reading Hohol or Konysky."

The Czech writer K. V. Zapa writes in his treatise "The 'dumy' of the Little Russians" (Prague, 1844) that they speak to one's heart by their gentleness and contents.

The German poet Friedrich Bodenstedt states in the preface to his collection of translations of Ukrainian songs and 'dumy' into German, entitled "The Poetic Ukraine" (Stuttgart, 1845):

"Let the fragrant songs like mournful winds blow to the German meadows and tell the story how the children of Ukraine once loved and fought."

The well known student of East European history, Professor Alfred Rambaud (1842-1905), in his publication of Ukrainian songs and 'dumy' in French translation, stresses the definite democratic character of the 'dumy' and songs, as an undeniable expression of the resistance of the Ukrainian people against the enslavers.

While F. Kolessa asserts that the "dumy" are closely connected with ancient songs of lamentation, the collectors of the "dumy", M. Drahomanov, Pachovsky, Zhytetsky, Peretts, Mykola Lysenko and others speak about the profound religious content of a considerable part of the "dumy" and express the view that, apparently, the "dumy" originate from the church literary sources and some melodies are even connected with church chants, as for instance in the "Lament of the Captives":

"They lifted up their arms,
They clanged their chains,
They asked and begged the Merciful Lord..."

or further:

"I shall bow to the Lord God and the Chief of
the Cossack Host, our Father..."

or in the "duma" "Samiylo Kishka":

"They divided the white Turkish cloth among the Cossacks
And set fire to the galley on the water,
Silver and gold they shared into three parts:
The first part they took
And offered to the churches —
To the Holy Saviour in Mezhyhirya,
To the Trakhtemyriv monastery,
They gave it to Our Lady the Protectress of the Cossack fort,
Which they built with the old Cossack treasure,
So that they should implore the Merciful Lord,
upon rising and before going to bed."

Or in the "duma" "Oleksiy Popovych":

"Hey, Cossacks, gentlemen, brave lads, take good care,
Do not conceal your sins,
Confess them to Merciful God..."

This is how the poet Vasyl Barka describes the "dumy":

"The old 'dumy' seem to have been composed at the church door, when there was light inside, but the blind kobzar was able only to touch the stone with his hand. For him there was not even a ray from

the fire of light, neither purple nor blue colours with which the icons shone, nor the celestial height of the sky. But the soul of the blind man knew the height of inspiration where everything was revealed to the spiritual eye. The 'dumy' are not designed for purely artistic effects, because they have been chosen for the highest: to carry the truth of life and the flame of faith to human hearts to which the grandsons were receptive. The beauty of the 'duma' is spiritual, internal, extremely profound: externally severe, but all created as an expression of the feeling of mercy. It was born from the feat of a blind leader in the midst of nation-wide disaster. The 'dumy' have inherited the imagery composed at the time when the sun in the poetical sky was passing its zenith. Its expressions were powerful, with symbolism and vividness like the light above the golden cupolas of the princely cities! They combined impressions of the dread and wonderful, and when the sky of poetry changed in the 'dumy' the ruin was darkened by smoke throwing its shade across all the visible life.

Imagination is turned towards the sources which are immeasurably higher than the poetic view of the world which is semi-pagan and than all earthly inconstancy — towards the light which alone saves the Christian world from the infidel diabolism.

The Moon and the Sun of the superworldly heavens rise: the images of the Mother of God and of the Saviour inserted into psalms and "dumy". The singing recitative, though preserving threads of contact with the knightly epos, arrives at the gate of the eternal world, at the spiritual."

Not all the "dumy" are of such a profound and religious character and not everyone speaks about them as approvingly as we have just heard. In his preface to the collection "Little Russian and Red Russian folk ballads and songs" (1836) P. Ya. Lukashevych speaks about the archaic character of the "dumy" and considers them moribund. Panteleymon Kulish, an outstanding Ukrainian writer and one of the front-ranking translators from European literature, the author of "The Borrowed Kobza" (Geneva, 1897) and many other poems, criticises in his work "Rural poems" the content of many "dumy" and songs, stating that, allegedly, they idealise brigandry, brutalities and bad language. He says of the kobzars that they were generally drunkards. It is possible that Kulish had in mind such "dumy" as for instance "The Victory at Korsun":

"The Poles and Cossacks raised a big trouble,

So that no one knew what the brew was,

The Cossack shook many a Pole by his head's crop like a harlot's son..."

or the "duma", "The Uprising against the Polish Gentry":

"That gracious Pole gets up from his bed, walks along the street,

One might say, like an unscraped hog, pricking his ears..."

or the "Duma about Lebedenko":

"Ah, they took lord Lebedenko,
Raised him three spades' digs high
And smashed his head at a dead stump..."

But even Kulish recognized the positive role of the kobza, if not of all the kobzars, when he wrote in one of his poems:

"Kobza, you are my only consolation
Until Ukraine awakens from her sleep..."

and further:

"Let brotherly heart respond to another heart,
Like a bandura string to another string..."

The "dumy" appeared in print at the beginning of the 19th century already, but among the important editions the following should be mentioned:

The Collection of Ukrainian "dumy" — 20 texts — collected by M. O. Maksymovych and published in 1849;

"South Russian Folk Songs and 'Dumy'" published by A. L. Metlynsky in 1854;

"Notes about South Russia", published by P. O. Kulish in 1856-57;

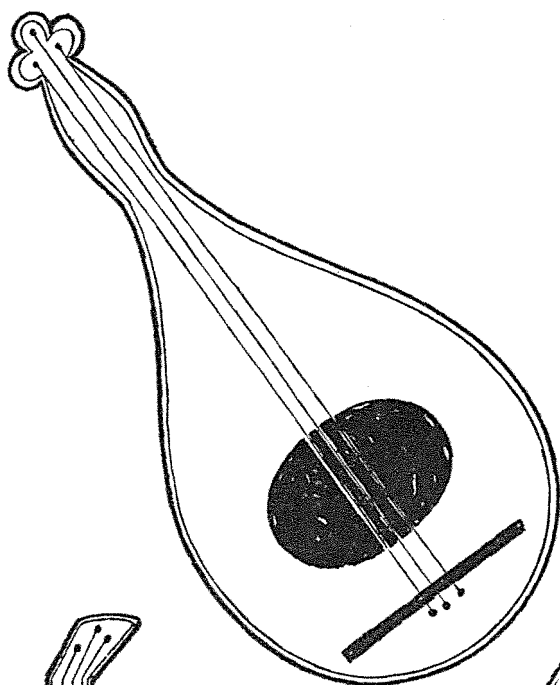
The study of the music of the "dumy" — "Characteristics of the musical popularity of the Little Russian 'dumy' performed by the kobzar Ostap Veresay", published in Kyiv in 1874;

"The Historic Songs and 'Dumy' of the Little Russian People", published in Kyiv in 1874-75 with the annotation by Volodymyr Antonovych, M. Drahomanov and material by Mykola Lysenko, I. Manzhera, P. Ya. Rudchenko, M. L. Kropyvnytskyj, M. O. Maksymovych, A. L. Metlynskyj, P. Ya. Lukashevych, Ya. F. Holovatskyj. This was the fullest edition of the folk "dumy" and songs in the 19th century.

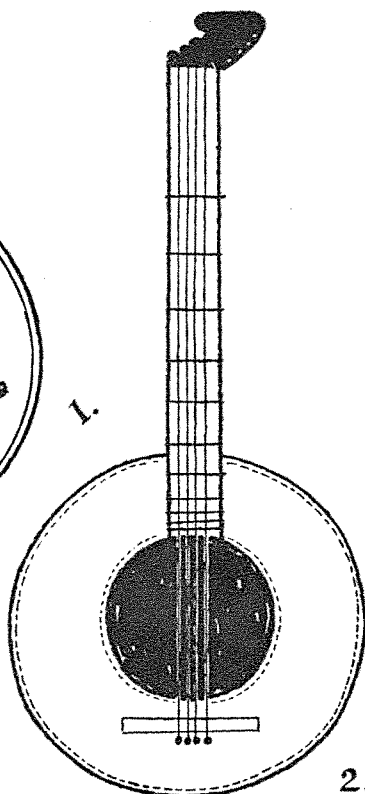
Towards the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century "dumy" were collected by Ivan Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, V. M. Hnatyuk, Filaret Kolessa and others. Lesya Ukrainka financed the costs of F. Kolessa's recording by means of a phonograph of the "dumy" performed by kobzars in the Poltava region in 1908-1910. Thus the two-volume edition, "The Melodies of the Ukrainian Folk 'Dumy'" (L'viv, 1910-1913), the most comprehensive and thorough publication, came into being. Filaret Kolessa wrote also numerous treatises on the "dumy."

I have mentioned only the most important collectors and publications of the "dumy."

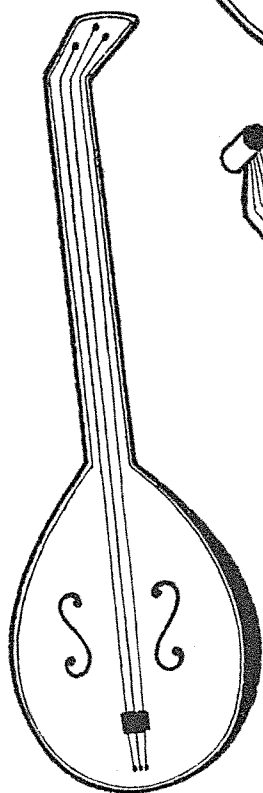
In Western Ukraine (Halychyna, Galicia) the "dumy" were not as popular as in the Central and Eastern Ukraine, perhaps because there were few kobzars. Nevertheless somewhat different forms of "dumy" existed and spread among the people. This is what the writer Ivan Franko says about it:



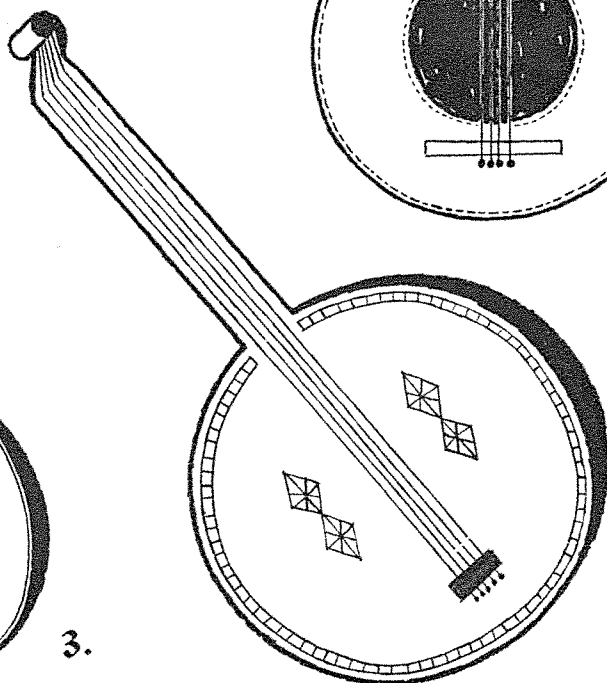
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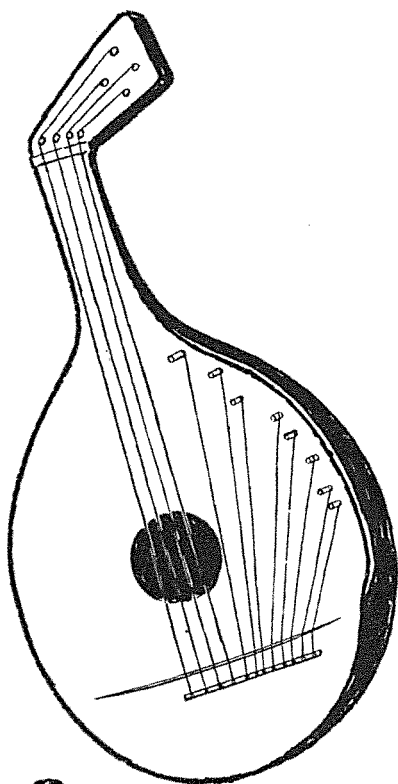
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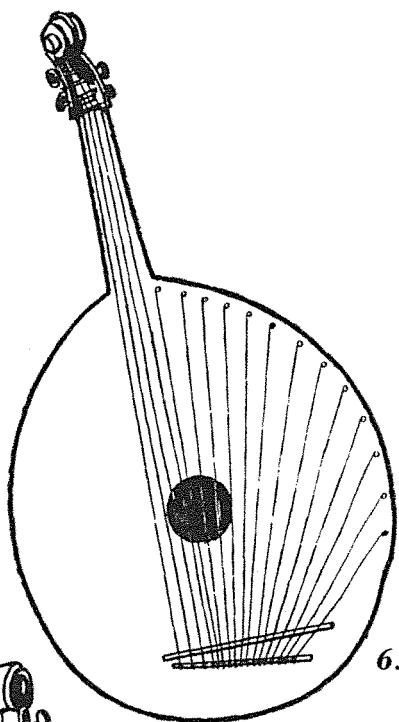
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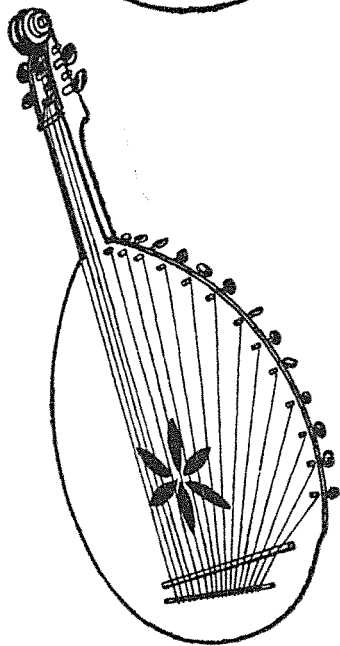
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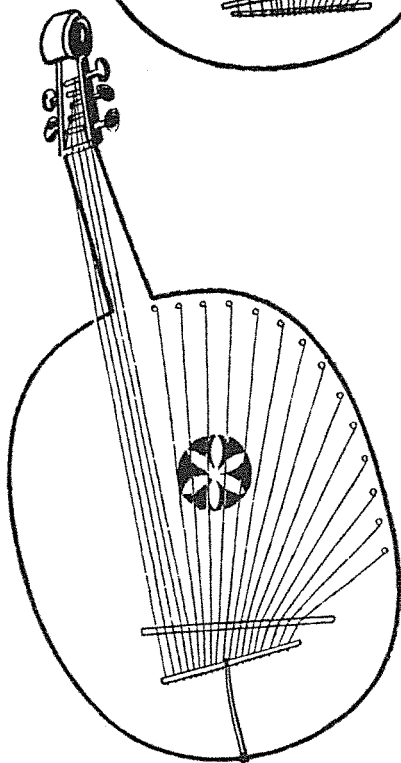
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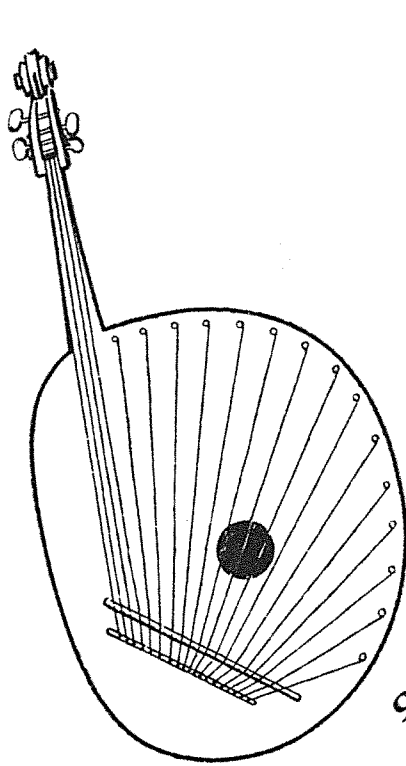
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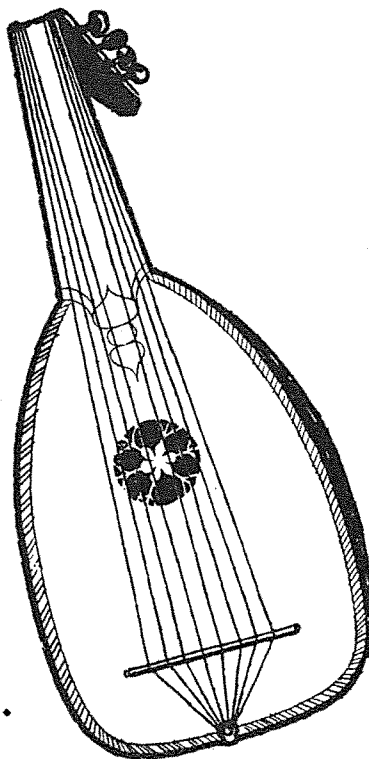
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Volodymyr LUCIV,
singer and bandurist,
author of the article,
playing the bandura.



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From Thursday December 30. to Monday January 3. 1708.

TUESDAY, December 26. N. S.

ON Sunday last To Deem was sung here in St. Stephen's Church, the Emperor and Empress's presence, and the Guns three discharged from the Wall of the Town, for the News of our Army's having forced the Passage of the Scheldt, and having obliged the Enemy to raise the Siege of Bruffels, and to surrender the Citadel of Lille. Monsieur Plaza, late Nuncio to Poland, is now expected here from Rome. He is to raise upon him the Character of Nuncio to this Court, as soon as the present Differences between the Emperor and the Pope are finally terminated. We have Advice from the Russian Camp in Ukraine, that Count Muskappa, General of the Cossacks, was gone over to the King of Sweden; but that he had carried along with him only three Cossacks, and a small number of his Body, the rest having declared they would continue faithful to the Czar. Some few Days after that General's Defection, the Prince of Muskoffow marched with a Body of Troops and a Train of Artillery to burn the Place of General Muskappa's Residence, whether the General had been found of his Men for the Security of his Affairs, but the Prince made himself Master of the Town, and put all he found in it to the sword. The Muscovites have prevailed on the Cossacks to proceed to the Election of a new General; and the Choice is said to have fallen on a Nobleman called Skopiepski. The Czar had been endeavouring for some time past to procure to General Muskappa the Dignity of a Prince of the Empire, as a Remembrance for his past Services. Those Letters from the Russian Army say, that the King of Sweden was encompassed between Starodub and Czerkassow on the River Dniester; but we have been long without direct Advice from the Swedish Army.

BERLIN, December 20. N. S. The Strength and Interest of the new Council increase every Day, and the Inhumanities of Kirchberg have inclined to it in the same manner with the new Parts of their Domestick. The Preacher of this Place had prevailed upon his Parishioners to take up Arms, and retake Payment of any Taxes imposed by the Council upon which many Churches were committed, and the Persons of the Officers who were to receive their Contributions refused. This ill Treatment of their own self by their Commission, obliged the Government to send Deputies, with 120 Men, under their Command, to reduce those of Kirchberg to their Obedience. The Deputies have condemned the Leaders of the Mob to pay great Fines, and banished the Priest who fomented their Divisions out of their Dominions for ever on Pain of being beheaded. If after a certain Day he is found within their Territories. The last Letters from Paris say, they were great Dissentions at the Court of France, and that the Ministers were at a Loss what Resolution to take in the present Conjuncture. It is said, the Duke of Vendôme is to retire no more, and that Marshal Villars is to succeed him in the Command of the Army in Flanders; that some of the French Troops were returning from Spain, and that the Court had Thoughts of recalling the rest, and have the Defection of the Duke of Anjou to the Council of Madrid. Letters from Russia at the same, as well as from Greece and Milan of the 16th and 24th contain the Precedency of an Accommo-

dation between the Emperor and the Pope. Letters from Savoy say, That the Count de la Tour, who has served his Royal Highness in several Courts, and was a Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Peace at Ratiswa, died at Thonon on the 24th Instant.

BRISTOL, December 29. N. S. When the Emperor desired this Court to let 1000 of their Troops advance from the Ferrazze to Rome, if there should be occasion, his Majesty returned Answer, that he was not only ready to order the 1000 desired, but also the whole Body of his Troops in Italy, if it might be necessary. Letters from the Duke of Savoy tell us, that in the Action which happened between the Palatin of Kinig, and the Count's Army under the Command of Monsieur Raitzky, the latter had the Advantage in the beginning of the Engagement; but that Monsieur Rhinold, having rallied his Troops, put the Palatin to Flight. It is said, that if the Night had not come on, the Defeat would have been much greater. The same Letters say, that General Muskappa had joined his Master the King of Sweden with 1000 Men; so that the Advice we lately received, that General Muskappa had embraced the Swedish Interest, and that since his Arrival in their Camp, he had obtained an Advantage over the Muscovites.

BRISTOL, January 7. N. S. On Friday last his Grace the Duke of Marlborough came from Ghent to this Place and was attended the next Morning by the Council of State, the States of Brabant, the Magistrates, and other Persons of Quality, who made their Compliments upon his happy Conclusion of the Campaign. On Wednesday next his Grace designed to sit out with Prince Eugene for the Hague. We have an account from Mow, that the Elector of Bavaria has been at Valenciennes, to concert and take Measures with the Marshal de Bruffels, and that he returned to Mow three Days ago. To Deem will be sung here next Sunday, (which will be observed as a Day of Thanksgiving) for the surrender of Ghent and Bruges to their several sovereigns, and the other Successes of the Campaign.

HAGUE, January 8. N. S. The States General have refused to support their Forces with the Addition of 6000 Men, and have lost that Resolution on their respective Propositions for their Approbation. The Squadron which is designed for the Mediterranean will sail within few Days, if the Wind continues fair. The States have writtente his Grace the Duke of Marlborough in the most earnest manner, to defer his Return into Great Britain, and supplanted the Necessity that ever his Grace at the Palace of Savoy should stay in Holland in the present Conjuncture; but 'tis thought that Prince Eugene, after having been some Days in this Place, will be obliged to return to the Court of Vienna.

St. James's, December 31. On the 19th of this Instant his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, presented to her Majesty a Book of Poems, Entituled, *Academia Cantabrigie Præcipua Præcipua Doms et Universitatis Academiæ Libris* &c. written by the most Excellent Members of that famous University.

This Honour, paid to the Virtus and Memory of his Royal Highness, has Majesty received very graciously.

The front page of *The London Gazette* reporting Hetman Mazepa's joining the Swedish king Charles XII and the murder of the population of Baturyn, Mazepa's capital, by the Russian army under Menshikov.

"At any given moment the song has for us not only an artistic, but also social significance as one of the elements which unites men, facilitates their organization and cooperation for the purposes of national rebirth. A proof of it is the popularity which some folk singers and folk poets enjoy in some districts. They compose their own songs to the well known and loved melodies, dealing with modern social and political subjects. Sometimes they sing them on market-days, wandering from place to place, thus awakening the masses, often introducing a new idea, or at least slogans which express the feelings and sufferings of all."

Here are some examples of Galician "dumy":

The "Duma about Dovbush" (brigand chief of a band of Carpathian peasants who rebelled against the oppressive big landowner system):

"Along the edge of the green forest,
There walks young Dovbush, the boldest,
He walks along slightly limping,
On a walking-stick-axe leaning,
On a walking-stick-axe leaning,
And to the boys shouting, pleading:
'Hey, my good lads, hey, my brave lads,
Load yourselves each one your good guns
And keep yourselves close together..."

There is a "duma" about the Napoleonic wars:

"A little cuckoo called
In the yard of my home,
Have you heard, good people,
What happened that year?
Why shouldn't we, — we weren't at home
When the war with the French was just starting then..."

Or the "duma" about the bitter land dispute between the Polish big landowners and the Ukrainian peasants in Galicia after 1848:

"Listen, good people, what I'd like to tell you,
This is a new song and I'd like to sing you:
Once our deputies started a lawsuit against the lords.
The deputies told us we would win all right,
Let us stand united, a commission would be sent down..."

The "dumy" were created and spread among the people by the kobzars. They went from town to town, from village to village and were an accepted part of the Ukrainian life.

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky appreciated the propagandistic value of the kobzars by sending them out to all parts of Ukraine to prepare the people to the uprising against the Polish overlordship by reminding them of the glorious history of Ukraine. This was of considerable psychological significance.

The kobzars were people of different ages and social strata, but they can be divided into three groups: 1) kobzar-soldiers and former soldiers who, owing to an advanced age, no longer took part in military service; 2) former kobzars that became blind; 3) old non-military people and blind beggars who lived from kobza-playing. There were cases, however, of young men and even women, playing kobzas and banduras.

Towards the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century the number of the kobzars decreases greatly, except a certain number at the manor-houses of the landlords, and their place is taken by professional beggars-musicians, above all blind ones, for whom the kobza or bandura was a means of livelihood. Their importance for the Ukrainian folklore consists in that they preserved to a considerable extent the Cossack repertoire. These songs expressed the depth of Ukrainian feelings and undying strength. For the people which was deprived of the opportunity to hear symphonies in concert halls or conservatoires the bandura became the means of spreading the folk music of songs and literature. The repertoire of the kobzars consisted of the "dumy", cantos, psalms, religious verses, songs of a gay genre and dances. The kobzars represented a living connection with the past of Ukraine. This is what Dr. F. Kolesa, mentioned earlier, writes about the importance of the kobzars:

"The nation-wide importance of the kobzars-bandurists consists in that they popularised the Cossack 'dumy' and preserved them from oblivion even after the fall of the Cossack State. Through the darkness of the serfdom and oppression of the Ukrainian language they carried to our days this cultural wealth, this popular treasure from which even our generation can draw up spiritual strength for the reconstruction of Ukrainian statehood."

The kobzars who remained in the 19th century were organised in a brotherhood named "Bratstvo Lebeyiv", which in their slang meant "Brotherhood of the Old." It was not easy to become a kobzar. First of all it was necessary to belong to the Brotherhood which had its own traditions and rules. The apprenticeship lasted two to three years after which the apprentice kobzar lived at his teacher's home for whom he begged in order to pay for the teaching. After learning a part of the repertoire of his teacher and learning to play the bandura, such a candidate was free to become a kobzar.

Beside the above-mentioned requirements, the kobzars had their own slang. A kobzar could not become a teacher without the authorisation of the Brotherhood. Brotherhoods existed in various parts of Ukraine and when a kobzar wanted to play outside "his" area he had to become member of the Brotherhood in that area.

The first kobzar in whom ethnographers, musicologists and folklorists took interest was Ostap Veresay, an outstanding kobzar in the second half of the 19th century. He was a splendid performer and

had a colossal repertoire which the "duma" collectors tried to write down. The activities of the "brotherhoods of the old" suffered considerably as a result of the notorious Valuyev's Ukase (1876) which forbade all publications, theatrical plays etc. in Ukrainian. Kobzars were frequently arrested under the pretext of disturbing the peace. Banduras used to be smashed, often on the backs of the old men themselves. In these conditions the art of the kobzar could not develop, even the previous state of affairs could not be maintained. So, when in 1891 Ostap Veresay died, one of the Kyiv newspapers published his portrait with the caption, "Ostap Veresay, the last kobzar." Naturally this did not mean that there were no more kobzars left. A scholar gives the number of the kobzars at the beginning of the 20th century as over 50 (see fig. 7 and 8 showing banduras of the 19th century).

At that time which was extremely unfavourable for the bandura there appeared the great lover of the bandura and innovator, Hnat Khotkevych, who was railway engineer by profession. He heard kobzars playing since his childhood and himself he learned to play on the bandura. In 1894 he for the first time made a bandura with the neck on one side (asymmetrical) and not in the middle of the sound-box as was usual until then (see fig. 9). Afterwards he gave a number of concerts with the bandura in Central Ukraine, Volynia and Galicia and within a short time became known as an expert in this instrument. When in 1902 an archaeological congress was planned in Kharkiv, which, inter alia, was to occupy itself with ethnography and folk culture, Khotkevych was invited to talk about the bandura. And so Khotkevych gave a talk on the bandura at that congress, and not merely a talk. He brought with himself an orchestra consisting of two violins, a bass, three lyres and seven banduras. The latter caused something of a sensation, because almost everyone believed that the kobzars had died out long ago. The Congress appealed to the tsarist Russian government not to persecute this small group of blind kobzars which yet remained in Ukraine. Since that time onward a somewhat more favourable climate existed for the bandura. The number of the kobzars gradually increased. However, brotherhoods no longer existed and there was no apprenticeship of new players. The kobzars became amateurs.

It has been an age-old tradition that bards accompanied the troops in their campaigns and often themselves fell on the battlefield. So it happened from the early princely period until our own days in the Ukraine. Let me quote some historical examples of how the kobzars fell victims to various persecutions during our national liberation struggle in the past ages.

Thus in the Cossack period of Ukrainian history the kobzar named Danylo Bandurka (Rykhlijevsky & V. Yastrebov, "The rebel bandurist, b. 1738 in Kyiv." 'Kiyevskaya Starina', vol. 16, book 10) was arrested in 1761 for participating in the uprising and was punished by death.

In 1770 the kobzars Prokip Skryha, Vasyl Varchenko and Mykhaylo Sosnovyy (Zynoviy) from the village of Sharzhypole were punished by death because they played for the *haydamaky* (the rebels). They had their heads cut off at the order of the Polish gentry.

During the Liberation War of 1917-1921 the bandurists shared the hard lot of frontline soldiers. The bandurist Antin Mytay took part in an anti-Bolshevist uprising in 1920 and lost his life in it. Under the Bolshevist occupation Hnat Khotkevych was deported to Siberia. He was not only a virtuoso, composer and teacher, but also author of the only serious manual for the study of the play on the bandura, which has not been published in full even until the present day. The Bolsheviks pretended to approve of the existence of the Bandurist Ensemble, but in fact kept it under strict control, and its repertoire was restricted by political directives.

The Ukrainian Cossacks of the Kuban region in the North Caucasus still had a school of play on the bandura in Katerynodar as late as 1913. The following bandurists are known: A. Chorny, M. Teliha, Sava Dibrova and others.

The first bandurist ensemble with a progressive method of training was organised in Poltava (although there was a group of bandurists in Kyiv in 1918, but it was probably only a group and not an ensemble), and there is nothing surprising in it, because Poltava region had old traditions. It is there that Ostap Veresay was born. The idea of organizing an ensemble was born in the head of the bandurist Ivan Kuchurenko known as Kuchuhura (he took part in the 1902 Congress). He was the first of those who began to organise bandura concerts. It is an interesting fact that he used to carry two banduras with himself during his trips, one of them tuned in the major key and the other in the minor. Depending on the song, he took either this or that bandura to play.

In 1923 he founded a bandurists' studio which consisted of 12 of the best local singers headed by the conductor Volodymyr Kabachok. At first there were great difficulties. There were not enough banduras and there was no uniform key and no one except Kuchurenko was able to play the instrument.

In 1927 Hnat Khotkevych took over the leadership of the ensemble. As a result the ensemble performed his composition "Bayda." Among its first members the ensemble had the following: Yosyf Panasenko, Pavlo Minyaylo, Hryhoriy Nazarenko, who, incidentally, are at present members of the Ukrainian Bandurist Ensemble in the USA. The first names of the Ensemble were: "Poltava District Bandurist Ensemble", later — "Poltava Outstanding Bandurist Ensemble" and, after the merger with the Kyiv bandurists, — "Ukrainian State Model Bandurist Ensemble." The major part of the repertoire was from the pen of Hnat Khotkevych.

In December 1933 the NKVD (Bolshevik secret police) arrested Volodymyr Kabachok during a concert in Kyiv. Later Hnat Khotke-

vych, and afterwards the director Dmytro Balatsky and other members of the ensemble were arrested. From the total of 30 ensemble members the Bolsheviks arrested 24.

Apart from the concerts the bandurists had to attend lectures on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

In 1936 the ensemble made a concert tour of Central Asia where it was warmly welcomed everywhere. At present Moscow maintains the Ensemble for purely propagandist purposes.

After the occupation of Kyiv by the Germans the Ensemble again organized itself and in 1942 visited Volynia and Galicia (in the spring) where it had a tremendous success. In the midst of the tour an order came from the Germans to interrupt it immediately. The bandurists went to the town of Lutsk from where police on motor-cycles escorted them to Kyiv. Under the pretext of sending them to give concerts to the Ukrainian workers in Germany the ensemble was literally packed into cattle trucks in which they travelled non-stop for two days and two nights without food or water and were brought not to the concert bureau in Halle, but to a concentration camp near Hamburg. After six months they were released and allowed to give concerts in Germany and even to return to Ukraine. In 1943 the Ensemble sang for the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky at St. George's Palace in L'viv.

In 1943, when the Ukrainian underground fought against the Bolshevik Russian and Nazi German invasion, one of the modern bards, the bandurist Kost Misevych often played and sang for the insurgents. During one of his visits to the insurgents in 1943 the Gestapo organized a razzia during which there was some shooting. Misevych was badly wounded and in order not to fall into the hands of the enemy he took his own life.

As we see from the just quoted facts the bandura is something more than strings and wood, because people die for it.

Finally, I wish to mention that the modern banduras are diatonic and chromatic. They have from 22 to 60, and sometimes even more strings. They are of varied sizes and designs and of different tuning. There are banduras with transposers. However, this is a long and separate subject which would interest perhaps only bandura specialists. I must add, however, that in the present bandura art two schools may be distinguished by their method of play, namely the Kharkiv and Chernihiv schools.

I restricted myself to merely collecting this material without mentioning anything about the present state of bandura in Ukraine, where, as is known, several big and small bandurist ensembles and a number of soloists exist. These ensembles, however, do not go beyond simple and primitive methods of performance. In so far as one can judge from the recordings, the Bolsheviks have not managed to organize an ensemble on a genuine orchestral basis, i.e. piccolo, alto, tenor, bass and contrabass of the bandura. It is possible that the

present "State Meritorious Ensemble of the Bandurists" is built on this principle, but I do not know anything about it. Apart from the primitive play, they perform uncomplicated and uninspiring items.

I shall not deal at length with the state of the bandura in the free world, as these things are better known. There are for instance virtuoso bandurists in the USA: Professor Yemets, Dr. Shtokalko, my teacher Nazarenko and others. The Shevchenko Ukrainian Bandurist Ensemble from the USA made several concert tours of Europe, America, Canada, although, it is true, it has not yet managed to settle on a professional basis.

It is evident from what has been said that the bandura and Ukrainian song have a rich and interesting past. Its development and growth and the development of Ukrainian songs and "dumy" reflect the destinies, the struggle and in general the history of the Ukrainian people.

One must hope and expect that in the future, too, they would remain our inseparable companions, comforters and the traditional form of expression of the great wealth of feelings and sentiments of all Ukrainians without regard to where they live.

NOTES

1) Prof. D. Evarnitskiy, *Istoriya zaporozhskikh kazakov*, St. Petersburg, 1892, vol. I, p. 283.

2) D. Revutsky, *Ukrains'ki dumy ta pisni istorychni*, Kyiv, 1918.

3) M. Hrinchenko, *Istoriya ukrains'koyi muzyky*, 2nd ed., New York, 1961, p. 59.

4) Vasyl Yemets, *Pro kozakiv-bandurnykyv*, Hollywood, U.S.A., 1961.

5) The victory of the Ukrainian Cossack army led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky over the Polish army at Korsun, south of Kyiv, on 16 (26) May, 1648.

6) Chyhyryn — capital of the Ukrainian Cossack State at the time of Khmelnytsky.

7) Ivan Bohun (d. 17. 2. 1664) — Cossack colonel, popular hero.

8) Maksym Kryvonis the "Crooked Nose" (d. 1648) — Cossack colonel, Khmelnytsky's lieutenant, peasant leader, popular hero.

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UKRAINE AS SEEN BY "THE LONDON GAZETTE"

(1665—1965)

Since *The London Gazette* celebrates its three hundredth anniversary, and has published many interesting events and details about Ukraine, the Cossacks, and their Hetman Mazepa in particular, it might be appropriate to present a brief outline of its historical growth and development.

Not every magazine or newspaper can celebrate its three hundredth anniversary. The beginnings of the semi-weekly official paper of the British Government, *The London Gazette*, go back to 1665. In that year, because of a plague, the Royal Court moved from London to Oxford, where the first number of the paper was published as *The Oxford Gazette* on November 16, 1665. In the year following the plague, the Royal Court returned to London; consequently, the official organ of the Government was transferred to the capital city. It adopted there, on February 5, 1666, the name *The London Gazette* — the heading under which it is published even today. It is worthwhile noting here that, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, the *Gazette* was published even in French as *Gazette de Londres*.

The *Gazette* was placed under the control of Sir Joseph Williamson, the Undersecretary of State, and was registered as the property of Thomas Newcombe until July 19, 1688. Newcombe's successor was Edward Jones, who died on February 16, 1705; the publication, however, was carried on by his wife.¹

¹) For details see: Alexander Andrews, *The History of British Journalism*, London, 1859, Vol. I. pp. 65-66; cf.: James Grant, *The Newspaper Press: Its Origin, Progress and Present Position*, London, 1871, Vol. I, pp. 43-44; Stanley Morison, *The English Newspaper, some Account of the Physical Development to Journals Printed in London between 1622 and the Present Day*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 5, 43.

In the coming years of the eighteenth century, *The London Gazette* was printed by the Tonsons; from 1849 to 1910, it was printed by the Harrisons; in 1910 it was taken over by the Stationery Office.

The London Gazette appeared as a standard English newspaper of the late seventeenth century; it began with a single page, but later expanded to a four-page paper, double-columned and half folio. In it were published the incoming events of the day as they happened. The editors were careful to avoid making any predictions or voicing opinions. Publishers were held responsible for all that their papers contained, and any offence against any reigning monarch was strictly punished. It was not unusual for a publisher to be punished for as slight an offence as neglecting to print "His Majesty" in front of the name of an enemy king. Editors, for this reason, usually limited themselves to elaboration on the news and the bringing of it to the public in a clear manner.

The London Gazette, according to the English historian Lord Macaulay, omitted domestic affairs, except for some unimportant events and speeches in Parliament; rather, it preferred to publish news about foreign affairs.² The reason not only *The London Gazette*, but other contemporary English newspapers as well, avoided writing about internal events was severe censorship and fear of punishment.

As another historian of the English press, Alexander Andrews, remarked: In the seventeenth century the English press was quite developed and influential; so much so, in fact, that, on July 11, 1637, the Ecclesiastical authorities (Archbishop Laud) issued a decree which limited the number of newspapers to twenty. From then on newspapers were licensed and appeared with such notices as "by order", "by authority", "cum privilegio", "with license", or "with allowance." Actually, the censorship of the English press goes back to the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

However, censorship did not stop publishers from issuing unlicensed newspapers. As a result, the House of Lords passed, on September 30, 1647, a decree:

"prohibiting any person from making, writing, printing, selling, publishing, or uttering, or causing to be made, &c. any book, &c. &c. sheet or sheets of news whatsoever, except the same be licensed by both or either House of Parliament with the name of author, printer and licenser affixed, under pain of a penalty on the writer of forty shillings, or forty days' imprisonment; twenty shillings on the printer, or twenty days' imprisonment, and the breaking up of his press and printing materials; and on the hawker a whipping as a rogue, and the seizure of his papers."³

As can be seen, the English press was under severe censorship which actually increased in the time of King Charles II. Charles

²) J. Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 44.

³) A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 54.

tried to suppress English newspapers by his decree of May 12, 1680, in which he ordered:

"strictly to prohibit and forbid all persons whatsoever to print or publish any news books, or pamphlets of news not licensed by his majesty's authority."⁴

The situation, however, was changed when William and Mary ascended to the English throne in 1692. William, being a wiser ruler, did not restrain the press; consequently, within four years after his reign began, the number of newspapers increased to twenty-six. The demand for news was great, and publishers did not hesitate to satisfy their customers by printing more newspapers. The contemporary English paper, *The British Mercury*, No. 369, of July 30 to August 2, 1712, complained that:

"some time before the Revolution, the press was again set to work... that hence sprung the inundation of *Postmen*, *Postboys*, *Evening Posts*, *Supplements*, *Daily Courants*, and *Protestant Postboys*, ammounting to twenty every week, besides many more, which have not survived the term."⁵

Such a rapid increase and free development of the English press was then slowed down by the weak and hesitating Anne, who, being influenced by some persons at the Royal Court, issued, on March 26, 1703, a proclamation against "printing and spreading false news",⁶ which meant, more or less, the re-introduction of the licensing system of her uncle.

It is no wonder that the English newspapers of that time, *The London Gazette* in particular, were principally occupied with publishing foreign affairs. This was noted by the contemporary English paper, *The Evening Post*, which remarked on September 6, 1709, that "we read more of our affairs in the Dutch papers than in any of our own."⁷ Here should be added that, at that time, there was a great intimacy between the English and Dutch Courts.⁸

This does not mean that the editors of the English press at that time were not interested in their own affairs, or that there was difficulty in getting local news. There was, rather, fear of the law, since, as Andrews remarked, "In all the papers of this time the foreign intelligence is the fullest and best reported."⁹

Although the outlook of *The London Gazette* remains almost the same — except for gradual changes in the style of typography — the

4) *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

5) *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

6) *Ibid.*, p. 95.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 103.

8) J. Grant, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 29.

9) A. Andrews, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 101, 104.

context has been changed. The paper does not now publish news as it did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but has, from the nineteenth century on, gradually limited itself to the publishing of official appointments, notices, legal notes, orders, etc.

It should be noted, however, that the major events of the nineteenth century — the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, etc. — were published in extraordinary editions of *The London Gazette*. In fact, the report of the Battle of Waterloo (June 22, 1815) was even reprinted in full by *The Times*.

Since the *Gazette* preferred to publish more foreign than domestic news, some interesting events from Ukraine can be found in it. There is, in particular, a great deal of coverage about the Cossacks and their Hetman Ivan Mazepa.¹⁰ His participation in the Great Northern War, his alliance with the Swedish King, and his defeat at Poltava provide rich material for publication.

Following the lead of the Dutch and German press, the *Gazette* widely publicized Mazepa's activities; it, however, inflated the number of troops and misspelled the names — which was quite common at that time.

Mazepa was first mentioned in the *Gazette* of October 3-6, 1687. The report concerned his election as new Hetman on July 25 (August 4, n.s.), 1687, during the first campaign in the Crimea during the war operations of the "Holy League" against Turkey. Using information from Hamburg (dated September 30, 1687), the *Gazette* reported that, according to the news from Kiev, the previous Hetman, Ivan Samoylovych (1672-1687), and his son were being taken to Moscow by the Russian Prince Golitsyn in order to answer to charges of treason. In the meantime, Golitsyn put "the Sieur Mareppa"¹¹ in charge of the Cossack forces, for he had an excellent reputation for bravery and honesty.

As far as the second campaign in the Crimea (1689) is concerned, there is a small amount of general information about the Cossacks and Mazepa in two editions of *The London Gazette*, July 19-22 and October 21-24, 1689.

Writing on the Russo-Turkish War (1695-1699), the *Gazette* of August 16-19, 1695, reported that the Cossacks "have made use of this opportunity to possess themselves of several castles belonging to the Tartars." The Cossacks did indeed capture such fortresses as Kiser-Kirmen, Mustryt-Kirmen, and Mubarek-Kirmen.

¹⁰ It is widely accepted that Mazepa's name is spelled with two "p's", but he himself signed his name with only one. James Millington noted this in his *The True Story of Mazeppa*, London, 1884, pp. 95-96: "...I follow the orthography of Western Europe, but the name ought strictly to be written with one 'p' — Mazepa..." For details see my book review of John Pauls' *Pushkin's Poltava*, 1962, in *The Ukrainian Review*, 1965, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 88-89.

¹¹ The Nuremberg magazine *Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. V, p. 853 also reported about Mazepa as "Mareppa."

At the beginning of 1704, the Tsar, having regained the Baltic provinces, increased his aid to his ally, the Saxo-Polish King, by sending him Russian troops and calling on Mazepa for the Cossack regiments. The Dutch and, in particular the German, presses gave extensive coverage to Mazepa's military operations during 1704.¹² These were also reported in the numbers of *The London Gazette* of August 25-28 and September 18-21 and October 9-12, 1708.

Only sporadic information about Mazepa and the Cossacks can be found in issues of the *Gazette* from 1705 to 1708. The first reference to him during this period appears in the issue of May 25-28, 1705; the second appears in that of February 22-25, 1706.

When, however, it became known that Mazepa had joined the Swedish King (October 26, 1708), there was a sensation in European politics. The contemporary press widely described and commented upon the event.

Utilizing news from the Hague of January 4, 1709 (n.s.), *The London Gazette* of December 27-30, 1708, reported that, according to the "advices from Poland... General Mazeppa had formed a design to carry over to the Swedish Army the whole body of Cossacks, but was not followed by above 1,000 men...", that the majority of the Cossacks returned to the Tsar, that Menshikov destroyed Baturyn, and that the Cossacks elected "Monsieur" Skoropadsky as the new Hetman. Apparently this information on Mazepa's joining the Swedes was not sufficient for *The London Gazette*, since, in its next edition, it confirmed this information and added some more details.

Using reports from Vienna of December 26, 1708,¹³ *The London Gazette* of December 30 to January 3, 1708,¹⁴ confirmed information published in the previous edition that "Count Mazeppa, General of the Cossacks", joined the Swedes with a small number of troops and three colonels; that the majority of the Cossacks decided to return to the Tsar; that Menshikov seized Mazepa's residence — the city of Baturyn, which had a garrison of six thousand men — and "put all he found in it to the Sword"; that the Tsar permitted the Cossacks to elect a new Hetman, a "Nobleman Skoropacki." It is also stated that "the Czar had been endeavouring, for some time past 1707, to procure to General Mazeppa the Dignity of a Prince of the Empire."¹⁵

¹²) For details see this author's book *Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenössischen deutschen Quellen* (*Mazepa in the Light of Contemporary German Sources*), Munich, 1963, published by The Shevchenko Scientific Society, Vol. CLXXIV.

¹³) *The London Gazette* may have used as its source of information the Viennese newspapers — *Das Wienerische Diarium* of December 22-25, 1708, and *Der Post-Taegliche Mercurius* of December 26, 1708, for example — which used the Russian reports from the Czar's headquarters.

¹⁴) New Year's Day was celebrated in England on March 25 until 1752. Before that date, consequently, the previous year was listed. All dates quoted henceforth in the text are given in the new system.

¹⁵) The Emperor indeed granted Mazepa the title of "Prince of the Holy

At the end of this report, *The London Gazette* commented that, according to the Russian sources (the report from the Tsar's headquarters at the Desna River of November 16, 1708), the Swedish King "was encamped between Starodub and Czenikow (Chernihiv) on the River Desna."

Until the Battle of Poltava, the *Gazette* did not publish any particular reports about Mazepa. Concerning this battle, the *Gazette* of August 13-16, 1709, reported that, according to news from Vienna of August 7 (n.s.), "the account of the victory over the Swedes in Ukraina is so very circumstantial", that there was no doubt about it, except that the Russian envoy in Vienna had not yet received confirmation. On the other hand, the Swedish envoy said that the information from the Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski was completely to the contrary; that is, that the Swedish King "hath obtained the Victory, and was Master of Pultawa." In the same edition, the *Gazette* published the Tsar's letter of June 27 (o.s.) to Gen. Goltz, in which it was stated that, "by God's assistance and the Bravery of our Troops", the Russians had obtained complete victory. The paper also added more particulars about the defeat of the Swedes.

In addition to this report from Vienna and the Tsar's letter from his headquarters, *The London Gazette*, using news from the Hague of August 20 (n.s.), mentioned, among other details about the Battle of Poltava, that:

"the King of Sweden himself escaped by swimming over the Boristhenes [Dnieper River] being followed by only eight hundred of his Horse; and that General Mazeppa hath also saved himself by Flight."

In the edition of August 27-30, 1709, the *Gazette*, using information directly from Moscow of July 13 (o.s.), reported that, although "We are still unacquainted with many important Circumstances of the Action and Victory near Pultawa on the 27th of the last Month", the Russian Express made public details from the Tsar's letter which described the battle. At the end of the report about the Battle of Poltava, *The London Gazette* added that "Mazeppa, with his body of Cossacks made his Escape from a distant Post, where he was placed with the Baggage." (This is also an indication that Mazepa did not participate directly in the battle, but was located with the Swedish reserve troops near the village of Pushkarivka.¹⁶) The report ends

Empire", effective September 1, 1707. The grant is recorded in an official register under "M", Vol. XII; it is also on the last page of Mazepa's letter to Emperor Joseph I. Both the official register and Mazepa's letter are located in *Reichsadelsakten in Vienna*. For details see this author's article "Mazepas Fürstentitel im Lichte seines Briefes an Kaiser Josef I" ("Mazepa's Title of Prince in the Light of his Letter to Emperor Joseph I"), *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, Cologne-Graz, 1962, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, pp. 350-356, and "A Biographical Sketch of Prince Mazepa", *The Ukrainian Review*, vol. XII (1965), No. 4, pp. 60-83.

¹⁶ Cf., O. Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba (Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Era)*, *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva*, New York—Paris—Toronto, 1960, Vol. CLXX, p. 355.

with a statement that the Swedish King "had marched towards the Neiper [Dnieper] River."

Using information from the Hague of September 3, 1709, *The London Gazette* of September 3-6, 1709, reported that Charles XII safely arrived in Oczakow, but that, according to Russian sources, "the Nephew of General Mazeppa (A. Voynarovsky) and several considerable Ministers were taken Prisoners." (This information is not true. Voynarovsky was kidnapped on August 21, 1716, in Hamburg by the Russian agent Boetticher — who was a German by origin — and was sent to Yakutsk in Siberia.¹⁷)

In connection with the Tsar's attempts to present a friendly attitude towards the Cossacks abroad, the *Gazette* of September 6-8, 1709, using information from Bern of September 4, 1709 (n.s.), reported that, according to news received from Constantinople, "the Moscovite Ambassador at the Ottoman Port hath declar'd that the design of his Czarish Majesty is only to reduce the Cossacks to subjection." (In fact, after the Battle of Poltava, the Zaporozhian Cossacks were executed.¹⁸)

The London Gazette of September 8-10, 1709, using Russian sources of information, reported that "General Mazeppa, and some principal Ministers of the Swedish Majesty were brought prisoners to the Czar at Kiovia [Kiev]."

The *Gazette* of September 20-22, 1709, using sources from Moscow of July 31, 1709, reported that "...General Mazeppa with some few of his Followers passed the Nieper [Dnieper] before the King of Sweden."

From the foregoing we see that *The London Gazette*, using the Russian reports through German and Dutch channels without having information from Swedish sources,¹⁹ reported in a neutral fashion about Mazepa and his alliance with the Swedish King, merely stating facts without comments, in contrast to the derogatory attitude of the German press of that time.²⁰

17) Cf., J. Chr. von Engel, *Geschichte der Ukraine und der Kosaken* (History of the Ukraine and the Cossacks), published as a Continuation of *Allgemeine Welthistorie, durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten in Teutschland und England*, Halle, 1796, Vol. XLVIII, p. 328. For details see: Lubomyr Wynar, *Andriy Voynarovskyy*, Munich, 1962, pp. 68-95.

18) Cf., N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i mazepintsy* (Mazepa and His Followers), *Polnoye Sobranye Sochineniy*, St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. VI, p. 705.

19) *The London Gazette* of December 30, 1708—January 3, 1709, using information from Vienna, complained that "we have been long without direct Advices from the Swedish Army."

20) For details see my *Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenössischen deutschen Quellen*, pp. 38-42.

Oleh ZELENETSKY

Historical View of Soviet Russian Nationalities Policy

The nationalities policy of the U.S.S.R. was already at the beginning of its existence marked by a two-sidedness. This was caused by the fact that, on the one hand, the Soviet system was based ideologically on Marxism, whilst, on the other hand, Russian social democracy and its left wing — the present U.S.S.R. Communist party which took over the government of tsarist Russia during the 1917 Revolution — were born in Russian society and their characters had been formed by Russian political thought, culture and social processes, and by typically Russian movements.

The evolution from international Marxism to so-called Marxism-Leninism (Bolshevism), which unites the elements of Russian imperialism and Marxism, can best be seen from Lenin's theory on the problem of nationalities in general and in Russia in particular. Thus after the split of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903 (into Mensheviks and Bolsheviks), Lenin was the most stubborn supporter of centralism in the organisation of the proletarian party in Russia. In 1906 the Russian (Bolshevik) Social Democratic Workers' Party summoned a special conference at Stockholm, to unite the different national social democratic parties of the tsarist Russian imperium (the Jewish 'Bund', the Latvian, Polish and Ukrainian social democrats). The conference failed to succeed because of Lenin's basic approach. He demanded that all the national social democratic parties of the tsarist empire should unite in the "Russian Socialist Workers' Party."

The great contrast caused by these elements, between international Marxism and Russian expansionist thought, can be found also in Lenin's views on the question of nationalities, especially on the division of the Tsarist Russian empire into independent national states. In theory Lenin always preached the right of all nations to self-determination and to independence, but at the same time he tried to "prove" that "the workers in question were not pleading

for separation, since they knew of the advantages of uniting the great mass of workers into large states"; and further: "A large central state is a great historical step forward, from the medieval disruption of the whole world to its future unity. Such a state is the only way to socialism... the interests of the working classes demand the merging of the workers of all the nations of Russia into joint proletarian, political, economic and similar organisations." (*Lenin's Works*, volumes 19 and 20).

The duplicity and the contradiction of Lenin's theoretical thought on the nationalities question showed itself later in practical Bolshevik policies towards nationalities. After the Bolsheviks had seized power in Russia, the Council of People's Commissars on the 15th November 1917 issued a "Declaration of the rights of the Russian peoples", which contained the following important points:

- 1) Equality and sovereignty for all "Russian peoples."
- 2) The right of the "Russian peoples" to free self-determination even up to the separation and formation of independent states.

Despite this solemn declaration the Red Army directly afterwards attacked Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, states which had in the meantime declared themselves independent. Instead of these states the Bolsheviks founded completely dependent "Soviet" national republics.

Thereupon the Ukrainian Communist Party in exile wrote in their "Appeal to the Communists and revolutionary socialists of Europe and America" (1920), about the russification policy in Ukraine, and "the internal contradictions between the declared Communist programme and the form of its realisation, which are often in gross contrast to the spirit of Communism and have a retarding and regressive effect on the revolution." (*The Revolution in danger*, p. 20). The same policy was carried out by Moscow in all the non-Russian republics of that time.

But a few years later, after the position in the U.S.S.R. had become stabilised and the weight of military Bolshevik forces had declined, the Party had to quickly revise its nationality policy and grant greater national rights to the non-Russian peoples. This development is to be ascribed to the fact that in the non-Russian republics national Communism was gaining the upper hand and openly resisting any tendencies towards russification. In this matter they were in agreement with the national democratic forces of the non-Russian peoples and carried on with them a joint struggle for the realisation of national rights.

This gave the central Soviet government in Moscow the opportunity to adopt a new nationalities policy. In June 1923 a special conference of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party took place, at which

Stalin read the main paper on the practical steps towards the realisation of the resolutions on the question of nationality policy accepted by the twelfth Communist Party Congress. These resolutions were formulated on 17th April 1923. They declared all nationalisms, including Russian imperialism, as leading dangers.

Shortly after that a beginning was made to liquidate the remaining traces of the russification policy, which in the course of the centuries-long rule of Russian imperialism had left behind such a fatal heritage. As is known, in the Russian empire even the printing of non-Russian books was forbidden and every effort was made to hinder the development of national culture.

This period of 'derussification', which was the most liberal period in the nationalities policy of the U.S.S.R., lasted from 1923 to 1933. It was expressed in a great upswing in national cultures and through the increase and strengthening in the national elements in the state. During this cultural renaissance new forces soon appeared in all the national republics, aiming not only at cultural equality but also at equality in political and economic spheres.

This was one of the causes for the reaction of Russian chauvinism and for the blood-stained crushing of national efforts at equality in the non-Russian republics during the Stalin era. This is known in the West as the era of mass terror, which claimed as victims not only the millions of the rural population forcibly collectivised but also many well known Communist functionaries. Moreover, this period brought to the non-Russian republics a terrible wave of destruction, causing the disappearance of leading national intellectuals and of national culture. It also led to the new policy towards nationalities, the final aim of which was and is the russification of all non-Russian people.

This nationality policy in the Stalin era was formally based on the old theory of Lenin. The constitution introduced by Stalin gave in theory the same rights to all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and even promised for the non-Russian republics the possibility of leaving the U.S.S.R. Practice however completely contradicted theory. In the course of a few years, but especially between 1933 and 1938, the national Communists and national intellectuals in all non-Russian republics who were creating a cultural, economic and political basis for independence, were completely liquidated. We can see an example of the extent of this liquidation of national Communist elements in the republics, by looking at the Ukraine: in 1933 the Communist party of Ukraine numbered almost 469,000 members. In 1938 after the "mass terror", this was only 306,000. (Holubnychy in *Ukrayinskyy Zbirnyk*, published in Munich by the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R.) In other republics the situation was similar. According to non-Russian intelligence reports this loss was even greater. The majority of known writers, scientists and artists were liquidated. The forcibly carried out collectivisation of agriculture, which became

especially intensive from 1929 on, was exploited as a means of weakening the non-Russian peoples. Many thousands of so-called "kulaks" were deported from the non-Russian republics and in 1933 in the Ukraine and other non-Russian republics artificial famines were caused to occur, which cost millions of people their lives. Physical terror against non-Russian peoples after the Second World War took on an openly organised form. Stalin ordered some small national groups from the Caucasus and Crimea to be deported from their homeland to Siberia. As Khrushchov said at the 20th party Congress, Stalin was preparing a similar fate for the Ukrainians. But this was beyond his power.

It would take up too much space to give statistics of the physical terror, used in Stalin's time, against the non-Russian peoples. We will therefore merely state two main features of Stalin's nationality policy: physical terror, combined with the introduction of foreign elements among the non-Russian nations, and massive deportation of national elements to Siberia. This deliberately planned intermingling of nationalities in the U.S.S.R. is aimed at creating the basis for a future national homogeneity of the population of the U.S.S.R. Theoretically this was justified by the theory of the dying out of nations in the era of Communism. One can also regard the theory about the so-called "Soviet People" as one unity, obviously based on Russian culture and language, as an "acquisition."

The second main line of the nationality policy in the Stalin era was russification. Stalin's henchmen, who received full dictatorial powers in the republics, not only purged the parties, but destroyed all the advances in national culture which had taken place in the previous period. They ordered the "drawing nearer" of non-Russians to Russians, extending these measures not only to users of Slavonic non-Russian languages, such as Ukrainian and Byelorussian, but also to users of Turkish, who were, for example forced to accept Russian script and a host of Russian words.

At the same time the planned russification of education in the national republics and the restriction of rights to national language in cultural and social fields continued. Deriving from the Marxist theory of the dying away of languages, a theory was invented of the so-called disappearance of national cultures and languages in local areas, forming the first step on the way to a uniform world culture and language. This was an attempt to justify the policy of russification in the U.S.S.R., since it was said that it was in accord with Marxist theory and necessary for the creation of Communism. A whole series of works on this subject appeared in the U.S.S.R., describing the leading role of the Russian language and culture and the international importance of the Russian language, the language of the era of socialism. One of the Russian journalists of this time, Zaslavsky, wrote in 1940 in the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* as follows:

"Latin was the language of antiquity, French of feudalism, English of capitalism, and Russian — of the socialist era."

After the Second World War, when some Central European countries were drawn into the sphere of power of the U.S.S.R., the Russian Soviet regime tried to force not only political and economic but also cultural and linguistic hegemony on the recently subjugated peoples. In the first years after the war, after regimes dependent on Moscow had been introduced into all satellite countries, there began a process of cultural russification, that is to say, these countries were drawn into the area of "zonal" influence by the Russian language and culture. In the schools of these countries Russian was forcibly introduced, translations from Russian were unnaturally increased; the way of life of the "Soviet people" was imposed and in art Soviet "socialist realism" acquired a monopoly. There is no doubt that Stalin was trying to introduce the Soviet nationality policy into these countries too. Only his death and the ardent resistance by the Central European peoples, especially in Hungary and Poland, ended this tendency.

The first years of the post-Stalin era brought a series of changes and new principles in Soviet nationality policy. This affected not only the satellite countries, but also the national republics of U.S.S.R. The renascent nationalist elements of the non-Russian republics used the weakness of the regime and began to work towards the abolition of the hegemony of the Russian language and culture. In the struggle for power of the first years of the post-Stalin era, Beria, for example, who was later executed, had in mind a radical revision of Stalin's nationality policy, in order to gain the favour of the non-Russians for himself. Even after the government of the so-called collective leadership was set up, they stated that the rights of national republics would be increased. But once the new Soviet leadership under Krushchov was again stabilised, the nationality policy again resumed the main features of Stalin's time. Physical terror was indeed condemned in the period of destalinisation, but interference in the internal affairs of national republics and the deportation of non-Russian peoples are still in force today.

It can be stated, however, that these tendencies on the part of the Soviet regime meet with constantly increasing resistance. The transportation of young people to the "Virgin Lands" ends very often in fiasco, since they escape back home. The government can certainly keep on sending government officials and functionaries into these areas and thus intermingle the population of the respective republic with foreign elements. Mass deportations are no longer possible, except in Kazakhstan.

The post-Stalin regime is trying even more to continue intensively the old policy of russification. One of the main steps in this direction was school reform, introducing this novelty that the parents themselves must decide which school their children should attend: a

national school with instruction in the mother tongue, or a Russian school. At the same time the theory of two mother tongues began to be spread, but only in the territory of the national republics. The second mother tongue would thus have to be Russian. (Naturally this did not refer to Russians and to non-Russians transplanted to the Russian republic, who were to have only one mother tongue, Russian.) Immediately after the death of Stalin, the overriding importance of the Russian language and culture in the U.S.S.R. and the leading role of the "elder brother", the Russian people, disappeared; today they have been revived. Russification in the Baltic countries is being carried on principally through so-called joint schools, Latvian-, Estonian-, or Lithuanian-Russian. There are two languages of instruction in these schools. It is officially said that the main task of these schools is to strengthen the friendship of the peoples and to nurture the international feeling of the schoolchildren. In fact they merely serve to russify.

The theoretical basis of the nationality policy of the post-Stalin leadership has become the new party programme, in which it is stated that nations will die out when Communism comes into force. Since at this moment Communism is being introduced in the U.S.S.R., then parallel to this, or so at least the party functionaries think, the smaller nations must die out in favour of the larger ones. This chauvinism on the part of the Russians met with strong opposition from the national elite of the non-Russian peoples, especially the younger generation, who do not know the fear of the former Stalin terror and openly support individual national rights. The non-Russian people will undoubtedly increase their activity in the future, if the Soviet regime is no longer in a position to use mass terror to radically suppress the voice of the opposition and to prevent the deepening of national self-consciousness. Even the present development of the national problem in the former colonial lands has an unfavourable effect on the nationality policy of the U.S.S.R. The demands for independence of the Asian and African peoples have repercussions even in the non-Russian republics. Also it is not without effect that the satellite countries, although they have continued to remain Communist-governed, are following their own path in the cultural field. If one thinks about this, one sees how absurd all the theories about "internationalism" and "drawing together of the peoples" within the U.S.S.R. are. Everyone knows that behind these phrases is pure Russian imperialism and that it is not a question of unadulterated internationalism and Communism. If this development programme in the U.S.S.R. continues in the same direction, and if no wave of mass terror reappears, then this must lead to a complete defeat of Moscow's nationality policy, as was the case in the satellite countries. The development process in the whole world goes not in favour of imperialism and "the fusion of nations" but for their emancipation.

Obituaries

Great Military Thinker and Champion of Freedom

(Maj.-Gen. J. F. C. Fuller)

On February 10th, 1966, there died in Falmouth, England, a man whose ideas have to a considerable extent shaped the character of the 20th century military and psychological warfare. This man was also a great friend of the nations struggling to free themselves from the grip of Russian imperialism and Communism.

Major-General John Frederick Charles Fuller, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., who died at the age of 87, was not only a brilliant professional soldier, but also an outstanding military thinker, writer and historian. With a striking clarity of mind he foresaw some of the main trends in the development of modern warfare. He pioneered the introduction of mechanisation into the British Army, and in particular the use of armoured fighting vehicles, i.e. tanks, in the First World War and developed the theory of tank warfare, widely used in the Second World War. His originality of thought and farsightedness did not always meet with the understanding of his superiors, colleagues and the general public, which is the usual fate of those who are in advance of their own age. Especially in the years since the Second World War, Gen. Fuller applied his thought to the problems of the defence of the West against the threat of Russian Communist expansion and advocated a strategy for the West which aimed at a political victory through military strength and support of the revolutionary national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Gen. Fuller was born on September 1, 1878, at Chichester, the son of the Rev. A. Fuller. He was educated in Switzerland and at Malvern, as well as the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. In 1898 he was commissioned in The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry and served in South Africa throughout the Boer War. He was present at the relief of Kimberley and for the last six months of the war served as intelligence officer with native scouts. He reached the rank of captain in June, 1905, and in 1913 he joined the Staff College. During the First World War he served as staff officer both at home and overseas. In July, 1915, he became G.S.O.3 on the staff of the VII Corps in France and soon was promoted to major. Towards the end of 1916 he was appointed G.S.O.2 of the Tank Corps and devoted his energy and drive to the organization of the new revolutionary arm and the development of its tactics. Although he was not the inventor of the tank, he clearly realized its possibilities for breaking the deadlock of positional trench warfare and transforming it into mobile war, utilizing the tank not merely for paving the way for the infantry through wire obstacles, but also for its psychological impact on the enemy.

In April, 1917, he became chief-of-staff of the Tank Corps and was mainly responsible for the planning of the successful Cambrai attack in November, 1917, which typified the subsequent battles until the victory in November, 1918. For his services he received the D.S.O. in 1917, was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1918 and to colonel in 1920. As a senior War Office staff officer he worked in 1918 on a plan for the expansion of tank warfare in 1919, if the war lasted that long.

In 1923 Fuller became chief instructor at the Staff College and in 1926 Military Assistant to Chief of Imperial General Staff. He felt frustrated, however, in his new post, because his proposals for mechanising the British Army and re-equipping it with modern weapons, especially the tanks, were not implemented owing to financial stringency of the Government. In 1927 he became chief-of-staff at Aldershot and afterwards commanded brigades. In 1930 he was promoted Major-General, but was not given any employment, and in 1933 he was placed on the retired list. His outspoken arguments for modernising and mechanising the Army in order to make it more efficient did not make him very popular in Britain. Fuller's ideas were, however, attentively studied in Germany and the U.S.S.R. and applied in practice.

Upon his retirement from active service General Fuller turned his attention to writing, chiefly on historical and military themes. From his pen came out many books in which he analysed military experience of the ages and developed his thoughts on future methods of warfare. In his "Memoirs of an Unconventional Soldier" (1936) he criticised some of the highest military authorities in Britain for what he considered was a lack of understanding for the possibilities of tank warfare. The three volumes of his "Decisive Battles of the Western World" present a brilliant analysis of the most important battles starting with the Graeco-Persian wars and ending with the Second World War. He devoted separate books to Alexander the Great, the U.S. General Grant and his last book, published only last year, was entitled "Julius Caesar: Man, Soldier and Tyrant." His book, "On Future Warfare", is a masterpiece of military thought, revealing him as a great theoretician and visionary.

General Fuller not only deeply understood purely military aspects of war, but, as a student of Clausewitz, knew that war must be subordinate to politics. It is because of this that he, to a greater degree than any Western politician or military thinker, grasped the essence of the present conflict between the West and Communist Moscow and Peking and showed the way for bringing about a victory of the West without resorting to a thermonuclear war. He pointed out the great untapped military resources on the side of the West in the form of the revolutionary national liberation movements beyond the Iron Curtain. It is because of this that Gen. Fuller became acquainted with the Ukrainian liberation struggle and the fight of other enslaved nations against Moscow. His friendship towards Ukrainian and other freedom fighters struggling against Moscow's tyranny for national independence was sincere and deep. His thoughts on the problems of Western strategy vis-a-vis imperialist Communist Russia were developed in many articles published in the "ABN Correspondence", "The Ukrainian Review" and numerous pamphlets published by the Scottish League for European Freedom and the A.B.N. His two pamphlets published separately, "Russia Is Not Invincible" and "How to Defeat Russia?", have made a great impact on the Western military thought. Gen. Fuller was a great friend of Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N. and a prominent leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

In General Fuller the Ukrainians and other enslaved nations have lost a true and sincere friend whose contribution to the liberation fight against Moscow will always be remembered with gratitude. His is an eminent example of a true Westerner in the best sense of the word seeking to help the enslaved nations to win that freedom to which they so passionately aspire, with real understanding of these aspirations.

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk

Dr Stepan Vytvytskyj

On 19th October 1965 Dr. Stepan Vytvytskyj, a prominent Ukrainian politician, died in New York, U.S.A.

Dr. Stepan Vytvytskyj was born on 13th March 1884 in West Ukraine and studied jurisprudence at the universities of Lviv and Vienna. After completing his studies and obtaining a doctor's degree he returned to his native Stanyslaviv, where he became active in cultural and economic organisations. Between 1915 and 1918 he was on the editorial staff of the biggest Ukrainian daily newspaper *Dilo* and the weekly *Svoboda*. When the Ukrainian National Council was set up on 18th October, 1918, Dr. St. Vytvytskyj, who belonged to the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, was elected secretary of the National Council. At the same time he was a member of the political committee which organized the take-over of power by Ukrainians in Lviv and in all Galicia, on 1st November, 1918. As a member of the delegation of the West Ukrainian Republic National Council he was sent to Kyiv to take part in the Labour Congress and participated in the solemn act at which the unification of all the Ukrainian provinces was proclaimed in Kyiv on 22nd January, 1919. In addition he became state secretary for external affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic and finally from 1921-1923 was head of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to Paris and London.

In 1924 Dr. S. Vytvytskyj returned to Galicia, to become active during the years 1924-1939 as barrister and a leading member of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (UNDO) in Drohobych. In 1935 he was elected deputy to the Warsaw parliament (Sejm) by the UNDO. Later he became deputy chairman of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (UNDO) and vice-president of the Ukrainian parliamentary party in Warsaw.

From 1945 on he lived in exile in the West. He took an active part in the organization of the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration (CPUE) in Germany and in the formation of the Ukrainian National Council in Exile (1948). He then became a member of the same National Council (UNRada), representing UNDO. After 1949 he was deputy chairman of the Executive Body of the National Council and head of its Department for External Affairs. In 1951 Dr. Vytvytskyj emigrated to the USA. At the 1954 session of the Ukrainian National Council held in Munich he was elected President of the Ukrainian National Council. At the fifth session in 1961 he was confirmed in his office. Dr. Vytvytskyj died on 19th October, 1965, in the Presbyterian Hospital in New York, aged 82.

UKRAINIAN APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORIANS

The Presidium of the 12th International Congress of Historians,
State Opera House,
VIENNA, Austria.

I should like to combine with my greetings to your Congress and with my wishes for its success an appeal to the Congress to protest in the light of world publicity against the recent destruction of the historical archives and library of the Kyiv Academy of Sciences, against the systematic annihilation of churches and other historic monuments in Ukraine and the theft of objects of archaeological value and of historic documents, against Communist falsification of historical truth and the persecution of scholars researching into the truths of history, and against the extermination of entire civilized nations by the Russian Communists. May it also please the Congress to condemn the equally barbarous acts of the Russian conquerors in other countries.

Yaroslav STETZKO
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

*Contemporary Documentation***GOD IS WITH US**

**The Pastoral Letter sent by Archbishop Joseph (now Cardinal) Slipyj,
from exile in Siberia in 1947**

To all believers of the Church of Christ, who are living under the rule of the red Anti-Christ and outside it.

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost!

Dear brothers and sisters!

We, the Metropolitan and all the bishops — your pastors — we who were arrested, tortured and deported to Siberia for our faith in Christ, in the Church and in our much-tried people, send you from the Siberian snow and from within the prison walls the blessing of God on the occasion of the approaching birthday of Christ.

God is with us also here in distant Siberia and in the prison dungeon. The Lord is with you and will always be with you, dear brothers and sisters. God is in our houses, our villages and hamlets, and He is also with you as you perform your drudgery on the collective farms. He is with you in your dug-out huts and in the underground hideouts, in prison and in exile. He never leaves you, dear brothers and sisters, in the hour of your torment, of your cruel treatment, of your being shot.

God is also with our insurgent soldiers. He is and will be always and everywhere with our entire, much-tried people, in the hour of their greatest sufferings and pains.

He blesses your struggle against the Anti-Christ and will richly reward your tribulations and your wrongs suffered.

Think of Him alone, hold fast to the faith of your fathers, to your native soil, to your Church, to your language and to the Truth of God; have no fear of persecution, work, sacrifices and tribulations, for it is all for our people, and for Christ, our God and Father.

The day will come when the rule of the red Satan — the Anti-Christ — will be destroyed. It will be ruined and all trace of it will disappear, but the Church and Christ's faith will live for ever and with them the fame and memory of the holy martyrs of our nation, who must fight and suffer for it today.

Just as Christ was born, so also will arise again on earth a new, free life. Just as Christ was resurrected, so will our mother Ukraine arise again from the coffin of bondage and our holy Church be re-established.

Blessed be all, who hear this voice, who do not abandon their native land, who do not betray their people, and who support the struggle against the Anti-Christ.

Damned in all eternity be all judases, betrayers!

Whoever copies this letter from his pastor ten times and passes it on to his neighbour, receives an indulgence of 300 days.

The hour will come in which the Truth will rise again from the enslaved earth. The rule of Satan will perish and the Will of God will come to pass. Amen!

Issued on the day of the great Martyr St. Demetrius, in the year of our Lord 1947.

("Shlyakh Peremohy", *Ukrainian Weekly*, 7th January, 1965)

LETTER TO UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON GRANTING INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLE

(Congressional Record, February 3, 1966, A512-513)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

of

Hon. Thaddeus J. DULSKI

of New York

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1966

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a copy of a letter I have received, dated January 24, 1966, and addressed to the United Nations Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. I am sure the contents of this letter will be of great interest to all my colleagues:

TO CONSIDER SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM IN UKRAINE

January 24, 1966.

To the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

Dear Mr. Chairman: Since I have as yet received no answer to my charge against the Soviet Government of May 6, 1963, on the matter of an investigation into Russian colonialism in Ukraine, I beg, apropos of the murder of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian anticolonial liberation movement, who, on the instructions of the Government of the U.S.S.R., was on October 15, 1959, murdered on the soil of a foreign, sovereign state, the Federal Republic of Germany, to renew today in my capacity as head of the last independent Ukrainian government on Ukrainian soil my charge against the Soviet Government and especially against Alexander Shelepin, as organizer of the murder.

On this occasion I also base my case on the investigation made by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary under the leadership of Senator James O. Eastland, Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Senator Everest M. Dirksen and others.

The U.S. Senate committee has investigated the methods of the Government of the U.S.S.R., employed particularly on the captive nations, and has reached the conclusion that murder and kidnaping are instruments of the official Soviet policy. The Government of the U.S.S.R. has used these methods in Ukraine in particular, as well as on freedom leaders living abroad. The U.S. Senate has published the sentence and oral opinion and written elaboration of the verdict of the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany in the case of Bogdan Stashinskiy, from which the highest German court unequivocally verifies the guilt of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and particularly of Alexander Shelepin in the murder of Stepan Bandera with both documents and facts and condemns them. The U.S. Senate has further confirmed the guilt of the Government of the U.S.S.R. with fresh evidence.

I charge the Government of the U.S.S.R. and Alexander Shelepin with —

1. Infringing human rights by murdering the Ukrainian freedom leader, Stepan Bandera, and the anti-Communist political writer, Prof. Lev Rebet;

2. Transferring and carrying on the use of cruel colonial methods in the struggle against the liberation urge of a captive nation on the territory of a foreign sovereign state;

3. Infringing the sovereignty of a foreign state by preparing and executing on its territory the murder of the Ukrainian freedom leader Stepan Bandera and the anti-Communist political writer and scholar Prof. Lev Rebet.

I assert that the Government of the U.S.S.R. has most grossly infringed the United Nations Charter, preamble, chapter 1, article 1 and others and resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization.

I request the Committee on Colonialism to investigate my charge against the Government of the U.S.S.R., to condemn Russian colonialism in Ukraine and other occupied countries, and to denounce this crime against peace and security.

In this context I should like to mention the precedent in international law of the infringement of Argentina's sovereignty by Israel in the case of the criminal Eichmann and the statement made by the Security Council. In the case of the murder of the anticolonial freedom leader and hero, Stepan Bandera, however, and of the infringement of the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany by the Government of the U.S.S.R. the Security Council of U.N.O. has expressed no view and made no mention of the matter whatsoever.

The whole complex of questions to be investigated by the Committee on Colonialism is connected with the threat to peace and security entailed in the infringement of the sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany, and should therefore also come before the Security Council.

I enclose the U.S. Senate's documentation and ask you, as Chairman of the Committee, to bring the charge I have made before the Committee, so that —

(a) After its investigation of the complex of Russian colonialism in Ukraine it passes a resolution and

(b) In connection with the establishment of the threat to peace and security from the U.S.S.R. recommends the Security Council to make further investigations.

In accordance with article 6 the U.S.S.R. should be expelled from U.N.O. and the whole complex should be further laid before the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Since I make my appearance before the committee as spokesman for a nonsovereign people struggling for its freedom and independence, I ask those members of the committee who stand honestly for the ideals of U.N.O. and for indivisible freedom and national independence, and for personal freedom and human dignity for the peoples and individuals of the Russian colonial empire, to take up my charge as their own and to follow it up within the framework of the legal possibilities contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

Yours respectfully,

YAROSLAV STETZKO
Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

Book Review

Arthur E. Adams, *BOLSHEVIKS IN THE UKRAINE. THE SECOND CAMPAIGN 1918-1919*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1963, pp. 440.

There was already a short review on this book in *The Ukrainian Review* by W. Luzhanskyj (Vol. XII, No. 2, Summer 1965, pp. 89-90). However, the present reviewer found this book so important in the not too abundant English literature on Ukraine that he decided to prepare a more elaborate discussion of this book for the readers of this review. It is beyond any doubts that the book by Prof. Adams deserves it.

The book by Prof. Adams is the first book in English dealing with a fragment of the Ukrainian Liberation War (1917-1921) in detail. It is an extremely well written analysis of its critical period (Nov. 1918—June 1919), quite admirable in every respect — argument, construction, utilization of sources, and conclusions. Its author, professor of Russian history at Michigan State University, displays an intimate knowledge of sources and shows a remarkable instinct for their correct evaluation. Writing of a pioneering study on a non-familiar subject is not an easy task, but Prof. Adams overcame all difficulties with honour, showing an admirable historical imagination and not a less scholarly vigour in solving historical "puzzles." It is seldom, if ever, that such a book on a complex subject has been written to any but initiates, but Prof. Adams produced no dry-as-dust treatise on the "puzzling" Ukrainian history; he wrote a book in a style unsurpassed for clarity, attractiveness, and freshness of approach, a book which reads like a fascinating novel. Even the reader having neither a knowledge of Ukrainian history nor the slightest interest in it, will certainly sit up all day and night to finish his book. No reader will wonder, therefore, that the book has received the Borden Award for "painstaking scholarship" and "vivid descriptive style." The present reviewer having some knowledge of the subject treated by Prof. Adams has been inclined to

acknowledge additionally that after a quarter of century's reading of American books on the "puzzling" subject of Ukrainian history, he has at last come across a book that helps the reader to understand the "puzzle" in quite a scholarly way.

In his book Prof. Adams gives a sound, clear, and attractive exposition of the perplexed situation in Ukraine in the critical years 1918-1919 with all its international and national, political and social, military and non-military complications. The author's preoccupation with military events has been an asset of his study, and not its defect as some reviewers observed. In revolutions, political powers are holding ground by the authority of bayonets, and not by the authority of political formulae alone. Accordingly, military developments *must* be studied in all their bearings on political developments. Prof. Adams shows an extraordinary orientation in Ukraine's military situation in 1918-1919, but he has not limited his study to reciting battles and uprisings or to describing exploits of different military commanders and guerrilla leaders contending for political power in Ukraine. Prof. Adams achieved his success by diligently looking into *national and social forces* moving Ukraine at the turning point of her history, and by deriving scholarly conclusions from the realistic evaluation of the situation.

The book by Prof. Adams comprises a multitude of interesting facts hitherto not elaborated by other English writers on the subject. Thus the reader will learn about the coulisces of the Soviet invasion of Ukraine (Nov. 1918) with its interesting conflict between the Soviet C.-in-C., Vatsetis, and the "Ukrainian" C.-in-C., Antonov-Ovseyenko; about the Soviet advance from Kursk to Kharkiv and Kiev; about the Soviet attempts at the Sovietization of Ukraine in the first half of 1919. The rôle of the Ukrainian

left-wing parties in the *debâcle* of the Ukrainian National Army under Simon Petlura as well as the political and military bankruptcy of the Entente intervention in Ukraine have been depicted in all detail as has been the general situation of the victorious Soviet forces, full of internal tensions and international complications. It is no exaggeration to tell that the central figure of Prof. Adams' research is the bold and interesting figure of a Ukrainian guerrilla leader. *Otaman* Matviy Hryhor'yiv (in Professor's spelling: Grigorev) who fought for Petlura, but under the influence of the left-wing Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries ("Borot'bisty") went over to the invasion forces of Antonov-Ovseyenko and gained for the Bolsheviks one of their most impressive victories in the Civil War: the destruction of the "almighty" forces of Entente interventionists in Southern Ukraine. The insurgents of *Otaman* Hryhor'yiv drove the Entente interventionists out of Kherson on March 10, of Mykolayiv on March 12, and, finally, out of Odessa on April 6, 1919, thus bringing the Entente's unsuccessful intervention in Ukraine to an end. However, on May 7, 1919, *Otaman* Hryhor'yiv revolted against the Bolsheviks, heavily contributing to the failure of the "Second Soviet Campaign" in Ukraine. In Summer, 1919, this campaign ended with a total defeat: the Soviet power in Ukraine broke down completely under the strokes of the Ukrainian guerrillas, and the Red Army retreated hastily from Ukraine under the blows of the Ukrainian National Army advancing from the west, and of the Russian Volunteer Army under Gen. Denikin advancing from the east. Masterful and unique analysis of the political, social, and economic reasons for the Soviet breakdown in Ukraine, has been presented in the book by Prof. Adams. It is no less than a revealing critique of the Soviet policies and techniques employed in the Sovietization of the second largest non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe. From this point of view Prof. Adams' book should call for a never ending interest of the intelligent reader everywhere in the world.

Our enthusiasm about Prof. Adams' book does not preclude our disagreement with many opinions expressed in the book. The Ukrainian reader will with difficulty swallow such bitter pills, as, e.g., Professor's unfounded characterization of *Haidamaky* as "murderous peasant brigands" *Mazepa betrayed Russia*" (p. 8). In fact, neither is true: *Haidamaky* revolted against the oppressive Polish rule in the Right-Bank Ukraine and deserve to be called "freedom-fighters" by every Professor over the world, and to speak about Hetman Mazepa's "betrayal" is equal to accepting the Russian imperialist line in historiography without a sound criticism. Mazepa's struggle to win Ukraine's freedom in alliance with King Charles XII of Sweden was no less legitimate than Washington's "betrayal" of King George III to win the freedom for American colonies. The author's contention that some Ukrainian military commanders were like "Chinese robber generals" (pp. 81-82) as well as his ranting against "expatriate Ukrainian, Galician chauvinists" (p. 407) is nothing more than an unfounded discrimination, especially in the view of Professor's praising both generals and "expatriates" (Jurij Lawrynenko, Dmytro Doroshenko, Oleksander Ohloblyn) on other pages of his book. Though the Ukrainian reader of Prof. Adams' book may find many more reasons for his profound dissatisfaction with the book, the present reviewer is not eager to dwell upon some "popular" anti-Ukrainian obsessions, picked up by Prof. Adams for his book. Instead he will limit his observation to one aspect of the "Second Soviet Campaign" in Ukraine, which has considerably been neglected in Prof. Adams' book. By this aspect we mean the resistance offered the invasion armies of Antonov-Ovseyenko by the Ukrainian regular armies which waged on the Ukrainian Liberation War. These were the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA). In Summer 1919, both Ukrainian armies united under one command to fight the Soviet invasion in Ukraine. At that time (July-August 1919) they

comprised more than 150,000 fighters and constituted a considerable factor in the over-all struggle against Bolshevism.

It must be stressed, here, that the Ukrainian Army was a *regular* army because it obeyed the orders of the Ukrainian Government and of the single command which was instituted for this purpose. Supreme Headquarters (*Shtab Holovnoho Otamana*) directed its operations and the War Ministry — its organization. Simon Petliura was the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Army, and Col.-Gen. Mykola Yunakiv — his Chief of Staff. Gen. Yunakiv was Professor of the Imperial War Academy, and a noted historian of wars. Among Army Commanders were Col.-Gen. Michael Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, former Senior Officer of the Imperial Guards, and Major-General Ossetsky — former page at the Court of Tsars. Among Corps Commanders of the Ukrainian Army there were Senior Generals of the Imperial Army: Lt.-Gen. Yeroshevych, Maj.-Gen. Diadusha, Maj.-Gen. Kolodiy, and others. War Ministry was headed by Maj.-Gen. Verner-Petriv and by Maj.-Gen. Sals'kyi, successively. Ukrainian General Staff was headed by Col. Slyvyns'kyi, Col.-Gen. Halkyn, successively, both formerly on the General Staff of the Imperial Army. Among other officers on the Ukrainian General Staff we mention such experts of the former Imperial Army as Col.-Gen. Delvig, Maj.-Gen. Sinkler, etc. Many former senior officers of the Imperial Russian or Austro-Hungarian Army were promoted to the rank of generals in the Ukrainian Army, among them: Bezruchko, Zmiyenko, Zahrods'kyi, Kapustians'kyi, Kurmanovych, Osmolovs'kyi (in the author's version: Osmolov — p. 153), Tarnavs'kyi, Mykytka, Kraus, Udovychenko, Yanchchevs'kyi, Kulzhyns'kyi, Meshkovs'kyi, Vovk, Krat, and many others who were neither "robber generals" nor "reactionary Russian officers", but Ukrainian patriots who entered the Ukrainian army in 1917 and were serving the Ukrainian cause with an unequalled self-sacrifice and devotion up to the very end. It is true that much in the author's negative

characterization of the Ukrainian officer corps was picked up in such Ukrainian sources, as, e.g., Vynnychenko and Khrystiuk (e.g. the characterization of the "regime" of Col. Bolbochan in Left Bank Ukraine — p. 82), but the author forgets that both Vynnychenko and Khrystiuk wrote their books not at the time of their participating in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, but later when they tried to appease the Soviets. Hence the new, specific colouring of their opinions intended to please the latter.

The Ukrainian Liberation War was lost, but it was not the Ukrainian fault alone. The Ukrainian armies were compelled to fight upon two fronts, against the Red Army and the White Army of Gen. Denikin. For some time they were also forced to oppose the Poles in the west, and the Rumanians in the south. In their struggle on all fronts, the "disciplined Galician troops" as well as the "valiant Nationalist (?) regiments" as the author characterizes them (p. 114) were able to achieve some important victories, but these could not be adequately exploited because the needed material resources and armaments were lacking. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian forces fighting the Bolsheviks did not find any understanding on the part of Western "capitalist interventionists", to use the Soviet parlance. The victorious Entente powers saw the Ukrainians locked in a desperate struggle against the "common" foe, but they did nothing to assist them. On the contrary, they had decided to back the adversary of the national liberation movements, the Russian general A. Denikin, and in order to help him in the struggle against the Ukrainians, the Entente powers instituted a terrible blockade of the territory occupied by the Ukrainian Army. Neither arms nor even medical supplies were allowed to pass into "Petliura's territory", and this attitude of the Entente powers was instrumental in the final defeat of the Ukrainian Army after three years of war. Of course, Entente's betting on Gen. Denikin proved a betting on a false horse, and the Red Army emerged victorious on all fronts. Soviet power in Ukraine

was introduced by the authority of bayonets, but the Ukrainian Liberation War has this consequence that the Soviets had to acquiesce in the existence of a "sovereign and independent Ukrainian SSR" which substituted a "Little Russian General Governorship" as Ukraine was organized under the Tsars.

The problem of anti-Jewish pogroms has to be mentioned here, not only because it has a direct connection with the Ukrainian Liberation War, but because it was dealt at length in Prof. Adams' book. Prof. Adams considers anti-Semitism as endemic to Ukraine and, following, Heifetz's work on *pogroms*, makes Ukrainian liberation forces responsible for many *pogroms* which took place in Ukraine in 1919. Our reservation is directed, first, against the list of Ukrainian localities where, according to the author, pogroms were perpetrated by the Ukrainians (p. 235). In this list we find following localities where, according to the author, pogroms were perpetrated in March-April, 1919, and these are: Bila Tserkva, Elisavethrad, Balta, Novomoskovsk, Chernykhiv, Holta, Olviopil', Bohopil', Ananiev, Birzula, Bobryns'ka, Bakhmach, Znamenka, Novoukrainka, Novomyrhorod. Here is the best proof, how an anti-Ukrainian legend is created by the "friends" of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Neither of these localities was in the hands of the Ukrainian Army in March or April, 1919. The question arises: Who perpetrated the pogroms in the mentioned localities and why the Ukrainian account is debited with *pogroms* who were perpetrated either by the Red or by the White Russians?

This reviewer has not been willing to deny the existence of *pogroms* on the territory occupied by the Ukrainian Army, e.g. pogroms in Ovruch, Berdychiv, Proskuriv, etc). However, as Prof. Arnold Margolin, a Jew in the service of the Ukrainian Government testifies, the pogroms took place at the time of the general retreat of the Ukrainian Army, amidst chaos created in these circumstances and with criminal elements emerging everywhere also to organize pogroms often with a provocative aim in favour

of the Bolsheviks. Again the question arises: What would have happened if the Ukrainian Government had received the aid of the Entente powers at the proper time and had been able with this aid to repel the Soviet Russian invasion? Perhaps we do not exaggerate by stating that in such a case there would have been no pogroms in Ukraine in 1919, but also no Second World War twenty years later with its "final solution" of the Jewish problem by Hitler. The Second World War was made possible by Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939 to which Stalin could be a "partner" because he had Ukraine in his hands.

Pogroms in Ukraine happened only in the Springtime of 1919, but later they were suppressed with all force at disposal of the Ukrainian Government under Simon Petliura. The Ukrainian Government repressed the criminal elements, the heritage of the Tsarist Russia, and stopped the *pogroms*. As former cadet of the Ukrainian Army in 1918-1920 I testify with pure conscience the fact that perpetrators of *pogroms* were court-martialled in the Ukrainian Army and, usually, punished by death. On the credit side of the Ukrainian Government there was also a law on the Jewish national autonomy, decreed and fully implemented in Ukraine. It was for the first time in modern history that the Ukrainian Government recognized the Jews as a separate nationality with autonomous rights in all cultural affairs. The Ukrainian Government issued even bank notes with Jewish inscriptions.

These and other reservations are not intended to slight Prof. Adams' pioneering contribution. The value of his pioneering but detailed work has been enormous. The general evaluation of the period by the author has entirely been correct; his analysis of the Soviet policies — penetrating, his proof that the Soviet power had been imposed against the will of the Ukrainian people — valid. Despite some anti-Ukrainian bias, the honest scholar in the person of Prof. Adams extends sympathetic hand and warm understanding to "honest" Ukrainian nationalists, bold Ukrainian partisans, and angry Ukrainian peasants who were involved in the struggle, and

treats them objectively. "The Ukrainian people had heard the siren songs of nationalism", states Prof. Adams (p. 401) and continues: "To the extent that the nationalist parties helped to rouse and educate the nation, *theirs was a lasting victory* (italics mine — L. S.). Its consequences were to be seen in the growing nationalism of Ukrainian thought after 1919, in the changes wrought in the attitudes and

ideas of important members of the KP(b)U, even in such recent phenomena as the nationalist oppositionist movements of the Second World War" (*idem*).

It is impossible to disagree with this final conclusion of Professor Adams.

Lew Shankowsky

Philadelphia, Pa. USA.

Günther Stökl: RUSSIAN HISTORY. Alfred Gröner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1962, pp. 824.

It is unfortunately a sad fact that most Western historians are under the spell of Russian historical writing, whether Soviet or Tsarist. It must be at once stated that Soviet Russian historiography differs from the Tsarist only in so far as it considerably surpasses the latter in the art of representing falsely or, more often, grossly distorting the origin and centuries-long development of the Russian nation.

It is a well-known fact that some 200 years ago what are now Russians were still known in Europe as the Muscovites. This is plainly proved also by old maps and atlases. Russian historians, and, under their suggestion, also many Westerners tend to depict the Kyïv Rus' Empire, i.e. the country ruled by the ancestors of modern Ukrainians, as the historical heritage of present-day Russians. Although obviously an absurd view, it is, unfortunately, dominant. One may be permitted to ask: And when then have the Russians left Ukraine in the course of the centuries? The fact is that the present-day Russians have always remained in their ancestral homes in the region of Moscow and Novgorod, and still live there today, for there has been no mass migration between Ukraine and that region in the course of history. On the other hand, since the Kyïv Rus' period, Ukrainians have *en masse* remained in Ukraine.

Confusion enters into the interpretation of the history of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples by the Russian historians and some Western scholars abroad with regard to the period between the tenth and the sixteenth

centuries. The principle of the 'Deus ex machina' is employed regarding the emergence of the Ukrainian nation apparently in the sixteenth century. It is not explained where the Ukrainians came from and where they must have lived in the six centuries mentioned. It is merely hinted that the Ukrainian nation developed gradually after the Mongol and Tatar invasion and their conquest of Kyïv in 1240.

The author of the book presently reviewed also falls into this error, and fails to see that since the 10th century there have already been in existence three East Slav nations: the Ruthenians or (Old) Ukrainians, the Suzdalians or Muscovites (who assumed the name of Russians after the battle of Poltava in 1709 and inhabited the regions of Moscow and Novgorod), and the White Ruthenians (or, as they are now called, the Byelorussians).

If the author wanted to write the history of Russia, he should have limited himself to what sometimes used to be called Russia "proper", or "Great" Russia, which was known as Muscovy in earlier centuries. He should have mentioned other nations, such as the Ukrainians and the Poles, merely in the course of the wars of conquest of the Russian Muscovite rulers.

In my conversation with the author of this book, on the question of why he had written the book in the way he did he replied that there were no nations in the present sense of the word in existence in the past centuries.

For Prof. Stökl the history of the Ukrainians begins with the emergence

of the Ukrainian Cossack State. Otherwise the author writes for the most part accurately on the political development of the Ukrainian nation and even endeavours to quote the names of Ukrainian localities and historical personalities in accordance with Ukrainian-Latin transcription. This may doubtless be traced back to the influence of the late Professor and historian Hans Koch, whose student Prof. Stökl was. In a conversation with me Prof. Stökl described Prof. Koch as a 'half-Ukrainian.' Hans Koch was indeed not a Ukrainian,

but he had studied very closely the problem of the Ukraine, and had even learnt Ukrainian in order to be able to read original Ukrainian documents without outside help or in translation.

This publication contains 6 maps and 2 family trees, which considerably facilitates the reading of the book.

Without the one deficiency we have mentioned, this book would be a much greater contribution to the history of Eastern Europe. That is falls short of its capacity is much to be regretted.

W. Iwonivsky

Hermann Raschhofer: POLITICAL ASSASSINATION. THE LEGAL BACKGROUND OF THE OBERLÄNDER AND STASHINSKY CASES. MCMLXIV, Published by Fritz Schlichtenmayer, Tübingen, pp. 231.

The present English edition of this book has been considerably enlarged, in comparison with the German original, by the inclusion of the 'Stashynsky Case.' The murder of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders Stepan Bandera and Professor Lev Rebet should be very well known amongst the European public. The two Ukrainians were killed on the orders of the highest government circles in Moscow, in the territory of the sovereign German Federal Republic, which in addition maintains regular diplomatic relations with the USSR, the murder having been carried out in a most treacherous manner by means of a gas-pistol. The Stashynsky case caused the Western counter-espionage services, especially in the USA, to thoroughly reexamine hitherto unexplained, puzzling cases of death or murder, by reason of the judgement in Karlsruhe passed in the Stashynsky case.

The book concerns itself with the legal or rather with the international legal aspect of the case. The two murders were carried out by Stashynsky in the sovereign state of the German Federal Republic, in such a way as to violate clearly international law. German sovereignty was violated by the Moscow government in a gross manner. The present Deputy Premier of the U.S.S.R. Government, Shelepin, gave direct orders for the murder of Bandera. President of the U.S.S.R. Voroshilov signed the document

awarding a high State distinction to the murderer Stashynsky. The author comes to the conclusion that the Soviet Union was guilty of a threefold violation of international law. We quote: (Page 188) a) It has violated internationally recognised Human Rights (the right of every human being to his own life; principles of the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations; Article 3 and article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations).

b) It has committed terroristic acts, which are condemned equally strongly by Soviet legal and state theory and doctrine. In 1937, the Soviet Union, together with others, signed in Geneva (but did not ratify later) a Convention for Preventing and Suppressing Terrorism. In this convention, it is stated: "Organisation or non-prevention by the organs of a state of terroristic acts directed against other states constitute a violation of the fundamental principles of international law. Consistent application of the principle of state sovereignty and of non-interference in the inner affairs of other states obliges all states to oppose with all their power terrorism directed against foreign states..." Examples of terroristic acts that have been prepared from abroad were the assassination of the German Ambassador von Mirbach in 1918 in Moscow and the murders of the Yugoslav King Alexander and the French Foreign Minister, Barthou, in 1934. It will be

necessary to add to this list the names of Rebet and Bandera.

c) According to Soviet doctrine, these murders are also cases of "indirect aggression." The Soviet Union submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations a new draft definition of aggression. In the first paragraph of this draft, the definitions are repeated as they appeared in treaties signed by the Soviet Union in 1933, followed by a proposed new definition of "indirect aggression", which is committed, according to this, by "any state supporting and committing subversive activities against any

other states." Terroristic acts are specifically quoted as being among such acts of subversion.

To support these conclusions, the author quotes numerous original material. The Stashynsky case does not yet appear to be settled in the international arena. Therefore this publication on the acts of terror committed by Moscow in the West, is to be valued as a great contribution to the elucidation of the murders ordered directly by the Russian Communists of their opponents both in Europe and America (especially in the USA).

W. Luzhansky

M. J. Trennery: OTTOBRE IN UCRAINA. Edizioni del Albero, Torino 1965, pp. 207.

This book is a translation of the book of the same name "Octobre en Ukraine", which was also published in 1965 by the Paris Editions Fleuve Noir. Why then such a hurry, concerning the translation? We believe it is because the book is written in a very light and amusing style, and also possibly because of its martial enthusiasm, as well as the incomparable sarcasm and biting irony with which it lashes the so-called great men such as Hitler and Stalin. In the middle of the war-like events and bomb explosions in the East, the few persons concerned make fun of everything. With their grim humour, they are never beaten, and seen to have their own fears and anxieties for the coming events on the front, which they above all want to survive. The tone of the conversation and the ironical remarks on the conflicts of the war recall vividly the well-known Czech work *The Good Soldier Schweik*, although the comparison is not in favour of 'OttoBRE in Ucraina', since some of the dialogue, e.g. in which we are told that Hitler is always awake and is always thinking of the good of the German people, and the following remark, that Hitler never actually sleeps and has never slept in his life, have not attained the same biting sharpness of Hashek's work; even less so is the ironical remark that the ostensibly sexual illness of a comrade smells of Stalin.

We have already remarked above

that the action takes place in the East, since one can scarcely tell from the book that the war events are being carried on in the Ukraine. Indeed, on the contrary, after the capture of Kyiv (the capital of the Ukraine), we learn from the mouth of a soldier that Kyiv is the second town after Moscow and later that this news will acutely embitter the Russians (p. 116). Not a single word about the Ukrainians! Or in another place one learns that a soldier has become infected by a Polish girl in Lviv (which is not true as the red spots on his body are the stings of innumerable flies and bugs in the East).

One searches in vain in this book for places where one can learn something about the Ukraine or the Ukrainians. Even in the conflicts with the partisans, you do not know which partisans are concerned. For there were Soviet partisans, positioned by the Red Russians behind the German troops, and true fighters for the freedom of the Ukraine, who also counted as partisans and who fought the Russian partisans no less fiercely than the German troops.

Although this book could be called the work of a soldier, it contains some very critical remarks on the two parties directing the war, and their leaders, as well as their policies. Naturally it is the biting humour and irony which reveals why this book has been translated into other languages.

V. Zatserkovny

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The
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II

1966



NOTES ABOUT THE EDITORS OF *THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW*

We are happy to announce the expansion of the Editorial Board of *The Ukrainian Review* by the inclusion of three new Members: Professor Lew Shankowsky and Mr. Anatol W. Bedriy from the USA and Mr. Michael Sosnowsky from Canada.

Reference notes about Professor LEW SHANKOWSKY have appeared in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1965), p. 19, and those about Mr. ANATOL W. BEDRIY in Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 16.

MICHAEL SOSNOWSKY is a graduate of the University of Toronto, co-editor of "Our Viewpoint", director of the Studium Research Institute Inc., member of the Canadian Association of Slavists, member of the National Executives of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, past president of the Association of Ukrainian Journalists in Canada, formerly editor-in-chief of "Homin Ukrainy", Ukrainian weekly in Toronto, Ontario. At present Mr. M. Sosnowsky is on the staff of the Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario.

The Chairman of the Editorial Board, Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky, has recently been elected Rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. On this occasion his associates and, we are certain, all the readers of the journal extend to him their sincere congratulations and best wishes.

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Twenty Five Years Ago

The Ukrainians seize power in Lviv on June 30, 1941

In the early morning hours of June 30, 1941, a group of leading OUN men (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) drove into Lviv. With the help of its local organization there, they took over the broadcasting station, and at a rally of the leading Ukrainians of the town, held that same afternoon, the mayor and the town council were appointed and the administration was taken over by the Ukrainians.

Although the revolt of the OUN in Lviv on June 27th had been crushed by NKVD units, and considerable losses had been suffered, the OUN was nevertheless still strong enough to give the leaders who had hastened there on June 30th active and effective support. After Jaroslaw Stetzko had discussed the plan for the proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian state and the formation of a national government in all its details with the Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, at that time the greatest spiritual authority in Ukraine, J. Stetzko, on the evening of June 30th, convened the National Assembly. This Assembly consisted of the leading politicians, economists, scholars, clergymen and other prominent personalities in Ukrainian public life, who had managed to survive Russian terrorism; they were headed by Kost Levytsky, the former Prime Minister of the Government of West Ukraine in 1918, and by Bishop Joseph Slipyj, the envoy of the Metropolitan. On the following day, the Metropolitan in a pastoral message announced the glad news to his people that the independent Ukrainian state had been restored once more, and he exhorted the people of Ukraine to show themselves worthy of their freedom. He recognized the new government and expressed the hope that all citizens, irrespective of their origin, nationality, race and religious faith, would enjoy equal treatment and prosperity. The same attitude was also expressed by the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Bishop Polikarp, who gave the Lviv government his blessing.

The National Assembly unanimously approved the proclamation proposed by the OUN, of the restoration of Ukrainian national independence and appointed Jaroslaw Stetzko head of the government. The misgivings voiced in the address given by Prof. Dr. Hans Koch, the authorized representative of the German Supreme Command and of the German Ministry for East European Affairs, who suddenly appeared towards the end of the meeting, clearly revealed the true intentions of the Nazi government to those present.

The proclamation of the independence of Ukraine was intentionally held in Lviv. It would have been impossible to have waited until Kyiv — the capital of the whole of Ukraine — had been taken by the Germans, since the Nazi government would by that time have taken steps to prevent this. The formation of the government in Lviv was intended to make Ukraine the main subject of events from the very outset. The government in Lviv always acted as the government of the whole of Ukraine and it was likewise regarded as such at that time and also later by the outside world.

It had become the symbol of the Ukrainian state will. The state act of June 30, 1941, was approved by the entire Ukrainian people, a fact which was expressed by a spontaneous plebiscite on the part of the population in all the towns and villages of the territory which had been evacuated by the Russians.

The Ukrainian national government formed on June 30, 1941, was composed of representatives of various political trends in Ukraine, — nationalists, national democrats, socialists, and independents. Although the overwhelming majority of the population supported the OUN, the latter decided to take over only a certain number of Ministries.

In addition, a provisional parliament, the Ukrainian National Council, under the honorary presidency of the Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, was formed, and here, too, the representatives of the OUN were likewise in the minority. Dr. Kost Levytsky (national democrat), who had spent two years in "Lubianka" prison in Moscow, was elected President of the National Council.

On July 3, Yaroslav Stetzko completed the formation of a Provisional Government consisting of the following members:

Yaroslav Stetzko (OUN) — *Head of the Government and Minister of Social Reforms;*

Prof. Dr. Marian Panchyshyn (Independent) — *1st Vice-Premier and Minister of Health;*

Dr. Oleksander Barvinskyj (Independent) — *Secretary of State in the Ministry of Health;*

Dr. Lev Ćebet (OUN) — *2nd Vice-Premier;*

Volodymyr Stakhiv (OUN) — *Minister of Foreign Affairs;*

Dr. Oleksander Maritchak (UNDO — Ukrainian National Democratic Party) — *Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;*

Dr. Volodymyr Lysyj (USRP — Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party) — *Minister of the Interior;*

Mykola Lebed (OUN) — *Minister of Police Administration;*

Dr. Kost Pankivskyj (USRP — Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party) — *Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior;*

General Vsevolod Petriv (UPSR — Ukrainian Social-Revolutionary Party) — *Minister of Defence;*

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Prof. Julian Pavlykovskyj (UNDO — Ukrainian National Democratic Party) — *Minister of Economy;*

Roman Ilnytskyj (OUN) — *Secretary of State in the Ministry of Economy;*

Prof. Evhen Khraplyvyj (UNDO — Ukrainian National Democratic Party) — *Minister of Agriculture and Food;*

Prof. Dr. Volodymyr Radzykevych (Independent) — *Minister of Church Affairs and Education;*

L. Olkhovyy (Independent) — *Minister of Finance;*

A. Piasetskyj (FNYe — National Unity Front) — *Minister of Forestry;*

Ol. Hay-Holovko (Independent) — *Minister of Enlightenment and Propaganda;*

Yaroslav Starukh (OUN) — *Secretary of State in the Ministry of Propaganda;*

Yosyp Pozychaniuk (Independent) — *Secretary of State in the Ministry of Propaganda;*

Ivan Klymiv-Legenda (OUN) — *Minister of Political Co-ordination;*

N. Moroz (Independent) — *Minister of Traffic and Transport;*

Dr. Antin Kostyshyn (Independent) — *Minister of Postal and Telegraphic Services;*

Dr. M. Roslak (USRP — Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party) — *head of the Government Chancellery.*

Remark. At the time Yaroslav Stetzko was First Deputy Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and Chief of Staff of the OUN Leadership, responsible for all activities of the OUN in Ukraine.

Volodymyr BOHDANIUK

SYMON PETLURA

NATIONAL HERO OF UKRAINE

Forty years ago, on 25th May, 1926, in Paris, seven bullets fired from a gun by an assassin killed the Ukrainian national hero, Symon Petlura, President of the Ukrainian National Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army. He died at the hands of the murderer, Schwarzbart, who was sent to commit this crime by the enemy of Ukraine, the bolshevist Russian leadership. The man whose life was cut short so prematurely personified the struggle of the Ukrainian Nation for freedom and independence during the revolutionary period of 1917-1921 and in the first years after the defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution.

Symon Petlura was truly a revolutionary leader who, though not entirely unprepared, was swept into the highest positions of leadership of the Ukrainian national struggle by the force of events and popular enthusiasm. He carried the burden of responsibility for the fate of his nation with courage and determination. He was born into a humble family in Poltava, in Central Ukraine, on 10th May, 1879, as the third son. His father had a small coachman's business, though he originally came from a peasant stock with Cossack traditions. We know very little about the childhood days of Symon, for his family has been widely scattered by the disastrous events that were to follow and are difficult to trace, owing to enemy occupation of Ukraine. As Symon's father had but meagre means of existence, he could not afford to send his son to a grammar school or university. However, young Symon managed to get a place at the priests' seminary in Poltava where children of poorer families and village priest predominated. Though the teaching was carried on in Russian, as was the case in all the schools in Ukraine under the oppressive tsarist Russian regime, the pupils were mostly Ukrainians and the Ukrainian national sentiments were kept alive among them by the more spirited youths. They talked among themselves about the

enslavement of Ukraine by Russia and secretly read Ukrainian books, including Shevchenko's "Kobzar", which were prohibited by the Russian authorities. The tsarist police suspected that "subversive" activities were going on at the seminary and often made searches and arrests of students. As a result of Petlura's activities in spreading Ukrainian national consciousness among the students of the seminary, he was expelled from it in 1901. The direct cause of this draconic order was the fact that Petlura invited the famous Ukrainian composer, M. Lysenko, to the seminary to give his adjudication to the performance of a patriotic Ukrainian cantata of his composition by the students' choir conducted by Petlura. He was banned from enrolment at any other school.

Petlura did not possess sufficient means to go abroad to continue his studies, so he decided to prepare himself for exams as an external student, earning his living meanwhile as a private tutor. He also continued his political activities in the underground Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (RUP) which he joined while still seminary student. In 1901 Petlura attended the All-Ukrainian Students Congress which took place in Poltava and the first conference of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party. Persecuted by the tsarist Russian police, Symon Petlura left Poltava for the Kuban region in the North Caucasus settled by Ukrainians, descendants of the famous Zaporozhian Cossacks. He intended to get there a job as a teacher, but as this was not possible he became research assistant to F. Shcherbyna who was writing a history of the Ukrainian Kuban Cossack Army. In the autumn of 1904 Petlura returned from the Kuban to Kyiv with the intention of escaping abroad from the persecutions of the Russian police which learned about his RUP activities in the Kuban. Late in 1904 Petlura crossed the frontier of the Austro-Hungarian empire and found a job, under an assumed name, in the editorial offices of Ukrainian periodicals published in Lviv, in Western Ukraine. There he met the famous Ukrainian poet and writer Ivan Franko and other prominent Ukrainian intellectuals. On two occasions in 1904 and 1905 he went to Kyiv to attend conferences of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party which was transformed into the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party in 1905. For a while after the 1905 Revolution in the Russian Empire he edited the party organ "Free Ukraine" (Vilna Ukraina) in Petersburg, later became secretary of the newspaper "Rada" (Council) in Kyiv, and also editor of the weekly "Slovo" (The Word).

After renewed repressive measures of the Russian authorities against the Ukrainian national movement Petlura was again compelled to leave his editorial work and in 1908 moved to Petersburg and then to Moscow where he worked as an accountant. In Moscow he married Olha Bilska. There, too, their only daughter, Lesia, was born. As censorship restrictions were not as severe in Moscow as

they were in Ukraine, it was possible to publish a Ukrainian newspaper in Russian, "Ukrainskaya Zhizn" (The Ukrainian Life), there and Petlura became one of its editors.

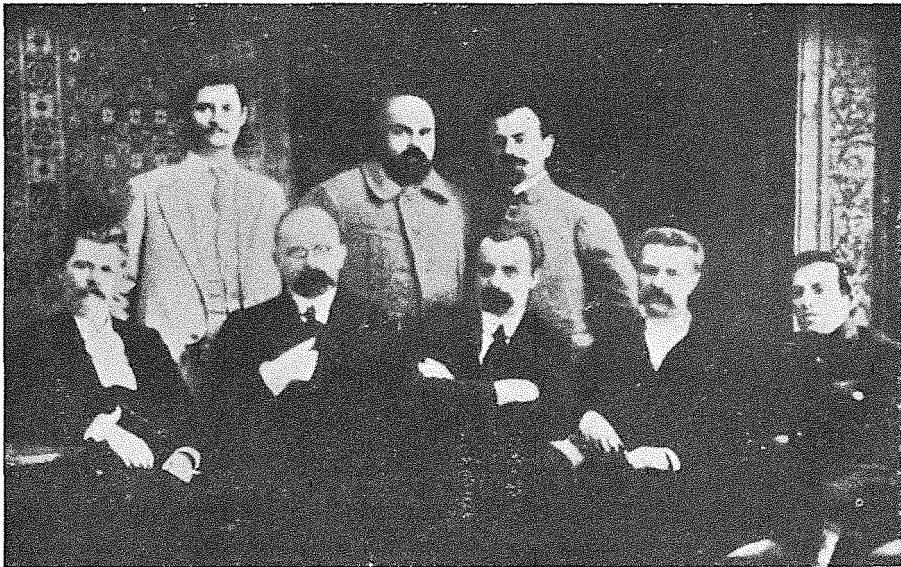
After the outbreak of World War I in 1914 Petlura worked in the "Union of Regional and Municipal Authorities", which was an auxiliary organisation assisting the war effort, until the outbreak of the revolution in February 1917. Along with the activity in his official capacity, Petlura continued his political work among the Ukrainian soldiers and officers at the front, preparing them for the coming struggle for the freedom of Ukraine. He maintained contacts with numerous agents throughout the tsarist Russian army which included as many as three million Ukrainian soldiers stationed at various sectors of the front against Germany and Austria.

As soon as the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) was set up in Kyiv upon the outbreak of the February 1917 Revolution, as the embryo of an autonomous Ukrainian Government, Petlura set about rallying Ukrainian soldiers in the tsarist army. He returned to Kyiv and took part in the First Ukrainian Military Congress which took place on May 22nd, 1917, as representative of the Ukrainian soldiers on the Russian Western front. He was elected to the Presidium of the Congress and his proposals for the preliminary work with regard to the formation of Ukrainian units in the Russian army were accepted. Soon afterwards S. Petlura became the main driving force in the organisation of these units into a Ukrainian national army. The Second Military Congress which he convened against the wishes of the Provisional Government in Petrograd became a mighty demonstration of the strength of the Ukrainian national consciousness in the Army. Altogether 2,308 delegates who arrived in Kyiv represented 1,600,000 Ukrainian soldiers in the Russian army. They voiced their firm support of the Central Rada and of the demand for Ukrainian independence. Military support encouraged the Central Rada to proclaim the First Universal on 23rd June, 1917, declaring itself an autonomous Ukrainian Government. Petlura was appointed War Secretary in the General Secretariat (Cabinet) of the Central Rada.

The Provisional Russian Government in Petrograd placed every obstacle in the path of the developing Ukrainian national movement for autonomy and independence. Against the stubborn opposition of Petrograd the Ukrainian forces were rapidly growing in strength and the State apparatus of Ukraine started functioning, although with great difficulty, as the trained personnel for various jobs was lacking. Meanwhile Symon Petlura supervised the "Ukrainisation" of many army units. However, a conflict arose between him and the leading members of the General Secretariat, because Petlura opposed "leftist" tendencies of the Premier Vynnychenko, and as a result he was forced to leave the War Secretariat. His successor, Porsh,



SYMON PETLURA



THE FIRST GENERAL SECRETARIAT (executive organ) of the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917. Sitting, from the right: S. Petlura, S. Yefremov, V. Vynnychenko, Kh. Baranowsky, I. Steshenko. Standing: B. Martos, M. Stasiuk, P. Khrystiuk.



1917 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE

A demonstration in St. Sophia's Square in Kyiv during the III Military Congress held in October, 1917.

In the centre: S. Petlura and M. Hrushevsky. It demanded that Central Rada make Ukraine independent.

ruined the work of Petlura by issuing orders which undermined the discipline in army units and they began to disintegrate quickly. Symon Petlura left Kyiv for the Kharkiv region where he organised volunteers into purely Ukrainian regiments. When the time of trial came during the first Bolshevik Russian invasion of Ukraine at the beginning of 1918, these units consisting of volunteers and inspired by the fiery eloquence of Petlura formed the backbone of the defence of Ukraine against the murderous Bolshevik hordes. With his small forces Petlura fought a courageous rearguard action against the overwhelming forces sent by Lenin to conquer Ukraine, giving thus time to the Ukrainian Government to organise some new military units and to conclude the Peace Treaty with the Central Powers at Brest. He also led Ukrainian troops to suppress the uprising of the bolshevik fifth column in Kyiv at the beginning of February, 1918, which subversive agitators had stirred up against the Ukrainian government.

After the occupation of Ukraine by the German troops in accordance with the agreement between the Ukrainian Government and the Central Powers in order to save Ukraine from absorption by Communist Russia, Petlura resigned from office and went into private life. Soon, however, he was elected chairman of the Kyiv regional council, where he showed his talents also in organising Ukrainian local government and outlining plans for social reforms.

The Government of Hetman Skoropadsky supported by the Germans was conservative in its social policies and many of its functionaries were monarchist refugees from Russia who naturally regarded Ukrainian independence as a temporary phase prior to the restoration of a "single and indivisible" Russian empire. Most of Ukrainian political parties severely criticised Skoropadsky's Government for its toleration of these Russian elements who had some influence on its policy, and Petlura was one of the most vocal opponents of the pro-German and pro-Russian monarchist leanings of some members of the Government. Following rumours of a plot to overthrow the Government of Skoropadsky, Petlura was arrested. After four months detention he was released at the insistence of several ministers who were staunch Ukrainian patriots.

Meanwhile all the Ukrainian opposition parties formed the alliance under the name of the Ukrainian National Union which initiated an uprising against the Hetman Government as soon as the armistice was concluded on the Western European fronts in November, 1918. Petlura was elected one of the five members of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic which forced the resignation of Hetman Skoropadsky and the establishment of a Government dominated by socialist parties, with pro-Entente orientation. The new government expressed the will of the Ukrainian people to complete independence from Russia and any other foreign power, the desire to establish

democratic rule in Ukraine and to carry out the necessary social reforms. Petlura was the moving spirit of the new Government and under his leadership the Ukrainian army and insurgents took Kyiv and re-established the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1918.

Simultaneously, however, the Russian Bolsheviks decided to utilise the commotion in Ukraine to reconquer that country, above all to gain access to the supplies of grain and other kinds of food. The Bolshevik Russian troops began their second war against the Ukrainian State. A puppet Ukrainian Soviet Government was set up first beyond the borders of Ukraine and then moved into the captured city of Kharkiv. At that time Petlura, as member of the Directory, and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army, devoted all his energies to the formation of a regular army from numerous insurgent units and groups to defend Ukraine against the Bolshevik Russian aggression. Soon his army numbered 66,500 soldiers with another 55,000 in the process of formation. In the Western Ukraine the 100,000 strong Galician Ukrainian Army was holding the front against the invading Polish army. In the summer of 1919 Ukraine was forced to fight on yet another front. The Russian White Army under the command of General Denikin was advancing from the South. The organising ability of Petlura, his faith in the rightness and greatness of the Ukrainian cause, his courage and devotion to duty gained him a wide popularity in the masses of the Ukrainian people and made him into a shining symbol of the independent spirit of the Ukrainian Nation and its struggle for freedom. Even when some members of the Directory became discouraged by innumerable difficulties of war on several fronts against overwhelming enemy forces, in unsettled conditions of revolution, disruption of economic life and spreading internal anarchy, Petlura remained at the helm of the ship of state. On 11th February, 1919, Petlura was elected Head of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic and resigned from the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party to be able to stand above party differences. He placed great hopes in the assistance of the Entente (Britain and France) to the struggle of Ukraine against Russian Bolshevism which also menaced Europe. However, he was disappointed in his expectations. The efforts of Ukrainian diplomacy organised on a wide scale by Petlura, unfortunately, did not bring the required result. Neither Britain nor France were well informed about the true situation in Eastern Europe and were indifferent to the aspirations of the Ukrainian people. They underestimated the danger of Bolshevik Russian imperialism and overestimated the strength of the Russian White Army which they preferred to support. Hostile anti-Ukrainian propaganda of the Russian Whites and of the aggressive Polish State in the West caused the victorious Entente powers to regard the Ukrainian National Republic and Petlura with suspicion. A blockade of Ukraine was instituted by the Entente, so that Ukraine was

deprived from all assistance in arms, military supplies, money and even medicines. The spreading typhus epidemic could not be checked. Thousands of heroic Ukrainian soldiers died not from enemy bullets but from disease, as medicines were unobtainable. In these terrible conditions the Ukrainian army not only continued to fight, but even won some victories, such as the capture of Kyiv on 31st August, 1919, albeit only for a very short time. Petlura continued to lead his army into battle and encourage the troops.

Among the great services which the struggle of the Ukrainian Army under the leadership of Symon Petlura had done to the free world was the fact that it prevented the spreading of Bolshevism to the Central and Western Europe. It prevented the linking of the Russian Red Army with the hotbed of Communism in Hungary. Had it happened, Central Europe would have certainly fallen under the Russian communist rule a quarter of a century earlier than it did.

By November, 1919, the Ukrainian Army was defeated by the Red Russian Army, but Petlura did not give up the struggle. The bulk of the Army continued the struggle in the Winter Campaign of 1919/20, while Petlura carried on negotiations with the Poles. On 21st April, 1920, a military alliance was concluded between Poland and Ukraine and the joint forces advanced into Ukraine, capturing Kyiv on 8th May, 1920. This success was soon followed, however, by a reverse, and the Polish and Ukrainian armies fell back to Lviv and Warsaw. And although a renewed offensive was successful, the Polish leader, Pilsudski, started negotiations with Moscow and in the Treaty of Riga Ukraine was betrayed by her Polish ally — her territory was divided between Soviet Russia and Poland.

Even in defeat and in exile in Poland Petlura did not give up the struggle for the independence of Ukraine. In 1921 he organised a partisan raid into Ukraine under the command of General Yurko Tyutyunnyk. Although it inevitably ended in failure, it left behind the glorious legend of 300 Ukrainian heroes who, captured by the Bolsheviks, sang the Ukrainian national anthem before being shot at the little town of Bazar near Zhytomyr. Petlura maintained contact with numerous insurgent leaders in Ukraine.

Petlura stood at the head of the Ukrainian Government in exile as the President of the Ukrainian National Republic, symbolising the unbroken spirit of the Ukrainian people and its national aspirations. He left Poland and settled in Paris from where he hoped to lead the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for freedom in new forms. There he founded the publication of the Ukrainian periodical *Tryzub* (Trident), read many books on political and economic subjects, as well as on art and literature, carried on a wide correspondence and saw many visitors who came to him for advice. He lived with his wife and daughter in very modest circumstances. On 25th May, 1926, he was assassinated in Paris by the Bolshevik Russian agent,

Schwarzbart. In order to justify himself the latter gave as the reason for his criminal deed the allegation that Petlura was responsible for Jewish pogroms in Ukraine which occurred in several towns in the spring of 1919 when Ukraine was hard pressed from all sides by invading enemy forces and internal subversion organised by the Russian Communists. The documents and witnesses at the trial testified unequivocally that neither Petlura personally, nor the Ukrainian Government, nor the Ukrainian people as a whole could be blamed for those unfortunate incidents. On several occasions strict orders were issued by the Ukrainian Government and Petlura himself condemning pogroms and announcing severe punishments for all found guilty of instigating or participating in them. The war circumstances, however, made it impossible for the Ukrainian Government to exercise full control over the situation in Ukraine as there existed some irresponsible anarchistic bands in a few places. Far from being an anti-Semite Petlura was sympathetically inclined towards the Jewish minority of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Government alone among all other Governments guaranteed full cultural autonomy to the Jewish minority in Ukraine and appointed a Jewish Under-Secretary of State for Jewish Affairs. The accusations levelled against Petlura in this respect are completely baseless, and their perpetuation by some Ukrainophobes is designed merely to denigrate the just cause of Ukrainian freedom and independence. Like American Presidents, Lincoln and Kennedy, Petlura was killed for absolutely wrong reasons.

The name of Symon Petlura is popular in Ukraine even today, 40 years after his tragic death, because like the names of Mazepa, Konovalets, Bandera, Chuprynka and other Ukrainian leaders it symbolises the uncompromising fight of the Ukrainian nation for its rights, its liberty, its equality in the fraternity of nations. His activities have imprinted a deep and lasting mark on a whole period of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian Nation. His memory lives on in the hearts of the Ukrainian people!

Lew SHANKOWSKY

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Ukraine at the Crossroads

"There never has been and never will be a Ukrainian language or nationality", a Russian Minister of the Interior (Count Valuyev) declared in 1863. Yet almost a hundred years later, 30,072,000 people in the Ukrainian SSR contested Count Valuyev's assertion in the Soviet census of 1959 by determining both their language and nationality as Ukrainian. They constituted 72 per cent of the entire population of the Ukrainian SSR.

It must be added that out of 41,869,000 people listed by the 1959 census in the Ukrainian SSR, 32,158,000 or 76.8 per cent were Ukrainians according to their declared nationality. Out of the entire population of the Ukrainian SSR, 19,147,000 or 46.4 per cent lived in the cities. Among these, 11,782,000 were Ukrainians, who constituted 61.5 per cent of the entire urban population of the Ukrainian SSR.

The urbanization of Ukraine is a very recent process, and one of its results is that Ukrainians now constitute a majority in the cities.

By his assertion of 1863, Count Valuyev implied that the Ukrainians did not exist. He counted them among the Russians, and considered the Ukrainian language as a "Russian" dialect. Despite ample evidence as to the contrary, it may be surprising to see that many in the West still subscribe to Count Valuyev's theory. To quote, e.g., a prominent authority on Slavic languages and literatures, the late Professor Samuel Hazzard Cross of Harvard: "A Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin."

From this can be seen that the Russian imperialists have succeeded in imposing upon the Western world their own conception of "Russia" which is treating the Soviet Union as one whole (and holy) "Russia" and its population as the "Russian people." Even today such a misleading terminology is used not only by the press, but also in the encyclopaedias, textbooks, scholarly works.

If one encounters such unscientific terminology, one cannot help to state that centuries ago the cultural world was better informed about Ukraine than in the present era of telegraph, radio and television. Ukraine was a very popular name in Western Europe in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as it can be seen from the works of Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, Jean Benoît Scherer, Johann Christian Engel, Charles Louis Lesur, Voltaire, Prosper Mérimée and many others. Maps published in many countries at that time bore always designation "Ukraine" and one of the oldest maps bearing that designation, was the map of Ukraine dated 1572 and made by order of Charles IX for his brother Henry of Anjou. This map has been kept in the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry.

Unfortunately, also for Europe, Ukraine was not able to consolidate as a modern nation. Incessant struggle against the invaders retarded the process of consolidation for centuries. From early days Ukraine was at the crossroads of the world. She was situated on the natural highways between the east and west and from the north to south, and was accessible from all sides. Invasions of different races were a common experience of the people of Ukraine. The Goths had established an empire where the ancient Scythians and Sarmatians had once been, and the overthrowing of the Gothic rule in Ukraine was the beginning of Attila's European conquests. A torrent of Oriental races rushed in upon the track of the Huns: the Avars, the Pechenegs, the Polovtsians (Cumans) and, finally, the Tatars, all coming along the same route and all fundamentally changing the course of history. Perhaps there would certainly be a different history to write of Ukraine, had she not been situated at the gates of Asia and had she not acted as a shield of Europe against all the invaders from the East.

Indeed, Ukraine acted like a shield. We may even say that this role was sometimes recognized and appreciated in the West at an earlier date. So, e.g., more than 700 years ago the Ukrainian Prince of Halych, Danylo (Daniel), was crowned by a Papal legate king of Galicia and Volhynia (Lodomeria) (1253) in recognition of his stand against the menacing Tatars. Sixty seven years later, this kingdom was named *antemurale Christianitatis* according to the accolade given by the Pope John XXII to the Galician Princes Lev and Andrew who perished in a battle against the Tatars (1320). Again we may say that behind the protective wall of Ukrainian resistance against the Tatars the European nations were able to develop and consolidate as modern nations. Not so Ukraine; for her the position of a borderland of Western civilization was of no advantage, it was the source of disasters.

In the struggle against the hordes of the steppes, in the struggle against the imperialisms of both the Muscovite Tsars and the Polish

nobility, the Ukrainian people did not succeed in maintaining their national state organization without interruption throughout their history. The state of Kievan Rus' fell under the blows of the Tatars; the Cossack Republic did not hold out in the struggle against Tsarist Russia and patrician Poland. After the fall of Poland, the Ukrainian lands were divided between the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian empires. The Ukrainian National Republic fell in the struggle against the Red and White Russians and the reborn imperialistic Poland. Within the boundaries of foreign states the Ukrainians suffered savage persecution, exploitation and tyrannical abuse. While other nations were making great advances in every field, the Ukrainians were continuously falling behind; they were losing more and more of their rights and the abuse of their language, culture, and religion by the enslavers was becoming more and more impudent. Economic exploitation of the Ukrainian people by their enslavers only completed the general picture.

In such a situation it was not difficult for the Ukrainians to realize that the sole cause of their troubles was to be found in the lack of national independence, the absence of their own independent state. A concrete and earnest expression of this consciousness was the creation of the Ukrainian National Republic on the ruins of Tsarist Russia and Austro-Hungary in 1918 and, later, the armed struggle of the state by the Ukrainian Army in 1918-1920. And a concrete and powerful manifestation of this consciousness was the underground revolutionary struggle for their own state conducted by the Ukrainian people between the two world wars, during the second World War, and after it. There are many indications that this revolutionary struggle, though in different forms, is being carried on by the Ukrainians even today. The leaders of the Soviet Union have always been aware of its existence and importance, and have repeatedly singled it out as a "major danger" to the Red Muscovite empire.

The Ukrainian liberation struggle was born out of the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people for their independent state. It was the result of painful historical experience of the Ukrainians. In the light of this experience, the conception of independent Ukraine appears the most logical, real, living, and the only valid and possible political conception for the Ukrainian people. In this sense, the conception of independent Ukraine gains the status of **the supreme truth** for the Ukrainians. However, the Ukrainian liberation struggle emanating from this conception, is not a thing apart from the present day developments. It is a progressive force which entirely corresponds to the movements which rouse humanity at the present time. For millions the world over the liberation struggle has become something that involves the very fabric of life, that involves the security and happiness of the peoples, that goes into their daily psychological, political, social, and economic relationships: **FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE** — an inborn, unalienable right of men.

"And Ukraine was lost, — but this only seemed so."

The prophetic character of these words, uttered in 1846 by the well-known historian and the chief ideologist of SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood (the first Ukrainian organization which had a definite political programme), N. I. Kostomarov, became evident when the 1917 Revolution started in Petrograd by a Ukrainian Regiment, swept the autocratic Russian empire and resulted in its abrupt dismemberment into various independent national states. Among those who immediately asserted their legitimate rights to freedom, were also the Ukrainians.

This acted like a shock on Russian imperialists of all brands. When, on April 1, 1917, more than 100,000 Ukrainians and among them many men in the military uniform paraded in the streets of Kiev in a mass demonstration, and demanded proclamation of a complete independence for Ukraine, Russian newspapers in Kiev could hardly find words to conceal their utter surprise and dismay. At the same time, the initiative for creating separate Ukrainian military units came from Hetman Polubotok Military Club in Kiev, founded and headed by Mykola Mikhnovsky, father of modern Ukrainian nationalism. On April 1, 1917, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky Regiment, the first Ukrainian regiment was organized in Kiev, and its organization was subsequently authorized by the Russian HQ under Gen. Brusilov.

This was the beginning of the Ukrainian mass movement within the former Imperial Russian Army. Everywhere, on the front and in the rear, Ukrainian military councils sprang up and started organization of the Ukrainian military units. Already on May 18-21, 1917, 700 delegates representing nearly one million Ukrainian soldiers and sailors, gathered at the First Ukrainian Military Congress in Kiev, and violently attacked the Russian Provisional Government in Petrograd for ignoring demands for territorial autonomy of Ukraine. A still more uncompromising attitude could be observed at the Second Ukrainian Military Congress (June 18-23, 1917) which met against Kerensky's orders, and where 2,414 delegates representing 1,732,000 Ukrainian soldiers and sailors, adopted a resolution calling upon the Central *Rada* (Ukrainian Provisional Parliament) to cease negotiating with the Russian Provisional Government and to turn, instead, to the organization of an autonomous Ukraine in agreement with the national minorities. Richard Pipes, the American student of the disintegration of the Russian empire in 1917, states in his book (*The Formation of the Soviet Union*) that "the general tone of these sessions was so extremely nationalist that Vynnychenko (Ukrainian writer and dramaturgist, one of the leaders of the Central *Rada*) felt forced to plead with the delegates to remain loyal to the Russian democracy."

It is true: Ukrainian soldiers hardened by three years of war were much more firm in their "nationalist" demands than the civilian

members of the Central *Rada*. The latter tried at all costs to cooperate with the Russian Provisional Government and supported its war effort on the Austro-German front to the very end. Being Socialists they firmly believed in the unity of the "revolutionary forces" and were not willing to "betray the Revolution" by following a separate Ukrainian action. It is no wonder that this attitude of the Central *Rada* was widely criticized by Ukrainian nationalists as an "appeasement policy" toward the Russian Provisional Government, and it was argued that at that time with the Central *Rada* supreme in Ukraine, with the Russian Provisional Government collapsing and with the Russian army disintegrating, it would be better for the Ukrainians to proclaim their independence and to conclude immediate peace, relying upon the existing Ukrainian troops. It was doubted whether the Russian Provisional Government could effectively have prevented such a development.

At any rate, an attempt to carry on such a policy was made in Kiev in July, 1917, by the Hetman Polubotok Infantry Regiment. In the night of July 18, 1917, the Regiment left its barracks, captured the Pechersk fortress and the Arsenal, and brought all Kiev into its hands by disarming the Russian units and militia. On the morning of July 18, 1917, Kiev was completely in the hands of 5,000 armed Ukrainian soldiers, who occupied all important military objectives, bridges, official buildings, banks, etc. The Russian authorities completely lost their heads, and the local military commander, Col. K. Oberuchev, fled the city. However, the Central *Rada* disavowed the coup and let the other Ukrainian regiment of the Kiev garrison, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky Regiment disarm the *Polubotkivtsi*. The "order" could be reestablished by the efforts of the Central *Rada*.

The "Ukrainization of the bayonet" in 1917 was proceeding at the rapid speed on the front and in the rear. Finally it embraced fully 3 army corps (XXXIV, VI, XXI) and elements of 4 other army corps. There was a total of 17 infantry and 4 cavalry divisions with corresponding 17 reserve infantry regiments and 4 reserve cavalry regiments in the rear, which were totally Ukrainized towards the end of 1917. It must be said that Russian commanders on the front supported the "Ukrainization of the bayonet" against the opinion of ruling "Russian democracy" because they realized the capacity of Ukrainian national units to withstand the demoralizing effects of Bolshevik propaganda. In fact, the Ukrainian units on the front preserved their morale and discipline to the end in spite of violent Bolshevik propaganda, and they were the only ones which held the front long after the others, including the disciplined Cossacks, had left the trenches and gone home. The Ukrainian units abandoned their positions only on the orders and mostly tried to return home as a military body. So, e.g., the IIIrd Ukrainian army corps (formerly XXIst) returned home to the Chernihiv area in February 1918, i.e. at

the time when the German army was already occupying Ukraine. With the exception of the 1st Ukrainian army corps (formerly XXXIVth) which prevented the Bolsheviks to seize Kiev already in 1917, the participation of the Ukrainized units of former Russian army in the first Ukraine's war against the Soviet Russia (1917-1918) was insignificant; they all served at distant fronts while their own country was in danger.

The Ukrainian units preserved order and discipline at the time when the dissolution of Russian units was marked by violent outbursts and killings of officers, when thousands of deserters were swarming the cities in the rear and bands of AWOLs made the whole countryside insecure by their excesses. On the eve of the October Revolution, according to the data of the elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly (Nov. 12-14, 1917) the Ukrainians in the Army and the Navy who voted for the Ukrainian parties supporting the Central Rada, were the third largest group in the Old Army. They numbered 535,843 voters in the Army and the Navy while 1,646,194 voted for the Bolsheviks, and 1,551,013 for the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Other votes were insignificant.

The formation of the regular Ukrainian Army, which carried on regular warfare against the Red and White Russians and the Poles in 1918-1920, would hardly have been possible if in 1917 the process of disintegration of the Old Russian Army had not eliminated Ukrainian army corps and divisions and the Ukrainian military leadership. Many higher officers of Ukrainian descent found through Ukrainized units of the Old Army their way to the Ukrainian Army and nationality, and to the participation in the Ukrainian liberation struggle. Also numerous senior officers of Russian and other descent fled to the Ukrainian units for refuge from the Red terror raging in the Russian units, and many of those non-Ukrainians served with the Ukrainian army to the very end. In this way a force was formed which was able to oppose the invasion of Ukraine from all sides for two years. It was a regular Ukrainian Army which obeyed the orders of the Ukrainian Government through regular channels: The Staff of the Supreme Commander (HQ) with Simon Petlura as the Commander-in-Chief and the War Ministry.

Ukrainian Liberation War (1917-1920)

Said Lenin in 1917: "If Finland, Poland, or Ukraine secede from Russia, there is nothing bad in this. What harm is there? Whoever says there is one, is a chauvinist. One would need to be crazy to continue Tsar Nicholas' policy."

Under his leadership, the Russian Communist Party was that crazy. At the time of the disintegration of the Russian empire, the Russian Communist Party continued the policy of Tsardom. Dialectic of

Lenin's pronouncements like above, only helped him to disguise the true intentions of his policy toward the non-Russian nationalities, and to give the Soviet aggression against Ukraine and other non-Russian countries some spurious semblance of moral and ideological justification.

In the case of Ukraine, Lenin proclaimed the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination and recognized the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, proclaimed by the Central *Rada* on Nov. 20, 1917, but at the same time (Dec. 17, 1917) he presented the Central *Rada* with an ultimatum demanding nothing less than surrender of Ukraine to Soviet power. Along with the recognition of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Soviet Government announced that unless its demands of this ultimatum were accepted within forty-eight hours, the Soviet Government would consider the Central *Rada* "in a state of open war against the Soviet regime in Russia and in Ukraine (all italics added — L.S.)."

There was not a basis for a *Soviet regime in Ukraine*. Elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly presented a clear and decisive evidence as to the will of the majority of the Ukrainian people. The Bolsheviks obtained in Ukraine only 10 per cent of all the votes, while the Ukrainian parties supporting the Central *Rada* obtained 53 per cent of all the votes apart from another 13.9 per cent of the votes which they obtained in joint lists with the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries. This meant 66.9 per cent of the Ukrainian vote cast for the Central *Rada*, but if we add the vote of non-Ukrainian parties which were not opposed to the policy of the Central *Rada* and participated in its Government, we can say that the Central *Rada* obtained 72 per cent of the vote, cast in Ukraine in the elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly. At the same time, in Central Regions of Russia the Bolsheviks received about 40 per cent of the vote which means that the most of the Bolshevik vote came from Central Russia and from the Army.

The war between Soviet Russia and Ukraine was a logical conclusion of the Soviet ultimatum to the Central *Rada*. With intervals in 1918 when the German and Austro-Hungarian armies stayed in Ukraine, this war lasted to 1920 and ended with the defeat of the Ukrainian National Republic and its Army. In November 1920, the Ukrainian Government and the Army withdrew from Ukraine into exile, and the Soviet invaders were able to take Ukraine over. But their control of Ukraine was not complete as Lenin himself admitted in October 1920: Ukraine was Soviet only in form, while in fact the Ukrainian insurgents were the real masters of the countryside. During the whole of 1921, 1922, 1923, and even 1924, the Ukrainian countryside waged an armed struggle against the Soviet invaders. The Ukrainian risings did not stop, although their number and scope diminished from year to year. According to Soviet data, in 1921, the

Soviets liquidated in Ukraine 19 "bands" with a total of 1,450 "bandits" killed, and in 1922 accepted voluntary surrender of 10,000 "bandits" including 200 *otamany* (guerrilla leaders). Finally, the Soviet amnesty to all insurgents, growing stabilization of the Soviet regime because of the peace, and last but not least: the New Economic Policy (NEP) of the Soviet Government were able to remove the ground from under the Ukrainian insurgency.

Thus, with the liquidation of the Ukrainian insurgency, the Ukrainian Liberation War was over. The liberation struggle was over, but it was not entirely lost. On the one hand, it forced the Soviet occupants to acquiesce in the existence of what they claim to be a "sovereign and independent" Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. If there were no Ukrainian struggle for independence, it may be doubted whether the Russian Communists would have recognized even the formal existence of the Ukrainian SSR and not dismembered it in various Red Russian "general-governorships" as they tried to do in 1918. At that time they were anxious to separate the Ukrainian industrial region or the Ukrainian Black Sea district from the rest of Ukraine and to establish there separate "Soviet Republics."

On the other hand, the Ukrainian liberation struggle as waged by the Ukrainian regular Army in 1917-1920 or by the Ukrainian insurgents all the time up to 1924 or even later, helped the Ukrainians to consolidate and to emerge as a modern nation. The Ukrainian liberation struggle helped to rouse and to educate the nation and the consequences of this were visible in the unparalleled resurgence of the Ukrainian science, literature, and arts in the twenties, in the growing nationalism of the Ukrainian thought after the liberation war which influenced even the Ukrainian Communists (Skrypnyk, Khvylovyyi, and others), and in such recent phenomena as the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle by the Ukrainian nationalists during and after the World War II. From the point of view of these consequences one can say that the Ukrainian Liberation War (1917-1920-1924) ended with a *lasting victory*. This is also the opinion of the American students of the war, as, e.g., Prof. Arthur E. Adams of Michigan State University.

In connection with the establishment of the Ukrainian S.S.R. it is necessary to say that no idea could be more erroneous than the idea propagated by the Soviet historians and followed by some Western historians, as, e.g., E. H. Carr, that the Ukrainian S.S.R. was established by the Ukrainians themselves, and that the triumph of Russian Communists in Ukraine as well as the destruction of the "bourgeois" Ukrainian National Republic was carried out by the Ukrainian workers and peasants to the "enthusiasm" of the entire Ukrainian population. Contrary to E. H. Carr, the mentioned Prof. Adams showed convincingly on many pages of his book (*The Bolsheviks in the Ukraine. The Second Soviet Campaign 1918-1919*)

that the establishment of the Soviet regime in Ukraine was not a consequence of the internal political and social situation, but a result of external intervention and the military victory of the Red Army. Three basic elements were combined in the conquest: the employment of overwhelming, better armed and equipped military forces, both regular and partisan, the incitement of class warfare and internal subversion, and skilful use of propaganda which introduced an element of disintegration into the Ukrainian forces (e.g. revolt of the Ukrainian leftist elements, the so-called "borot'bisty" and "neza-lezhnyky") which weakened the power of Ukrainian resistance. The combination of these basic elements served the Soviets later for the Sovietization of many a country in Europe and Asia.

However, the most important cause of the Ukrainian defeat, was the total misconception of the Ukrainian liberation struggle in the West, and lack of its assistance to Ukrainian forces which waged their uneven struggle against the Soviet invaders. It was this factor which largely contributed to the downfall of the democratic Ukrainian National Republic and to the rise of the totalitarian Soviet power in Ukraine and elsewhere. The Ukrainian Liberation War showed that the Western democratic powers were not interested in the national liberation movements opposing Russian Bolshevism. So, e.g., the Entente powers saw the Ukrainians locked in a desperate struggle against the Soviet Russian aggression, but they did nothing to help them. On the contrary, they had decided to back the adversary of the national liberation movements, the White Russian Volunteer Army of Gen. Denikin and in order to help it in the struggle against the Ukrainians, they instituted a terrible blockade against the territory, occupied by the Ukrainian Army. This was a fatal measure: not only arms and munitions, but also medical supplies were not allowed to pass, e.g., from Poland or Rumania, into "Petlura's territory." It is obvious that this measure caused indescribable suffering also for the Ukrainian civilian population including women and children. There were no medicines and vaccines which could stop the epidemics ravaging the country as the blockade prevented their importation into Ukraine, and hundreds of thousands died because of the blockade imposed by the Entente. In this "square of death", with typhus raging inside, and with the enemy armies advancing from all sides, the Ukrainian Army lost more than 50,000 officers and soldiers who died because of the uncontrolled typhus epidemic. This was nearly a half of its effectives at that time and, therefore, many Ukrainians have suspected the sudden outbreak of typhus epidemic in "Petlura's territory" as being the first case of bacteriological warfare in the history of mankind.

The lack of assistance for Ukrainian armed forces in their struggle against Russian Bolshevism, moreover, the terrible blockade of the Ukrainian territory by the Entente powers, were instrumental in the

final victory of the Red Army. Entente's betting on Gen. Denikin proved entirely false; myopic policies of this Entente horse succeeded only in alienating all who could make common cause with him in fighting Bolshevism, not excluding even the Cossacks who constituted the bulk of his Army. Bolshevism emerged victorious on all fronts, and its adversaries were defeated. However, the Ukrainian Army which was compelled to fight upon two fronts (against the Red Army and the Russian Volunteer Army of Gen. Denikin) and for some time was also forced to oppose the Poles in the west, and the Rumanians in the south, was able to achieve some important victories (as, e.g., the seizure of Kiev in August, 1919) or carry out remarkable military operations (as, e.g., the Winter Campaign 1919-1920). Comprising, in Summer of 1919, some 150,000 fighters, the Ukrainian Army constituted a considerable factor in the over-all struggle against Russian Bolshevism, and if it lost the Ukrainian Liberation War, it was not its fault alone. The Ukrainian Army served the Ukrainian cause with an unequalled self-sacrifice and devotion up to the very end, and it was other forces which have the indisputable merit for the salvation of the Russian colonial empire. The Red Army has it, too.

The Rise of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

The abortive alliance between Hitler and Stalin could not endure. On June 22, 1941, Hitler ordered his powerful *Wehrmacht* to invade the Soviet Union. The stroke against Soviet Russia before the war with the British Commonwealth has ended, was one of Hitler's greatest gambles, but it failed only by a hair's breadth. It failed not because of the strategic blunders of the *Wehrmacht*, but because of diabolic savagery and endless stupidity of the Nazi *Goldfasanen* who had lost their war in the East long before the German generals lost it on the battle-field.

There is a persistent tendency by the German authors to ignore the *political* side of the ill-fated campaign in the East. However, every *Landser* who made it in Ukraine, remembers well that while he swept forward in the initial surge, he was greeted everywhere with traditional Ukrainian symbols of welcome: bread and salt. In the cities and towns he was showered with flowers and hailed as liberator. Even within the Soviet Army in those early Summer days, desertions on a mass scale were common. So, e.g., the 5th Soviet Army of Gen. Potapov which should have opposed the advance of the 6th German Army as well as the *Panzergruppe* of Gen. Kleist in Volhynia, simply disintegrated in a few days. Officers and soldiers of this army, mostly Ukrainians, surrendered or "disappeared" in the Ukrainian villages giving their arms to the Ukrainian underground fighters. Nor was the situation better with the 6th Soviet Army of Gen. Vlasov and the 26th army of Gen. Kostenko in Galicia. These armies fell back

almost without a pretence of opposition, mercilessly harrassed by the Ukrainian freedom fighters. In Galicia alone some 30,000 Red Army men surrendered to the latter.

Thus, on both sides of the Eastern front, in the initial days of the campaign, the spirit of revolt was strong, and nationalist feelings against the Red Muscovite domination prevailed everywhere: in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, among the Caucasians and the Turkestanians. It was an ideal time for spawning a powerful national-liberation movement against Moscow, which could have knocked Russia out of the war. This statement is no exaggeration: 3,600,000 officers and soldiers of the Red Army surrendered to the Germans during the first seven and a half months of campaign according to the data presented at the Nuremberg trial. They surrendered not because of the superiority of the German Army, nor because they were cowards on the battlefield, but because they refused to fight for hated Stalin's tyranny. They were mostly non-Russians and they offered their services to fight against their enslavers for the liberation of their countries. It was a large plebiscite within the Red Army, and its outcome turned against Stalin and Moscow. Again it is no exaggeration: one cannot forget the fact that after all the bitter experience with the Nazi Germany, there were still at the time of the Anglo-American invasion some 800,000 former Soviet prisoners of war who served with the German Army, and 100,000 who served in the Navy and Luftwaffe. It is true that Hitler knew almost nothing about this development: on March 23, 1945 he exclaimed at a conference in his headquarters: "We just don't know what is floating around. I have just heard for the first time, to my amazement, that a Ukrainian SS Division has suddenly appeared. I don't know a thing about this." He was always decidedly against putting Ukrainians or Cossacks into German uniform.

Thus, the incredible stupidity of Hitler and his clique contributed to the ultimate failure of the Eastern campaign. The Nazis rejected the offered hand in the beginning of the campaign and continued to reject it nearly up to the very end. They rejected all constructive policy in the East, and dreaming of the total destruction of "inferior" peoples and of transforming the conquered territories into the "Lebensraum" of the German "master-race", they entered upon a policy which hardly could have been more detrimental and catastrophic for the outcome of the war. Not strategic blundering of the *Wehrmacht*, but the Nazi policy in the conquered territories condemned the Nazi leaders to the punishment of the most drastic failure in history.

The Nazi treatment of the Soviet prisoners of war who surrendered to them voluntarily, was a mockery of all customs of civilized nations. Many captured Soviet soldiers, among them the Turkestanians who were the most astute opponents of the Soviet regime, were shot on

the spot, because the Nazi captors thought of them as being "inferior" Mongols. Many others were intentionally starved to death, or died of cold, typhus, and complete lack of medical attention. During the fall and winter of 1941-1942, some 40 per cent of Soviet prisoners of war died of typhus, starvation, and cold. Naturally, the news of the fate of Soviet war prisoners reached the lines of the Red Army and quickly spread among the Red army men and the populace. Resistance by the Red Army stiffened and mass surrendering stopped in 1942 and 1943. Instead, anti-German partisans appeared in the countryside where the paths of German tanks were strewn with flowers not so long ago. This was now a *Partisanengebiet* to which entrance was allowed only in convoys, and Peter Kleist is right in stating that in Ukraine the first partisans were disillusioned Ukrainian nationalists, and not Stalin's or Khrushchev's henchmen (*Zwischen Hitler und Stalin*). And, truly, Ukrainian nationalists had ample reasons for being disillusioned!

On June 30, 1941, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera (who was murdered in Munich, on October 15, 1959, by a Soviet agent) proclaimed, in Lviv (Lvov) the reestablishment of the Ukrainian State and ordered the mobilization of the Ukrainian people against Moscow. At the same time a National Assembly was created and a Provisional Ukrainian Government was established with Yaroslav Stetzko as its Prime Minister. Simultaneously in all Ukrainian cities, towns and villages, which were liberated from Russian-Communist tyranny, the Ukrainian administration was established. The Nazi reaction to these events was swift and revealing. They started with the arrests of several members of the Ukrainian Government, including Premier Stetzko and the OUN leader Bandera, who were deported to the Nazi concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, and with the arrests and shootings of prominent Ukrainian nationalists. Among others, two brothers of Stepan Bandera were murdered in the concentration camp in Auschwitz. Arrests were followed by the dismemberment of the Ukrainian territory and incorporation of its parts into different Nazi satrapies: Galicia was annexed to Frank's General Gouvernement, Transnistria with Odessa into Antonescu's Rumania, and from the rest of Ukraine a "Reichskommissariat of Ukraine" was formed under the notoriously cruel "Reichskommissar" Erich Koch. The story of his rule in the occupied Ukraine consists of a long list of sins and blunders which turned the friendly Ukrainian population into a bitter foe of Nazi Germany.

The emergence of the OUN at the head of the Ukrainian anti-Nazi resistance movement was the culmination of a logical process of development. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists evolved in 1929 from the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), which in turn had been founded in 1920 by an outstanding Ukrainian military



ST. SOPHIA'S SQUARE IN KYIV

the centre of revolutionary events in Ukraine in 1917, when Ukraine became independent. In the foreground: Monument to Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky.



ST. MICHAEL'S "GOLD-DOMED" MONASTERY IN KYIV
 (different views), pulled down by the Communist Russians in 1934.
 (See article on p. 60)

leader, Col. Evhen Konovalets, for the continuation of the liberation struggle by underground methods. With the foundation of the OUN, the cadres of the UVO began to be assimilated with the OUN. The Commander-in-Chief of the UVO, Col. Evhen Konovalets' was appointed leader of the OUN. The growing tension of the international situation and the constantly increasing power of the OUN prompted Moscow to organize assassination of Col. Evhen Konovalets' which took place in Rotterdam on May 23, 1938.

By fall, 1942, Ukrainian anti-Nazi resistance movement assumed also partisan forms. Armed groups of self-defence were formed by the OUN, which, eventually, united into a powerful Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Soon the UPA was joined by former Soviet prisoners of war, by the local youths who refused to go to Germany as slave labourers, and by Ukrainian police who refused to serve the German occupants. The UPA hardened in the struggle against the Nazi occupants and the Soviet partisans whose activity was primarily directed against the UPA. By fall 1943 the UPA was in substantial control of the country districts of Volhynia and southwestern Polissia, while the Germans held the towns and with difficulty maintained movement on the principal roads. By the end of the year (1943) large areas of the country were under the full control of the UPA which set up its own "state apparatus", including military training camps, hospitals, and a school system. The total number of persons involved in the movement — including medical, administrative, and instructional personnel, was hundreds of thousands. By July, 1944, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) was established and incorporated all Ukrainian groups committed to the independence of Ukraine. The OUN subordinated itself to the UHVR as did the UPA command.

Under the command of Gen. Roman Shukhevych (*nom de guerre*: Taras Chuprynka) the UPA entered the new period of the Soviet occupation of Ukraine. To emphasize the unity of the Ukrainian resistance movement, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, Taras Chuprynka, was elected Chairman of the General Secretariat of UHVR under the pseudonym of "Roman Lozovsky." He was also the chairman of the OUN Leadership (*Provid*) where he was known under the pseudonym of "Tur." It need hardly be stressed that the initiative for creating the UHVR lay with the OUN, which thus tried to win a broader popular basis for the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

By July, 1944, nearly all of Ukraine was reconquered by the Red Army. Under the command of Gen. Taras Chuprynka the UPA challenged the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia and, facing the victorious armies at their peak strength, stood ground at least until 1950 — for five years after the conclusion of the war. Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, Polissia) "became the seat of the strongest anti-Soviet guerrilla force which has ever developed" (Prof. John

A. Armstrong in *Soviet Partisans*). It became the revolutionary *place d'armes* of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, which the Ukrainian insurgents tried to hold under any circumstances. The question is what happened to Western Ukrainian *place d'armes* under the concentrated Soviet pressure? This is the question we shall try to answer at the end of this article.

The revolutionary place d'armes in Western Ukraine

During and following World War II, active resistance in Ukraine against both the Nazi and the Soviet occupation forces, was split from top to bottom into two parts, which were to perform two distinct functions for the duration of the liberation struggle. One part was to be concerned only with military operations, and was known as the UPA (*Ukrains'ka Povstancha Armiya*) and was composed of nationally conscious order of men and women who volunteered for service with its ranks. After passing a rigid training with a recruit company, the volunteers were called to swear the UPA oath of allegiance and became "fighters" of the UPA. The UPA system of military discipline was very rigorous, and excesses were severely punished. In principle, absolute and unquestioning obedience towards superiors was required. Military salute was made compulsory throughout. Military uniforms and insignia were introduced as well as a system of military ranks. A very extended and clever use had been made of medals and awards for individual achievements, and the UPA decorations: Cross of Battle Merit, Cross of Merit, both in three classes, and the Medal: *For Struggle under Particularly Difficult Conditions* were instituted. Courts martial could be convoked any time by the Company Commander who appointed three judges from his company's personnel; the political officer served as a prosecutor, and the defendant selected his advocate among his colleagues. If the court martial passed a death sentence, it had to be approved by the Commander of Military District. Nine military districts were known as having been organized in Western Ukraine and they were known as territorial channel of the UPA HQ; otherwise the UPA was divided into operational groups, tactical sectors, task forces, battalions, companies, platoons, and squads. In addition to combat units and diversion groups, there were also recruit companies, training companies (incl. officers and NCO schools), convalescent companies, transport companies, administrative companies and field gendarmerie (uniformed military police). The weapons of the UPA consisted chiefly of small arms, rifles, automatic rifles, machine guns, anti-tank weapons, and mortars. Artillery (mountain and anti-tank guns) was used on rare occasions. However, the UPA made extensive use of mines, and it must be said that during the German retreat large amount of German "S" Mines was captured, which were later skilfully used by the UPA.

The other part of the active resistance in Ukraine was the responsibility of the OUN. It had an underground network with the clandestine organization looking back at traditions of 25 years duration. During the war, 1939-1945, the clandestine organization of the OUN had to expand far beyond the exigencies of the "peace time." It had to assume more and more functions which were previously unknown to its members. So, e.g., in addition to its purely political functions, the OUN network had to carry out different functions for the UPA, such as security service, reconnaissance and counter-intelligence, logistics and supplies, communications and liaison, medical service, and political propaganda. From 1947 on, the OUN network included also guerrillas from the disbanded UPA units, and conducted military operations of its own. During the years of the extended struggle of the UPA, the OUN network performed miracles. It built underground bunkers, underground hospitals, cared for the supplies, arms, munitions, printed books, magazines, and leaflets and distributed the propaganda materials among the population, fought enemy's infiltration, and maintained lines of communications between the different parts of the UPA and the OUN. Even the underground field post service was established within the OUN network, which was able to deliver in Volhynia letters and communications posted in the Carpathians within 3 days.

The UPA proper existed until mid-1946, when its Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Taras Chuprynka ordered most of the UPA units to be disbanded and transferred to the underground network of the OUN. Although this marked the formal termination of the functions of the UPA (with the exception of the continued UPA activity in the Carpathian Mountains and in the territories beyond the Curzon line, i.e. in Poland), in Ukraine the name of the UPA was continuously used for designating also the activities of the Ukrainian armed underground (*zbroyne pidpillya*) which now consisted of "guerrillas" and "underground fighters." While in Ukraine and in the West, the designation UPA serves to denote both the UPA and the Ukrainian armed underground, the Soviet sources rarely use it. Instead, they prefer using the appellation *banderivtsi* formed from the surname of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the faction of the OUN, which mostly contributed to the emergence and the activities of the UPA.

The broad political objective of the OUN-UPA-UHVR was the creation of an independent Ukrainian State, and the political propaganda of all these formations made a considerable effort to win widest popular support for this objective by presenting it as the surest road to political liberty and social welfare. While being successful in this regard, the Ukrainian underground leaders were quite unfortunate in another one: neither during the war nor after it was there an outside power interested in aiding the Ukrainians to achieve independence. Consequently, the UPA had to fight against

both powers contending for Ukraine, i.e., the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Russia without any outside help. After the war the *UPA* struggle extended on four fronts: against the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, as well as against pro-Soviet elements in Ukraine. A formal treaty between the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia was announced in Warsaw on May 12, 1947, having for purpose the elimination of the *UPA* from the territories of the interested parties.

The *UPA* struggle was chiefly waged on in Western Ukraine, in its northern and southern parts. The Polissian marshes and swamps and the Volhynian forest lands in the North as well as the mountainous, heavily forested part of Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine in the south were highly advantageous to partisan warfare. This cannot be said of the wooded steppe regions of Central Ukraine or the open steppes of Eastern Ukraine where, necessarily, Ukrainian (and Red) partisan activities were of limited importance. However, the territory of the intensified partisan warfare by the *UPA* embraced one-third of Ukrainian territory with 75,000 square miles in size and population over 13,000,000.

It is this territory where the *UPA* was able to achieve its most spectacular successes: in May, 1943, when it ambushed and killed the Nazi SA Commander, Victor Lutze with his escort; in February, 1944, when it ambushed and severely wounded Marshal M. F. Vatutin, the Soviet Commander of the First "Ukrainian" Front (Vatutin died of wounds in Kiev), and in March, 1947, when it ambushed and killed the Polish Vice-Minister of Defence, Gen. Karol Swierczewski, who achieved fame as "General Walter" during the Spanish Civil War. To this list, the *UPA* added the assassination (in October, 1949) of the Soviet Ukrainian writer, Yaroslav Halan, who specialized in the propaganda against the *UPA* and the Ukrainian liberation movement, and was the most hated traitor in Western Ukraine.

With the formal termination of the large-scale partisan operations in 1946, the *UPA* went underground. The emphasis shifted from active combat to psychological warfare. Underground publications and their distribution became the most important tasks of the clandestine organization which took place of the *UPA*. However, the audacious raids of the *UPA* troops in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Lithuania, and even Eastern Prussia continued throughout 1947-1948 and acquired a wide publicity in the world. More than 500 armed Ukrainian insurgents succeeded in 1947 in fighting their way from Ukraine to Germany after traversing the length of Southern Poland and Czechoslovakia. In Germany, they surrendered their arms to the U.S. Army.

While the *UPA* proper never numbered more than 50 field battalions with roughly 30,000 officers and men, the estimates of the *UPA* strength by the Nazi and Soviet experts ran considerably higher. The Soviets estimated the *UPA* at 300,000 men; the Nazis even higher.

It is probable that their figures included all UPA activities and sympathizers. In fact, in the case of the UPA, famous Mao's simile on "perfect partisan warfare" could fully be justified: the UPA were the "fish", and the surrounding and the supporting Ukrainian population "the water." According to Mao's teaching, only a just people's struggle can be waged by a "perfect" partisan force led by the progressive revolutionaries against a hated regime of reactionary oppression and colonialist exploitation, and the UPA's struggle was indeed a just struggle. Mao's marxist definition of partisan warfare is quite correct, but in case of the UPA it bears only witness to the fact that such a progressive revolutionary struggle must not be a communist monopoly.

It took the Soviets and their allies more than 10 years to wear down and decimate, but not completely destroy, the UPA and the Ukrainian underground in Western Ukraine. Of course, the Soviets were able to inflict the Ukrainian underground severe wounds in their protracted struggle against the Ukrainian nationalists. On March 5, 1950, the UPA Commander-in-Chief, Lt.-Gen. Roman Shukhevych—Taras Chuprynka was killed in battle against the Soviet security forces in a suburb of Lviv (Lvov). He was a mechanical engineer by profession, a concert pianist by dedication, and a military leader by conviction. He had a very good military training in the Polish and German officer schools as had his Chiefs of Staff: Gen. Dmytro Hrytsay (1944-1946) and Col. Oleksander Hasyn (1946-1949) who also perished in the struggle. Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka was killed after having served almost 7 years as the leader of the anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet resistance forces in Ukraine. His death was a severe blow to the Ukrainian underground because Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka was very able strategist of the partisan warfare, who had a special gift of balancing and combining the political and military factors of the liberation struggle in every situation. Besides Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka had a clear conception of what a political and social order should be established on the ruins of the Soviet-Russian colonial empire. He envisaged its break up into free democratic national states within their ethnic boundaries, and for this aim he already worked in 1943 while organizing the First Conference of the Enslaved Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, the forerunner of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). National combat groups in the UPA (Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijan, Turkestanian, Tatar) were the immediate consequence of this Chuprynka's initiative.

Gen. Chuprynka rightly understood the significance of the epoch. He foresaw the downfall of the colonialist empires and he foresaw the destruction of the Soviet Russian colonialist empire by common revolutionary efforts of the subjugated peoples. For the purpose of the intensification of the revolutionary struggle, one Ukrainian generation under the leadership of Gen. Chuprynka built a revolutionary *place d'armes* in Western Ukraine dedicated to deepening the

revolutionary process in the entire Soviet Union. After Chuprynka's death, the Ukrainian revolutionaries defended their revolutionary *place d'armes* against all odds and at tremendous sacrifice on their part. It was no mere coincidence that, shortly before the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow, the Soviet authorities issued their eighth appeal to the Ukrainian underground forces to surrender. It was published in the Volhynian paper, *The Red Banner*, on Feb. 11, 1956, and it was the best proof that up to this time the Soviet power had not succeeded in physically destroying the Ukrainian revolutionary *place d'armes*.

In fact Ukrainian revolutionaries were able to defend their "bridge-head of the National Revolution" in Western Ukraine, and were able to expand it over the territory of the entire Soviet Union. The most curious aftermath of the Ukrainian liberation struggle waged on the revolutionary *place d'armes* in Western Ukraine, developed in the concentration camps of the USSR in 1953-1956. It was the strikes and uprisings of the political prisoners consisting mostly of former Ukrainian UPA and underground fighters. Over forty thousand prisoners of different nationalities (Ukrainians, Cossacks, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Caucasians) took part in the uprisings and witnessed their suppression by the Soviets using all kinds of weapons, including tanks. There is today a considerable literature in the West on the strikes and uprisings and the names of the localities where they took place, Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kinguir, Tayshet, etc. are familiar in the entire world. Many a former German P.O.W. who returned home from the Soviet concentration camps will remember them all his life because they opened him the way to freedom. In 1955, letters from Ukrainian political prisoners written on linen, were smuggled out with the help of freed Germans, and presented to the Division on Human Rights of the United Nations.

On the basis of the evidence contained in different sources, an evaluation of the underground revolutionary struggle in Ukraine can be advanced and formulated in the following points:

(1) Revolutionary *place d'armes* in Western Ukraine continues to exist and its psychological influence has been quite real in accordance with the predictions of such ideologists of the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle, as P. Poltava, O. Hornovyi, and others;

(2) Its existence has been hidden behind other forms than those, employed 15 years ago, as it has been witnessed by reports also by recent Soviet defectors like Dr. Rathaus;

(3) The revolutionary *place d'armes* of the Ukrainian underground has been extended over the entire Soviet Union. The Ukrainian underground ceased being an isolated case of Western Ukrainian resistance, but became international in its scope;

(4) The Ukrainian underground as it was evidenced by the strikes and uprisings in the Soviet concentration camps was powerful enough

to enlist non-Ukrainians into the struggle: Balts, Cossacks, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Poles, Germans, the British (Sgt. Piddington), Japanese and others.

(5) Continuance of the UPA struggle in Ukraine prevented a wholesale deportation of Ukrainians, planned by Stalin after the war, and reported by Khrushchev at the XX Congress of the CPSU;

(6) Having been in Ukraine and in the concentration camps the first and preeminent instance of the anti-Soviet resistance, the Ukrainian underground challenged the terroristic apparatus of the Kremlin and showed that terrorization has its limits and that the terrorization may rebound at the terrorization apparatus and destroy it;

(7) By extending the liberation struggle into the concentration camps, the Ukrainian underground shook the foundations of the Soviet colonialist empire. This was the reason why despite all violent crushing of strikes and uprisings, the Soviet terroristic apparatus was compelled to bring about the relaxation of terror, the liquidation of camps, the release of their prisoners (cf. Burmeister and Passin in *Encounter*, London, IV, 1956), and Soviet leaders were compelled to proclaim "destalinization" of their regime. The initial stages of this "destalinization" process took place in Ukraine where young boys and girls of the Ukrainian underground were challenging the Soviet power with a profound disregard for personal consequences at least during ten years after the conclusion of World War II.

(8) The Ukrainian liberation struggle in Ukraine, the strikes and uprisings of the Ukrainians in the concentration camps brought a wide publicity for the Ukrainian liberation struggle throughout the world. Under the conditions of almost total ignorance of the Ukrainian problem or of intentional silencing of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, such a publicity has its political significance.

Voltaire's famous dictum that "Ukraine has always aspired to freedom" has received a new light under the conditions of the present-day liberation struggle. Indeed, Ukrainians are now struggling for freedom everywhere: in their own country and in the countries of other peoples where they have been resettled. They are struggling in Ukraine and in Siberia, in Kazakhstan and in the Far East. And the support for the Ukrainian liberation struggle comes from the United States, Canada, Latin America, Australia, and Europe. Two different worlds are at the present time in conflict with each other, and one of them must inevitably fall, if the other is to continue to exist. The Ukrainians believe in the victory of indivisible freedom and in the independence of Ukraine, and their belief is not an ideology learned and repeated by rote, but a moral power able to back up their struggle.

Evhen MALANIUK

(2)

To the Problem of Bolshevism

III. TSARISM

With political ends in view, a "history of Russia" was concocted under government auspices, appropriating the unrelated history of the Kiev Ruś, and this approved version was taught for centuries in the schools and universities of the former Russia. After a short Marxist interval, this conception of history was taken up again by the present Moscow rulers and is being expounded in the schools of every country of the Soviet empire, as well as by propaganda. The "history" was subject to many modifications until it lost every shred of scientific value and only served to propagate the myth of the political unity of "Russia" and now of the U.S.S.R.

Russian history is based on the famous "History of the Russian Empire" by N. Karamzin (12 volumes, published 1816-1826). The author, a writer of Tartar descent without any specialist knowledge, was nominated as official historiographer by an ukase of the Tsar. He was, in Karamzin's own words, to "select" historical material about "Russia", "to enliven it, give it colour." The work was to be "attractive, impressive, remarkable, not only to Russians but also to foreigners..."

The first attempt to write Russian history as a history of the people, rather than a record of the state, met with the indignation of the entire élite of the empire with Pushkin and Prince Vyazemskiy at the head. Under attack were the six volumes of "A History of the Russian People" by the Moscow historian Polevoy (1796-1846). Tsar Nicholas I wanted to send the author to Siberia, but contented himself in the end with depriving him of all means of livelihood. Polevoy died destitute and forgotten. A hundred years of historical writing in the service of politics does not remain without consequences, for human memory does not go very far and even fifty years may prove to be a barrier. Even in Western European archives and libraries many documents, testimonies and memoirs are buried under the dust of oblivion. The officially promoted view has thus become the history of "Russia" and has been accepted ever since by the scholars of the world as dogma and guiding principle.

When the so-called Bolshevik Revolution came (which was merely the starting point for an armed restoration of the empire by a series of imperialist wars), not only the world outside but also the former "Russian" peoples were astounded at the barbarous methods of the Bolsheviks, the peculiar structure of the Bolshevik state (Cheka, terror as a system, contempt for the human being), the shockingly bloodthirsty government, the cynicism and inhuman cruelty of the Russian people.

It was generally assumed that these were transitional phenomena of "the Revolution" (like the Jacobins and Marat), unavoidable paroxysms of class hatred, a temporary madness of the very people who in the minds of the educated circles of "Russia" were "the bearers of divine thought." No one heeded the warning which the representative of that people, the poet Alexander Blok, gave to the world when he said at the very beginning of the holocaust: "We shall let you see our Asiatic face..."

The world was so hypnotised by the official version and the conception of history held by Russian intellectuals that it did not (or would not) see the reality nor grasp the significance of what lay behind the strange-sounding name of "Bolshevism."

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In the last few decades some European intellectuals have been looking more closely at the phenomenon of Bolshevism and began to study the history of the Mongolian empire of the 13th and 14th centuries. In the course of this analysis they realised that Moscow State had from 1237 to 1480 been a part of the political structure of the Mongolian empire of the Jenghiz Khan dynasty and for some time afterwards had remained, politically and culturally, within the Mongolian sphere of influence. (We refer the reader to the "Eurasian" writers P. Savitskiy, P. Suvchinskiy, G. Vernadskiy, among others). In this connection an interesting publication appeared in Harbin in 1926 under the title "My" (We) by V. Ivanov, which attempted to advance a purely Asian theory for Russia ("In Asia we are at home...").

We see that the Mongolian period in Moscow's history lasted almost half a century longer than the "Europeanized" Petersburg period of the later "Russia" (1709-1917). No matter how falsely that period is being represented in official textbooks, no conscientious historian of the state and people of Muscovy can minimize its true nature and its significance.

It is common knowledge that in the year 1222 there appeared on our steppes the armed hordes of Temuchin (Jenghiz Khan). They were Turko-Mongolian nomads, who were named "Tartars", although the Tartars proper formed only a part of these hordes. After Jenghiz

Khan had passed through China, Turkestan, Persia and the Caucasus, he aimed at the conquest of Europe. The first attempt in that direction met with the resistance of the Kiev State (the battle on the bank of the river Kalka in the spring of 1223). However, its allies, the Polovtsi, fled in panic and the battle was lost. For the Mongols this encounter was of great advantage: It was a thorough scouting operation and must have provided them with valuable information for the strategic planning of their future incursions. Fourteen years later the Mongol forces, aided by Chinese generals and specialists from the conquered nations, had developed into an army which was militarily and politically invincible, given the political state of affairs in Europe at the time (the conflict between Church and secular power; the decline in the art of war: outmoded weapons and tactics of the knights, improvised supplies and, above all, a deterioration in organisation and strategic thinking).

The army, which pushed towards Europe under Batu Khan's command, disposed of all sorts of weapons, including artillery and engineering devices. It was organised in multiples of ten (Tens, Hundreds, Regiment = 1000, Corps = 10,000, Army = 100,000) and had an able General Staff and an efficient Medical Service (Chinese personnel, highly qualified in those days). As it was an army of horse-soldiers it was perfectly capable of covering about forty miles a day. One might compare it to a huge and well trained motorised army of our day, with the most up-to-date equipment (the use of gunpowder for blasting) and provisioning (including meat and milk preserves). Most important, it was an army with a wild, cruel and self-confident spirit, born of the mysterious depths of Asia, a mentality which was strange and utterly incomprehensible to European Christians and Moslems alike. This mental power made itself felt even from afar; by spreading fear and terror, it paralysed and demoralised the threatened peoples. The campaign of Batu Khan was a triumphant march. After destroying the kingdom of the Bulgars on the Volga in the course of a few months, the Mongols overwhelmed and laid waste at the end of 1237 and the beginning of 1238 the territories of Suzdal, Ryazan, Rostov and Tver, securing thereby the right flank of their main drive.

Having set up their administration in the conquered lands, the Mongols moved south and destroyed Pereyaslav and Chernihiv. The Dniپر formed a natural barrier to their advance on Kiev. The Mongols waited until it was frozen and then, on the 6th of December 1240, overcoming the desperate defence of the inhabitants, they captured that capital of Eastern Europe.

1241 was the year of a *Blitzkrieg*. Batu's army passed further westward, devastating Volhynia and Galicia, taking Cracow and Breslau [Wroclaw]. At Liegnitz [Legnica] (9th April 1241) the Czech and Polish knights put up a stout defence. They were defeated and

it was a tragedy like that on the river Kalka (nine sacks full of ears cut off the fallen knights). This resistance, however, gave a certain degree of protection to the North-West of Europe. The march continued to Olomouc in Moravia and on to Magyar Hungary, where Budapest was taken on the 3rd July 1241. The left wing of the Mongol army reached the Adriatic, the Austrian town of Neustadt was occupied, and the fate of Vienna appeared to be sealed.

We have dwelt somewhat on the Mongolian campaign in order to stress the character of that historic event. It is not our task here to examine the reasons why Batu Khan eventually decided to turn back, thereby sparing Western Europe the later invasion by a different species of Huns. (Note: The mounted Bolshevik hordes of the years 1918-1920, as for instance Budenny's cavalry squadrons, were a faint but unmistakable historical reminiscence of those Mongol days. In the early Soviet literature of the 1920s two interesting books dealt with this subject: "Tuatamur" by Leonid Leonov and "Konarmiya" (English translation: "Red Cavalry") by Isaak Babel, the most valuable contributions, perhaps, to Soviet writing.)

As a consequence of the Mongol invasion the whole of Eastern Europe, with the exception of the coastal part of the Balkans, the entire territory of the Kiev empire with its former northern colonies, fell under Mongol domination, the "Tartar yoke", as the chronicles called it. In the western part of the Mongol Empire was the Golden Horde (Altun Orda), a strictly centralised unit, with its capital at Saray on the Lower Volga. Its economy was well organised and one of the main functions of the Golden Horde officials (the so-called *baskaks*) was the gathering of tribute from the conquered peoples.

One might expect that the effects of Mongol domination had been the same in all the principalities of the Rus', that had even earlier become rather disorganised. But the course of history is far more influenced by cultural frontiers than by political ones.

The Kiev empire never had, and never could have had, a homogeneous civilisation. Its parts were not alike, neither ethnographically nor racially. European civilisation extended to the north-western frontier regions of Pereyaslav and Chernihiv and there, too, lay the ethnic borders.

The rapid conquest of the regions of the future Muscovy was no historical accident. Apart from Kozelsk, where there was terrible slaughter, the resistance of the northern principalities was not very strong. In the territory of Ukraine, with its fortified towns, the Mongols had to use all their tactical abilities and proceed in stages, while the poor towns of the North presented no particular difficulties to the ruthless invaders. Besides the material aspects, there was the important difference of the cultural backwardness of the northern population with its primitive Finnish admixture. The people there had no deep-rooted traditions and certainly no spiritual values with

which to oppose the conquerors. Unburdened by any historical tradition, any feeling of solidarity or national integrity, the northern Princes simply accepted the bondage imposed on them and thus surrendered morally.

The Muscovite realm acknowledged the Mongols' authority as a matter of fact. The Khan of the Golden Horde was their "Tsar" and his name was mentioned in church services. The Princes were nominated as governors by the "Khan-Tsar" and served him faithfully. They went as far as to arrest and deliver up for execution disobedient princes (as, for instance, the Moscow prince Ivan Kalita, who took Alexander, Prince of Tver, to the Golden Horde, where he was executed). These Governor-Princes acted as the chief tax-gatherers for the "Tsar of the Horde" and exercised their office conscientiously and with as much cruelty to their subjects as the Mongols themselves would.

It would, however, be one-sided not to mention the positive side of that political regime. The Tsar of the Horde was the acknowledged Tsar of the Muscovite realm; the Muscovite princes obeyed him blindly; the formally Christian Muscovite Church prayed for him; and the "Grand Prince" of Moscow was confirmed by him (even men like Alexander Nevsky).

In the meantime Moscow had become the centre of Muscovy. The autonomous Grand Prince of Moscow extended his power further and further, he stood above all other local princes, was their sovereign in relation to the Khan and, indeed, assumed absolute power over them. The main idea of Moscow imperialism, the "gathering of lands", took shape and began to be bloodily accomplished in the days of the "Tartar yoke." One of the most interesting experts comments on the subject: "...Under the iron heel of oppression our people and our country had come to comprehend the essence of power. It is this understanding which holds our country together and which transformed a mercenary protector of caravans into the autocratic Prince of Moscow... Thus it is to be explained that the Western White Tsar succeeded in uniting under his rule the heritage of the Grand Khan, of the "Sons of Heaven", of Jenghiz Khan and Kubilai Khan, and later to weld Russia into a military empire." (V. Ivanov in "We", chapter IV.)

The political unity of Muscovy and the later Moscow State, achieved by the Princes of Moscow under the supremacy of the Mongols, the characteristic totalitarianism of their political system, their autocratic and indivisible government and the technique of terror to maintain that government — all this was the result of the influence the Golden Horde had exercised for centuries, in short, the Mongolian training.

The totalitarianism of the Soviet regime of our time, the "collectivism" which, on principle, denies every individuality to men or classes, the abolition of private property (as the material basis for

the individual), terrorism as an administrative instrument, and much else (such as the deification of the Government; the army of police inside the country), these are not features of the "Revolution", of Socialism or of Marxism as such, but are the product of an historical process.

The fact that as soon as the Bolsheviks came to power Lenin removed the seat of government from the Europeanised Petrograd to Moscow is in itself of deep historical significance. The decision had nothing to do with Socialist or Marxist thought, but sprang from Lenin's thorough knowledge of the history and psychology of his people. V. Ivanov has this to say on the subject of Moscow: "After 300 years of battles, suffering, toil and heroism, our ancestors had at last found the magic word... That word was "Moscow", which was to create the Moscow State within the borders of the Mongolian empire and beyond them."

History repeated itself when in the year 1917 Moscow once more became the starting point, this time for the "Marxist" restoration of the Tsarist Empire, and the "European" Petersburg period of the empire was crossed out, as a hindrance to this process.

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There appears to be nothing more hopeless and inevitable and, as it were, closed in on itself than the history of the Moscow State. And there is, probably, no other people so de-personalised, so severely and permanently violated by their Tsarist system, as the Muscovite-Russian people who are allegedly the masters of their empire. For all their cruelty, they are an unhappy people, even if they themselves are not aware of it.

"They are strong, usually of the same complexion as Europeans...", the German diplomat Adam Olearius wrote in 1633. "It makes one shudder to hear how children talk to their parents and parents to their children..." "They are devoid of shame... During a religious procession a harlot, in a fit of drunkenness, tore off her clothes. A drunken pilgrim tried to take advantage of the situation, but to the great amusement of the crowd he was not able to." "They call spirits the Tsar's wine... Their caviare and sturgeon taste good and are exported to England, Holland and Italy... They beat their wives to death... They are born slaves... In front of the Tsar they debase themselves, calling themselves by the most contemptuous names..." — "They have a despotic government. The nation is ruled by an hereditary autocracy which enslaves everyone. Aristotle would call this form of government a tyranny... The Muscovites say: 'Everything belongs to the Tsar and to God'... The Muscovites do not know what freedom is."

One could quote endlessly in the same vein. Similar descriptions can be found in other books, including contemporary ones, but it will

be enough to quote a writer of the twenties, who said: "The work of Adam Olearius reminds one of reports of the present time."

Has anything changed in the last four decades? "What has changed?" asked the Russian poet M. Voloshin (really Kiriienko-Voloshin, of Ukrainian extraction), referring to the years 1917-1918, and answered: "On all roads the same high wind/ With the commissars: the spirit of despotism/ With the Tsars: outbreaks of revolution."

All that had changed was outward appearance and names; the nation itself, which had been shaped in peculiar circumstances and whose education was continued in an essentially identical environment as before, remained unchanged. On the throne of Moscow men of different character, different nationality, even of different race, followed each other. But from the Tsar-Revolutionary Peter I to the Revolutionary-Tsar Dzhugashvili (Stalin) the nature of things was the same. A modern chronicler need only copy what Adam Olearius wrote in the first half of the 17th century. It is possible that Peter I, who spent years of apprenticeship in Holland, really intended to transform the Moscow realm into a modern European empire when he gave it the name of the mediaeval Kiev state. It is possible that the Russian intellectual of Tartar descent, Ulyanov (Lenin), really wanted to destroy the tsarist system of Moscow and build a modern socialist empire. We know only too well what became of the "transformation." Behind the stocky figure of Lenin rose the tall spectre of Peter I, and the communist tsar Stalin was to emulate more and more the particularly typical Moscow Tsar Ivan the Terrible. As we know, Soviet historians were even ordered to rehabilitate that Tsar's image and Soviet writers were recommended to treat topics that would make analogies between that Tsar and Stalin possible.

Joseph Conrad proved to be prophetic and to the point when he remarked about 1905 that the words "evolution" and "revolution" sounded like a cruel mockery in the face of Russian reality. Taking a closer look at the latest "transformation" one realises that it affected — in a destructive form — only the non-Muscovite territories, which the Bolsheviks reconquered and re-occupied in the years 1918-1923 and later. There, Moscow agents introduced an alien form of government, and to there the elements of the Moscow culture were transplanted in a ruthless manner (abolition of private property, collectivisation of agriculture, deprivation of personal and national freedom, disregard for human dignity, extermination of Christianity) and every smallest sign of organic and historic national life was crushed under police and military pressure. Any conscientious and impartial historian must eventually arrive at the conclusion that the so-called Revolution is only one of the many paradoxes of Bolshevism: the national territory of Muscovite Russia knew no revolution. Behind the new trappings, new names, new banners and hymns, the

historically established government of Russia remained unchanged. The Bolshevik "Revolution" was powerless against it, as so many earlier revolutions had been. The historical government has devoured the revolution and historical tsarism has swallowed up "commissarism."

Deep down in its national consciousness the Russian people must have been aware for a long time of its ill-starred and hopeless history; and over the centuries this feeling was bound to produce a complex of inferiority. In the Russian folksongs, these sincerest confessions of the nation's soul, the same theme recurs again and again — not of sorrow, not of suffering, but of a fatalistic hopelessness, against which it is futile to strive. "It created a song, like a deep groan, and its spirit died for ever" — this is how Nekrasov felt, a poet whom even the Bolsheviks esteem as a competent judge of the Russian soul. It is well known that there is little to divide the complex of inferiority from its opposite, megalomania, and how easily it may change into it. The myth of "Moscow, the third Rome", from which a direct line leads to the other myth of "Moscow, the third International", is said to have arisen among the Byzantine emigrants in the 15th century. The relevant documents, however, name the monk Filofey as the first to coin the phrase for the benefit of Moscow. It was he, who from his monastery at Pskov twice appealed to the Grand Princes of Moscow (Basil III and Ivan IV): "The Empire (Byzantine Rome) dissolves into the Third Rome: the new great Russia. The Christian empires of the past converge in you; the first and the second Rome have fallen, but the third Rome, Moscow, stands and a fourth there will not be. You are the Tsar of all Christians in the world."

There, in the old Muscovy, we have the origin of that typical messianism, which the Russian intellectual elite of the mid-19th century — particularly the Slavophiles — did so much to strengthen. The Slavophile and Orthodox poet-philosopher A. Khomyakov (1801-1860) expressed his belief in the words: "Oh, you, who are unworthy, you have been chosen..." Khomyakov and the Slavophiles, of course, never tried in any way to motivate their faith. It was a later generation of Russian messianists who endeavoured to rationalise and, looking into the future, maintained, for instance, that the "direct transition to property-less socialism" was a prerogative, granted by Providence to Russia alone, while in the capitalist West the historically rooted right of possession would constitute a considerable obstacle to the development of socialism... So much for the "socialist" or communist ingredient of Russian messianism. The messianic idea permeates almost every sphere of Russian thought — not excepting that of the Westernisers — and above all Russian literature, to which we refer the reader interested in the subject. The scope of this article permits only a few general observations on the theme. Not-

withstanding the view expressed by V. Lypynsky that the sense of a messianic mission is inherent in every great nation, we are inclined to doubt this and to distrust all these forms of messianism, especially when they inspire our immediate neighbours.

Psychologically, every messianic idea grows on the borderline between inferiority and superiority complexes. Sometimes it can even be the peculiar manifestation of a despair that has its roots in history: hopelessness finding a pseudo-outlet in a more or less fantastic idea. Every genuine messianism is almost a kind of psychosis. And here we must distinguish "genuine" messianism from other forms, such as the British "Rule the Waves" or the German Wilhelmine "Berlin-Baghdad" notions, which are no more than national and political doctrines of a more or less rational order. Even an attempt, as that of Mykola Khvylovyy's "Asiatic Renaissance", to propound a Ukrainian messianism, nowadays strikes us as quite realistic and not at all messianic: it *could*, in certain circumstances, be a political doctrine of Ukraine. What is far worse is the case of a nation cast by its intellectuals in the role of "Christ" and the Queen of Heaven being proclaimed "Queen" of a mundane state.

But the concept acquires a really apocalyptic character in the messianism of Moscow, which, consciously or unconsciously, takes upon itself the mission of absolute Evil on a world-wide scale.

The only means to combat this psychopathic state is, of course, Christianity, true Christianity, the antithesis to the Antichrist.

IV. CHURCH AND TSARISM

In Adam Olearius's book there is a description of a street scene in early 17th century Moscow. Two soldiers meet a drunken pope (priest). They hasten to ask him for his blessing, but the pope loses his balance and falls in the mud of the road. The soldiers set him on his feet again and then receive the blessing from the intoxicated and dirty pope. Olearius mentions this apparently quite typical incident in his usual matter-of-fact style, and this brings out all the more the loathsome and sinister aspects of the situation. The author does not dwell on these impressions and incidents and does not attempt to explain them. This particular episode, however, deserves a somewhat closer look. It does not come as a surprise that a pope should be wandering dead drunk through the streets of Moscow, since we are well enough acquainted with that kind of thing from books (e.g. "The Russian pope of the 15th century" by O. Amfiteatrov). The servant of the Muscovite church at that time was usually illiterate and filthy, used bad language in church no less than his parishioners and was in no respect different from them. In a Christian from abroad the episode described must have left a lasting feeling of disgust. Separated by many centuries, we are today able to see the incident in perspective.

There can be no doubt that religion, whatever it may be, plays a very important part in the life of every human society. It is the most profound, innermost and most essential in human life and through it immediate contact with the soul of a people is established. Man is born with an ineradicable religious instinct. Attempting to oust Christianity, Bolshevism itself turns, consciously or unconsciously, into a satanic modification of historical Orthodoxy. The eminent orthodox thinker George Fedotov (1886-1951), the courageous and most competent judge of Russian political philosophy, has this to say: "In its structure, revolutionary Marxism is a Judeo-Christian apocalyptic sect... in its social class-consciousness and in its dogmatism, it displays the features of Orthodoxy." ("Novyy Grad"; N.Y., 1952, pp. 49-50).

The Russian, too, it seems, had and has an instinctive religious feeling, though in an extremely peculiar, "polarised" form which tends to deviate far from the nominally Christian content of his religion. Notwithstanding its obvious universality, Christianity invariably adapts to the geographic, cultural and political, that is national, environment in which it finds itself. Thus there is a great difference between eastern and western Christianity; and a still wider gap exists between the Orthodoxy of the Greeks and Bulgarians and that of, say, the Ethiopians. There are differences even in the Roman Catholicism of not only Brazil and Italy, but also of France and Germany.

For the Christianity of the ancient Kiev to reach the north-eastern regions of Suzdal, Vladimir and later, Moscow, severe obstacles had to be overcome in the course of several centuries. Since the cultural and moral climate of those regions was unfavourable, the Church had to resort to the difficult and dangerous device of the gradual "Christianisation" of pagan rites and customs. What made these areas particularly inaccessible to the standards of Christian ethics and to the very spirit of Christianity was their ethnic constitution.

The renowned Russian thinker D. Merezhkovsky once expressed his shock at the fact that at the (geographically near) Upsala University the subject of a dissertation was the question: "Are the Muscovites Christians?" — and that in the 18th century! As recently as the beginning of our own 20th century an ethnographical commission discovered authentic heathens in the neighbourhood of Petersburg.

Nevertheless, the religious sentiment of the Russian people cannot be doubted, although it finds its expression in imperfect, sometimes even repellent, quasi-Christian ritual forms, and the report by Olearius goes to confirm this. Very few people, however, know anything about the tragic, distorted and obscure history of Russia's religious development and what has provocatively been dubbed the "Raskol", i.e. heresy or schism.

What is significant in the episode Olearius described is, after all, not the fact that the priest was drunk, but that in spite of it the soldiers helped him up and asked his blessing. The men were obviously prepared to overlook the undignified circumstances in their respect for what the priest stood for in their eyes. To them the dirty, drunk and, no doubt, illiterate pope was still an agent who linked them, if not to heaven then at least to something of a superior order. As the word implies, religion is after all a bond uniting man and God, earth and heaven, soul and mind.

Behind the police and censor's term of "heresy" or the milder conception of the "Old Belief" lies Christianity in its national Russian interpretation; it is the Christian religion with that content and form which corresponded to the sensibility of the Muscovite-Russian people and which they made their own and cultivated in the course of their historical development. That content and those forms may appear strange, primitive custom alien to us, yet such was the Christianity that flourished in the Muscovite State and came into conflict with the established Church.

The history of the Church in Europe is not without examples of antagonism between Church and State. We need only remember Canossa. The barefooted Emperor Henry IV in the snow before the gates of the castle of Pope Gregory VII is more than just an episode; the event marks an important stage in the history of the European attitude to spiritual power, without which the later historical development of the European continent, or even what we call European civilisation, would have taken rather a different turn. In the old Ukraine, spiritual authority stood inviolate and throughout the country's stormy history was never questioned. Political power bowed in deference before the church, emphasizing in this way that what is God's ranks higher than what is Caesar's.

The relationship between Church and State was of an entirely different character in the Moscow State and the later Russia. Already in pre-Muscovite Suzdal, there was the notorious Prince Andrew Bogolyubsky who, from political considerations, drove out Bishop Nestor, calling him an "unsuitable official." That was in the year 1157. From the 13th century onward, the Church of Moscow became more and more a tool of political power. It was on the orders of Ivan Kalita (that first champion of Moscow's rapacious imperialism) that the Moscow Church excommunicated Prince Alexander of Tver, who had fled to Pskov, cursed him as a criminal and as a "traitor to the legitimate Tsar of the Horde" (a heathen, that is), and at the same time excommunicated the whole of Pskov (1337). About four centuries later similar operation was carried out by the then synodal Petersburg Church against "the builder of churches", the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa...

A sad chapter in history is the conquest of the principality of Tver by Moscow. In 1327 Tver rebelled against the Golden Horde. The insurrection was suppressed by Moscow, which was distrustful of the powerful Tver and saw in the troubles its opportunity to annex the territory in pursuance of its "gathering of Russian lands." Ivan Kalita, as official representative of the Golden Horde, not only crushed the rebellion, but ruthlessly robbed and devastated the once prosperous principality — "towns and villages were laid waste and the people slaughtered", as the chronicler puts it (who, incidentally, was himself a Muscovite). For ten years the exiled Alexander of Tver fought from Pskov and Novgorod for his rights and for the freedom of Tver. Ivan Kalita had in the meantime secured the Khan's permission for his annexation of the territory and now he planned the destruction of the emigrant Prince himself. With that end in view he started a war against Pskov. When this proved unsuccessful, he persuaded the Khan to "invite" Prince Alexander to a "conference" at the Horde. There, Alexander and his son Theodore were murdered (1339). Thus Tver was "united" with Moscow.

Characteristic and instructive is the campaign against Church and Christianity conducted by the "militant Orthodox" Moscow Tsar Ivan the Terrible. The Metropolitan of the Moscow-Russian Church at the time, Philip Kolychiev, of an old Boyar family, was a devout Christian, an educated and courageous man. In front of the altar of the Uspensky Cathedral in Moscow he publicly protested against the terroristic regime of the Tsar and his "bodyguard", the Oprichniki. Ivan IV repented for a while; but on the 8th September 1568 he had the Metropolitan dragged from amid his congregation in the cathedral by one of his chief Oprichniks, the Boyar Basmanov. All the Metropolitan's relatives were killed and the head of one of them was sent as a present from the Tsar to the Old-Nikolsky Monastery, to which the Metropolitan had been banished. But more was to come. On the 23rd of December 1569, the Tsar's "henchman", the Boyar Malyuta Skuratov, appeared at the monastery and on the Tsar's orders strangled the Metropolitan with his own hands.

All this took place before the eyes of the people, before the eyes of the faithful who had been deprived of their beloved spiritual leader. "The people remained silent" — as Pushkin expressed it in his tragedy "Boris Godunov." The people, who had for so long been politically violated, who were like a formless mass without any social structure, that people was incapable of reacting with a deed. But the better part of this silent people could not but pass judgment and draw conclusions in the depth of their hearts.

One more illustration will serve to show up the policies of Moscow tsarism with regard to the Church and religion, and thus to Christianity and God as such. In the year 1577, Ivan IV visited the Pskov Pechersky Monastery, which the Abbot Korniliy had had strongly

fortified. This aroused the Tsar's suspicions (not without reason, perhaps) and in his rage the "Orthodox" Moscow Tsar struck the abbot dead with a pointed stick he always carried with him. And, most interesting of all, he had the tombstone inscribed with the words: "The Tsar on Earth has delivered him up to the Tsar in Heaven." This inscription — no less eloquent a symbol than "Canossa" was for the West — is an expression of the general attitude of Moscow towards Church and religion, of the spiritual autocracy of Moscow tsarism and of its ideology, as formulated by one of its greatest exponents.

There is a striking similarity between this inscription and the motto on Jenghiz Khan's official seal: "God in Heaven, Jenghiz Khan on Earth."

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The "Raskol", or Great Schism, a phenomenon of great complexity, had its roots deep down in the Russian soul. To begin with, it was an expression of protest against the derision and violation under which religion suffered at the hands of autocratic tsarism. In time, the Raskol of the Church took on a political character, which was a logical and quite natural development. When serfdom — which had originated under the tsar of Tartar descent, Boris Godunov, and had been confirmed as a basis of the Moscow State by Tsar Alexis Romanov in 1650 — became firmly established in law, the Raskol constituted, by virtue of its influence and a decidedly national character, an explosive element in the political life of the Moscow State.

We cannot examine here all the issues that were involved in the Raskol. All we can say is that its history is the history of the national and religious martyrdom of Moscow Russia. It is the record of the systematic moral and physical violation of the Russian people's soul, of their religious consciousness and ethical foundations, of everything most sacred to them, since tsarism denied the people even that minimum of freedom which the worst despotism normally concedes to its slaves. Not much has been written on the Raskol, and what there is usually is too one-sided, treating merely the ritual questions of the controversy. This is not surprising when one remembers the strict police censorship, which has been so typical a feature of every political system in Russia. Although the Raskolniki had sought support outside Russia (e.g. in 1857-58 in France under Napoleon III), the Raskol has unfortunately hardly been studied by scholars abroad.

The immaterial and superficial questions raised by the Raskol concerning church ritual — e.g. the "two-finger blessing" or the "double hallelujah" of the Old Believers, which were so ridiculed by the official Church, although they were after all national and traditional forms of ritual — must not detract from what was essential in the Raskol: 1) The rejection of the blasphemous Caesaro-

Papism of Moscow; 2) the rejection of Moscow's political system of Antichrist (as the Raskolniki aptly called it), i.e. tsarist totalitarianism; and 3) active resistance against the violation of the people's soul.

The Raskol brought forth such personalities as the preacher Avvakum, whom the official, adulterated history books of Russia and the U.S.S.R. either ignore or ridicule. Avvakum was a born leader of the most upright character, a brilliant orator and an eminent ecclesiastical scholar. He was cruelly persecuted, twice banished and, when he remained "obstinately unrepentant", burnt at the stake at the head of his faithful followers (1st April 1681). Anyone who associated with him had his tongue cut out by the police of the "most gentle" of tsars, Alexis Romanov, and whoever did not renounce him was hanged (as, for instance, Avvakum's pupil Avramiy in 1670 at Moscow).

The Raskol often had the armed support of the Moscow "Streltsy" (soldiers). We need only recall the various Streltsy risings in and before Peter I's reign. Peter's own son and heir, Alexis, was an adherent of the Raskol, and this is why he was murdered by his father. The Tsarevich had fled from his father to Vienna in 1716 and sought the protection of the Emperor Charles VI, to whom he was related by marriage. Peter forced his son by threats to return to Russia. After having been tortured and knouted, the Tsarevich was eventually choked to death "silently" between two pillows by his father's henchmen, the "aristocratic" Tolstoy, Buturlin, Ushakov and Rumyantsev.

The citadel of the Raskol, the Solovetskiy Monastery with its ninety cannon, which was later to acquire such a sad fame, was taken by assault after a desperate struggle on the 22nd of January 1676. No less than 20,000 Raskolniki were burned at the stake during the years 1666 to 1690 alone. In the 18th century there was incessant persecution and the Raskolniki committed mass-suicide by burning, often thousands at a time. As late as 1897, that is practically on the eve of the 1905 revolution, there were cases of mass-suicide by immurement.

In our day, we are amazed at the cruelty of the Russian people; and so was the writer Gorky, himself a son of that very people and a Bolshevik sympathiser. But no one cared to see the paths by which this people was led to such cruelty and — more important still — how its terrible spiritual emptiness was brought about.

It was tsarism, which for two centuries had re-moulded the "ruling nation" and trained it for its predatory, imperialist "historical mission", and which had methodically and remorselessly created a gaping spiritual void in the Russian soul (exemplified by nihilism among the intellectuals on the one hand, and the Raskolniki — "Nietovtsy", the negative peasant sects, on the other). The void was

filled with messianic ideas of various kinds. Everything was done to breed hatred against all forms of organic culture, and malice and hidden envy mingled in the professed contempt for the "rotten West." Hatred was bred against the "Latin heresy" (Catholicism), against the "Khokhly" and "Cherkassishki" (contemptuous names for Ukrainians), the "Frantsuzishki" and the whole non-Russian world, which sooner or later was to be conquered. Bolshevism recognised and made use of that gaping void in the Russian soul. It drew on all the experience and employed all the means which past history supplied, and on that basis built a system, unprecedented in its reach and the intensity of its impact.

(To be concluded)

UKRAINIAN WRITERS SENTENCED

Only recently have more detailed reports on a secret trial of more than ten Ukrainians which took place towards the end of 1965 in Kyiv reached the Free World. The accused were Ukrainian writers and literary critics Ivan Svitlychny (42), Ivan Dziuba (31), Anatoly Perepadya and others whose names are not known, who had been accused of allegedly promulgating anti-Soviet propaganda. It has not been possible to obtain more exact information about the trial and the deeds with which the accused were charged, since both the trial and the sentences were not published in the Press but kept secret. The matter was treated quite differently from the case of Sinyavsky and Daniel. It was said that the writers Svitlychny and Dziuba had been accused of smuggling to the West the manuscripts of the Ukrainian writer and poet Vasyl Symonenko, in which Symonenko had made severe attacks on the Soviet Russian regime. The poems of Symonenko have indeed been published in the Free World in the journals and press of the Ukrainian emigration. It was reported in the Kyiv *Radyanska Ukraina* of 16th April 1965 that the mother of the dead poet Symonenko had declared that Svitlychny and Perepadya and others from Lviv and Kyiv had appropriated the works and diary of Symonenko and had passed them on into undesirable hands. It is not known whether this declaration by Symonenko's mother was signed voluntarily or under KGB pressure.

Another Ukrainian poet, Vitaly Korotych, spoke of this during his journey to Canada in May 1965 in Toronto. He had regarded it as probable that the above-mentioned writers would be brought to trial, which did in fact happen. It is noteworthy that the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Shelest, spoke in his official speech at the twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine of the writers and poets of whom the Party approves and whose example one should follow; among others he mentioned the name of Korotych. This indicates that the reason given — smuggling — may be regarded as the semi-official reason for the trial. On the other hand, however, there is evidence that the works of the poet Symonenko found their way to the West by another route, and that the real reason for the trial were other than the semi-official one. It is indeed known that Svitlychny and Dziuba have for some years belonged to the circle of writers in opposition to the regime who were named the "Sixties", who have bravely stood up for the Ukrainian language, which has been persecuted by the Russians. Svitlychny and Dziuba expressed very positive views in their writings towards this group. They sharply criticized the stuffy conditions imposed by the Russians on Ukrainian language and literature. In 1962 Dziuba attacked decisively in a public speech in Lviv these conditions and so-called Socialist Realism. At the time this very much angered the official literary journal *Literaturna Ukraïna* (29th June 1962). Since this time nothing more has been heard of the two critics Svitlychny and Dziuba; in all probability their lips had been sealed. Not until 15th April 1965 did the name of Svitlychny again appear — in *Radyanska Ukraïna*, as reported above.

These circumstances may have contributed considerably to the air of mystery which surrounded the trial and to the severity of the sentence. For Svitlychny was sentenced to the heavy punishment of seven years forced labour, which is remarkably high for a smuggling offence of this kind. Dziuba was released from prison because he was suffering from advanced and incurable tuberculosis, and the authorities wished to avoid his early death in prison. Dziuba's long imprisonment before the trial without any opportunity to seek cure and to live a normal life must have contributed significantly to the grave condition of his illness. Nothing more is known about the nature of the "crimes" with which the other accused were charged or about the severity of the sentences passed upon them.

On the other hand news has seeped through to the West that about twelve intellectuals in Lviv and Kyïv and students of the University of Lviv have been arrested.

On May 29th, 1966, *Le Monde* reported the rumour that Svitlychny has been released without a trial. There is, however, no confirmation of it from Soviet sources.

Vasyl SYMONENKO

THE LAW COURT

Legal articles settled down on the table,
Annotations stand secretly in ambush.
Quotations, bayonets in hand, have pierced the defendant
With sharp gaze.
The circular, it looks through its glasses.
Round the stove, the gapers warm themselves.

From the white telephone receiver,
Instructions sprang like ghosts.
'She is a foreigner' — said the articles.
'She doesn't belong to us' — said the circular.

'Unknown' squeaked the annotations.
And noise and uproar rose up in the room.
The circular eyed her sternly,
The room flared up angrily, and became quiet.
The poor girl received the sign of the cross,
But only in the name of the heavy articles.

In vain she swore in tears,
That she had never done anything wicked;
Yet the judges' logic was like iron.
The new idea,
Since it couldn't be fitted into any category,
Here suffered death.

LONELINESS

Often I am as lonely as Robinson Crusoe,
Scanning the skyline for a sail,
And my thoughts founder hopeless
In the muddy bog of words.

On my wild island,
Dressed in the skins of slaughtered hopes,
I probe the sky with keen eyes,
"Where are you, my man Friday?"
Salvoes of despair are torn from my throat,
And boom away into the indifferent distance:
"Send me, O God, at least an enemy,
If you do not wish to send a friend."

Joachim G. GÖRLICH

UKRAINIAN LITERATURE BETWEEN PERSECUTION AND THE THAW

In the West great attention is paid to the development of literature in the Eastern bloc, in which one must, however, — regrettably — not overlook the literature of the non-independent nations, as for example the literature of the Ukraine.

The Soviets, whose elite was formed principally of Russians, between 1930 and 1938 either murdered or deported to Siberia over 200 Ukrainian writers. Almost 80% of the Ukraine's intellectual elite was affected by Stalin's arbitrary measures. All Ukrainian universities and literary magazines were abolished. The Soviets left alive only four of the outstanding Ukrainian authors. Naturally they had to compose hymns of praise to Stalin and conform to 'socialist realism' and the idea of 'Great Russia.' This put an end to the independent existence of Ukrainian literature.

The 'thaw' first began in the Ukraine in 1956, after it occurred in Poland. The authorities rehabilitated some second-rate authors, who were party members, but the process was very slow and never had the same scope as in Poland. The movement was initiated by the well-known Ukrainian film director and writer, A. Dovzhenko, with his stories of childhood, 'The Enchanted Desna', in which the author, who was banished from his homeland to another Soviet republic, allows national motives to be heard. Dovzhenko died right at the beginning of the 'thaw', in 1956. Yet things had begun to move, and interest in Western European literature, although principally in Polish literature, became so strong, that the party reacted sharply, and indeed through the Ukrainian writer Maksym Rylsky, who strongly criticised the Polish writers. Immediately after this further attacks followed in the press, at first against Polish and finally against Western writers. Simultaneously, however, voices in the Ukrainian press, called loudly for a much more intensive rehabilitation, not only of individual writers, but of the whole period from 1920 to 1930, which had been branded by the Party as 'chauvinist-separatist.' Naturally the party did not accept this demand.

Nevertheless these Western tendencies continued, leading to, in particular, a week of Belgian films, and an exhibition of French books, in Kyiv in 1956, and Polish books were constantly being smuggled in by travellers. The writers Rylsky and O. Korniychuk

had repeatedly, at the instance of the Party, to write pamphlets against the 'decadent' Western and Polish literature.

The first poems of the young Ukrainian poetess Lina Kostenko appeared in 1957. The poetess (born 1930) was immediately attacked by the Party press, since her poems departed from the pattern of 'socialist realism.' They were castigated for being subject to 'mannerism' and to 'morbid philosophy.' Despite this her next volume of poems was published a year later. The party journal 'Komunist Ukraïny' immediately attacked the poem 'Fern' from this volume, and accused the authoress of anti-Soviet tendencies.

From 1958 to 1961 a frost interrupted the thaw in Ukrainian literature. The Party carried out purges in the editorial staff of the literary magazines, the publication of the works of already rehabilitated writers such as Mykola Kulish and Oleksander Dovzhenko were stopped, and finally the literature of the 'deviationists' and the critics devoted to them was subjected to a crushing analysis.

In 1961 a new 'thaw' began and Lina Kostenko, after a three-year silence, published a further volume of poetry, which she had written during her long stay in Poland. Her poems not only continued the strain of the Ukrainian poetry of the twenties, but showed the influences of contemporary Poland. Although her poems were now much bolder and deviated considerably from 'socialist realism', the critics who three years before had cursed and damned the writer, now found words of praise for her.

Soon new names emerged in Ukrainian literature, amongst them Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovsky and Vitaliy Korotych. Vinhranovsky, discovered by Dovzhenko and until 1961 boycotted by the press, now saw himself suddenly extolled by the orthodox critics, although he consciously acknowledged the influence of the national Ukrainian literature of the twenties. The influence of the Englishman Cecil Day-Lewis and Vladimir Mayakovsky was noticeable in the work of V. Korotych.

I. Drach belongs to the outstanding poets of the young generation. His poem 'The knife in the sun' is devoted to the tragedy of the Ukrainian peasant and describes the forcible collectivisation and the hunger of the thirties and the post-war period. Naturally Drach was accused by party critics of paying homage to a decadent literature, whose aim was the overestimation of the rich peasant. But there it remains. L. Pervomaysky, with his novel 'Wild Honey' also belongs to the writers of the thaw. T. Tiutiunnyk, who died in 1961, describes in a novel the brutality of a collective farm chairman, who is finally murdered by desperate gypsies. All these works of the 'thaw' contain their own national note, which proves that despite the year-long attempts to russify, there exists a Ukrainian literature which goes back in its traditions to Nikolay Gogol (Mykola Hohol).

Wolfgang STRAUSS

MOSCOW'S ACHILLES, HEEL: UKRAINE

There has been feverish activity on the literary front in the USSR recently; world-wide reaction to the trial of the two writers Yuliy Daniel and Andrey Sinyavsky has by no means died down yet, and the brutal expatriation of the poet Valeriy Tarsis, at present in Britain, who became famous for his indicting book *Ward 7*, has done even more to direct the attention of the Western public towards the dramatic conflict between regime and intelligentsia in the USSR. Unlike left-wing intellectuals here, militant and freedom-minded artists and writers in the so-called "first workers' and peasants' State" are doing without state-offered privileges, social amenities, and party prizes, and are taking the stony path of legal or illegal opposition which leads them either into prison and concentration camp (as in the cases of Sinyavsky, Daniel, Brodsky, and Naritsa) or into a lunatic asylum (Tarsis and Yesenin-Volpin).

In spite of misleading reports in the Western press, the three former writers are not Russians: Yuliy Daniel is a Jew, Andrey Sinyavsky a Ukrainian, whilst Tarsis' father was Greek, his mother Ukrainian. This fact deserves the greatest of attention. The origins of these writers from non-Russian nations and minorities within the giant Red empire of the USSR exemplifies the circumstances in many other cases involving poets and artists opposing the regime. We are concerned here with a symptom, with a highly interesting and consequential political matter. What are the facts?

The first attack on the post-Stalin regime on the literary front came not from Russian, but Ukrainian writers — young lyric poets and novelists. 1960 was the year of the great upsurge and break-through. Thus it is that these poets are known in Ukraine as the "Sixties." To them belong Ivan Drach and H. Tiutiunnyk (the latter died in 1961), who in two splendid novels describe the enslavement and oppression of the peasants; similar writers were the poetess Lina Kostenko and the very young film director, actor, and poet, Mykola Vinhranovsky, whose *Ukrainian Prelude* has become almost the symbol of the renaissance of a nationally conscious, nationally proud Ukrainian poetry. Fedir Boyko, Evhen Hutsalo, and Vitaliy Korotych (born 1936) also belong to the *pléiade* of the leading "Sixties." Boycotted by the regime (like Vinhranovsky until 1961), punished by being forbidden to publish, designated "deviationists", blacklisted by the censors, shadowed step for step by the KGB, accused of "anti-Soviet" and "bourgeois nationalist" tendencies by the press, removed from the editorial boards of literary magazines, these young Ukrainian writers are in an impossibly difficult position. And yet not one of them has hauled down the flag, yielded, practised repentant self-criticism, or

expressed a wish to return to the lap of inspiring Socialist Realism. Twenty-nine-year-old Ivan Drach informed the Ukrainian Writers' Association that he was not considering altering a single line of his poems.

No capitulation! On the contrary, their language is becoming more severe, more barbed. Daniel and Sinyavsky, the two sentenced satirists, could see no alternative to smuggling their works of indictment abroad. From the example of the poet Vasyl Symonenko, who died at an early age in 1963, we can see that there is another method of bringing this kind of literature to the people. It is the way of clandestine dissemination of writings opposed to the regime underground in schools and universities, in academies and other higher educational establishments. Vasyl Symonenko, the son of an enserfed Ukrainian Cossack and only twenty-nine at the height of his creative powers, employed language which in comparison with those recently sentenced by Moscow was far more radical, far more rousing, and allowed no doubts about the aims and desires of the poet. Thus Symonenko's poem **Granite Obelisks** closes with the words:

The nation is a single wound;
Devastates the Earth, a beast of prey,
 goaded by blood-odour;
Every hangman and tyrant is sought
By his throttling noose!
The flayed, the persecuted, those trodden to death,
Arise and wish to judge.
And their curses, madly rumbling,
Seize upon the dismembered, worm-eaten, fatty carcasses
And all these commissars of crime and lie
will rock from the trees' branches.

The toll of Ukrainian poets has been unprecedentedly high in the last thirty years! Here in Ukraine, between the Kuban and Buh, in the Yezhov and the Beriia periods, the anti-intellectual terror has raged most terribly. Ukraine was and is the least restful colony of the Kremlin rulers, Moscow's trouble area no. 1. In 1930 the Ukrainian Writers' Association had 246 members on its books; that was three years before the great famine organized by Stalin which killed about 6 million peasants. At the outbreak of War in 1941 there was no trace of eleven poets, which meant that they were no longer alive. It was known that another sixteen had been murdered. 173 were in prison or in a labour camp. Four had taken their own lives. Only one had managed to reach exile (Yuriy Klen). Seven died a natural death. And thirty-four remained. From 246 writers, dramatists, poets, and novelists, thirty-four.

Meanwhile a new generation of writers has grown up. Their vision of a just and happy life and genuine national freedom finds its way to the people. The Party has long recognized this and is trying to stem

this development. Trouble area no. 1 must not become a powder-keg of nationalism! The starting signal for a campaign of defamation and intimidation on a large scale against Ukraine's national forces was given in *Pravda* on 16th December 1965 when the Secretary of the Lviv Area Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Comrade V. Malanchuk declared accusingly in a long article that the consciousness of the Ukrainian population, especially in the Western areas (which up to 1918 belonged to the Habsburg Empire), was being contaminated by the "poison of nationalist propaganda." In the cross-fire are the intellectuals. "The educated public of Lviv has criticized certain individuals", says the Party paper, "who have taken upon themselves the role of defenders of the so-called West Ukrainian National Republic, which was founded in 1918..." It continues: "Grave errors of an ideological nature have been revealed in the editorial body of the magazine *Zhovten*. Various literary individuals have tried to glorify certain writers of the past beyond just measure." The blame for this whole development is said to fall on the still alive "bourgeois" Ukrainian nationalism — or more accurately, on the national pressure for freedom amongst Ukrainians.

But it is not only the Soviet press which has been launching a counter-attack. The background to Marshal Malinovsky's lightning visit to Lviv cannot be assessed from the obscure and suspect reports of the Soviet press. *Pravda* reported on 28th January 1966 on a speech made by the Defence Minister at the "Party Conference of the Subcarpathian Area Military Command" in Lviv. One may assume that the foreground was occupied by questions connected with the subversive combat of Ukrainian nationalism. Similar problems must also have been debated in Kyiv at a politico-military discussion in which top officials of the Soviet Ukrainian Party and State leadership participated. These included Shcherbytsky, Korotchenko, and Shelest. The themes of discussion and the names of the remaining delegates were kept secret. There were statements to the press and communiqués neither in Lviv nor Kyiv, which gives some indication of the conferences' conspiratorial nature.

What was going on in Lviv and Kyiv? According to well-informed political circles in the USA there was last year a great wave of arrests in Soviet Ukraine as well as in Hungary, among the victims of which were a number of young writers. The arrests are said to have involved about fifty people, mostly young intellectuals who are accused, among other things, of having established contact with nationalist circles in exile. Local newspapers in Soviet Ukraine have reported trials of young nationalists, e.g. in Kivertsy in Volhynia. The participation of Marshal Rodion Malinovsky in the politico-military conference in the West Ukrainian capital, Lviv, may very well indicate that the political situation is developing unfavourably for the regime, particularly in the western parts of Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, and the Carpathians).

S T A T E M E N T

BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANGLO-UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Early in April the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reported from Kiev (Ukraine) that two Ukrainian writers had been arrested and secretly tried for allegedly sending to the West the unpublished works of the young Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, who died in 1963.

The accused were: Professor Ivan Svitlychnyj, the 42 year old Ukrainian literary historian, and Ivan Dziuba, the brilliant 31 year old writer and critic.

Symonenko's poems and a diary contained bitter criticism of the Soviet regime and its policy of suppressing Ukrainian nationalist aspirations. They were published in the West by the Ukrainian emigre press and also in book form. There is no evidence that either Svitlychnyj or Dziuba sent the manuscripts to the West, although a letter published in the Kiev (Soviet) newspaper 'Radyans'ka Ukraina' (15th April, 1965) and said to have originated from Symonenko's mother stated that she had handed over the manuscripts after her son's funeral, to his friends Ivan Svitlychnyj, Anatoliy Perepadya "and others", who afterwards "spread them around." There is evidence that the manuscripts were copied and circulated widely in Ukraine, so that anyone could have sent them abroad where they were later published.

According to Western reports, Svitlychnyj was sentenced to seven years hard labour and Dziuba was released immediately as he was suffering from an incurable disease. The Swiss press reported that about twelve intellectuals and some university students in Lviv had also been arrested and secret trials had taken place. No mention of these has appeared in the Soviet press.

It appears from this and other reports that the Russians are renewing a campaign to terrorise Ukrainian intellectuals into keeping silent about the grievances of the Ukrainian people, a European nation of 45 million people, held in colonial subjection by the Russians.

The Anglo-Ukrainian Society, representing emigre Ukrainians in this country and their many British sympathisers, states that it regards the imprisonment of Professor Svitlychnyj as but another example of the way in which the Russian Communists try to suppress the natural striving of the Ukrainian people for liberty, independence and dignity — rights secured by many nations in the free world. The Society voices its deep concern at the deprivation of the rights of Ukrainian intellectuals to express ideas freely and honestly and to publish their works without official Russian hindrance, either in Ukraine or abroad.

Symonenko's works stood no chance of being published in the Soviet Union — they contained too much that was unacceptable to the dictators of the literary life in that "prison of nations." Whoever sent the manuscripts to the West did a service to humanity and literature and deserves the gratitude and respect of all who value the freedom of the arts.

The Anglo-Ukrainian Society expresses its profound indignation at the barbarous repressive measures carried out by the Russians in Ukraine and voices its strong protest against them in defence of the lawful rights of the Ukrainian people to free cultural and political development — the birthright of every nation under the sun.

We appeal to public opinion in Britain and the rest of the free world. We appeal especially to British writers and intellectuals to add their voices to this protest against arbitrary arrests and secret trials of Ukrainian artists and writers. We appeal also to the British Press to make public this statement and to inform the British public fully about the suppression of Ukrainian cultural, literary, economic and political life by the Russian Communists.

For the Executive Committee of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society:

R. V. VANSTON — Chairman

John GRAHAM — General Secretary

26th May, 1966.

P. O. Box 1, Todmorden, Lancs.

DECLARATION OF THE SHEVCHENKO SOCIETY OF THE USA

At its meeting on 8th April 1966 the Presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA examined reports in the press and in the *New York Times* of 7th April 1966 on the recent arrests and sentences of writers and artists in Ukraine, and passed the following Declaration:

1) The Presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA registers with indignation its protest against the ceaseless persecution of Ukrainian writers and artists and against the sentences passed on the literary critics I. Svitlychny and I. Dziuba. It does so in defence of the principles of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, regardless of whom this concerns.

2) At the same time the Presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA protests in the strongest terms at the fact that trials of other arrested and persecuted writers have been held, not in public, but secretly, as in the times of the Tsars in Russia.

3) The Presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA brands the campaign of agitation against and the persecution of writers in the USSR as acts of barbarism in the present epoch, which again confirm that Ukraine is a victim of Russian colonialism and imperialism.

4) The Presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA ardently supports the struggle of these Ukrainian writers and scholars for freedom of thought, word, and the press, not only for Ukraine but for all nations subjugated by Russia.

5) The Presidium of the Shevchenko Society in the USA resolves to submit this protest to the United States State Department, together with a request that America's representatives at the United Nations should take appropriate measures in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations for the purpose of ensuring the preservation of the principles of humanity, human rights, and human dignity everywhere, but especially in Soviet Ukraine.

THE UKRAINIAN CLEVELAND DECLARATION IN DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

We, the Representatives of the Ukrainian Community in Cleveland, Ohio, who gathered today at a Testimonial Banquet honouring a semi-centennial of the creative activities of an outstanding personality of the Ukrainian cultural life in Ukraine and presently here in the United States, Mr. Jaroslav Barnych, 70, a renowned Ukrainian composer, educator and conductor, referring to the recent events in Ukraine, member of the United Nations Organization, herewith declare:

1) our deep indignation and concern because of the new wave of persecution of the Ukrainian People and their culture by the Government of USSR as has been proven by the recent condemnation and imprisonment of the prominent Ukrainian literary historians and writers Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba; and moreover

2) our protest against the discrimination and branding of the Ukrainian cultural, social and political activities in the countries of the Free World, and particularly in the United States, by means of insinuations and non-substantiated accusations which are officially being spread by the so-called "Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad" from Kiev, Ukraine.

Considering the new devastating actions of the Moscow Government of USSR against the Ukrainians in Ukraine and abroad, we call upon all Ukrainian people and all men of good will anywhere in the world to strengthen their anti-communist positions in political, social and cultural spheres of our life and to retaliate against all the intrigues of the enemies and haters of the Ukrainian Nation and of the entire Free World who have united under the infamous leadership of Red Moscow...

(23rd April, 1966)

Prof. R. YENDYK

The Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute in Munich Marks its 20th Anniversary

Processes are taking place in the Soviet Union, which are gigantic in their extent and criminal in their intent, processes designed to form artificially from the wide mosaic of different races and peoples a uniform mass of Soviet people — in reality a newly created Russian nation. Various means have been chosen for this, and one of them is the eradication of national consciousness. To mention a quite striking example, there was the burning of the library of the Kyiv Academy of Sciences, in which about 600,000 volumes, in books and documents, were destroyed in 1964. The purpose of this fire was obvious: to make impossible the answer to the questions already put by Shevchenko: "Whose sons are you, whose fathers, by whom and why are you chained?"

As once in ancient times, so today also all nations are to sink, in the conception of the Russian Bolsheviks, to the level of articulate animals. In this case the task of the emigrants comes clearly to the fore. Let us allow Shopenhauer speak: "By virtue of reason, man is not, like an animal, limited to the narrow, concrete present; but he recognises also the great extent of the past, with which the present is connected and from which it has come: but only in this way has man a real comprehension of the present itself and can even draw conclusions about the future... For a nation is analogous... Only through its history will a nation become fully conscious of itself... each gap in history is like a gap in the remembering selfconsciousness of a man."

But these gaps in our history are our concern. Our task is to preserve the life stream of the Ukrainian spirit and to develop it further and thus to save it from annihilation, with the modest forces which we here as emigrants have at our disposal.

The 20th anniversary of the existence of the Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute in Munich is celebrated this year. Another jubilee is associated with it too. We are also celebrating this year the 350th anniversary of the founding of the Kyiv Academy by the Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, which in its time was the "lumen orientis" (Light of the East), a light and signpost for all the Slav nations.

If we are thinking today of the former Kyiv Academy, it is not only our wish to be conscious of the cultural traditions of our nation, but also to see the predecessor of our institute in this academy.

Of course the Kyiv Mohyla Academy was a theological philosophical university. But we must not forget in this connection that the Academy was dominated by the spirit of Aristotle, in whose works consideration is paid not only to science as a whole, but also to agronomy. The chair of philosophy comprised in addition botany, zoology, chemistry and meteorology. So it is not to be wondered at that in 1798 a course in agriculture was introduced. It may also be mentioned that it was from this Academy that the first agriculturists in Eastern Europe came, writing the first works on agriculture. The most important of these were: Protopresbyter Samborsky, Livaniv, Petro Prokopovich, Prokopovich-Antensky, Desnytsky and others. But our "alma mater" has a special position.

The Ukrainian Scientific Academy came into existence in 1922 in Podebrady near Prague. This academy was founded by those statesmen and scientists whose fate had led them in exile into Czechoslovakia. The Academy was a university of the polytechnic type. It began its work in three faculties:

- 1) Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry (19 chairs) with separate departments for agriculture and forestry.

- 2) Faculty of Economics (20 chairs). The faculty had a department for cooperation and statistics.
- 3) Faculty of Engineering (20 chairs), with departments for hydrotechnology and chemical technology.

Besides the 59 chairs at the Academy, there were individual courses for allied subjects and languages. The planning of lectures at the Academy was based on that of West European universities, in particular that of Czechoslovak universities.

The university was accommodated, with the help of the Czech authorities, in a castle in Podebrady. Some laboratories and other installations of the Academy were set up in institutes in the town. With the help of the Ministries for Agriculture and for Foreign Affairs numerous laboratories, rooms and libraries (30,000 volumes) were set up.

After a few years, just when the Academy had reached its peak of development, the Czech authorities were forced, on the demand of the Soviet and Polish diplomatic mission in Czechoslovakia to reduce their financial allowance and finally to end it completely. In 1935 the abolition of practical teaching was decided upon, and the Academy was renamed "The Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute", which was not allowed to hold any more lectures and could continue its work only by correspondence courses.

The students at the Academy were composed of regular students and "free" or non-regular students ("guest students"). In the academic year 1926/27, there were 613 students, in 1927/28 426 students and 36 "guest" students. After completing their course at the academy and passing the examination set by the Academy, the graduates received the title of "Diploma Engineer" of the relevant faculty. In the fourth year of the existence of the Academy, the first students completed their studies — 126 of them. During the whole period of the teaching activity of the Academy, a total of 559 students completed their studies there.

In the ten years of its existence, the university organised numerous teaching and auxiliary arrangements, in which the students were able to find the material necessary for their studies and to carry out practical exercises. Altogether there were 72 installations of this kind, comprising: a basic library, 33 special rooms (for zoology, chemistry, botany, physics etc.), 14 laboratories, two farms (one agricultural, the other for dairying and poultry raising), a tree nursery, 13 seminars, a meteorological station, a tractor station and four terminological committees.

The library comprised 28,845 volumes. The most extensive department of the library was that devoted to Ukrainian agriculture and to the agricultural problems of Ukraine, and to sociological and economic questions. 698 scientific publications were published by the Academy in the time of its existence. This included handbooks, textbooks, monographs and lectures. A quarter were published in foreign languages. A total of 229 scientific books were published, a small portion of them appearing first as type scripts, due to lack of money. In 1927 the publication of "Scientific Information" began. 65 scientific works were published in this series. Through lack of money many works remained unpublished, including also a part of diploma theses.

Thanks to scientific works, cooperation between Ukrainian and other scientists was closely maintained. Numerous professors took part in many scientific conferences and congresses, as representatives of the Academy and thus of Ukrainian science. The university itself participated in many exhibitions with its own exhibits. For example in 1924 it received at the Prague exhibition the first prize of the Ministry for Agriculture. The Academy received almost always one of the first three prizes or diplomas at most of the exhibitions in which it took part.

The Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute was opened on 12 November 1932 with the approval of the Czech Ministry for Agriculture. The Institute set itself the following tasks:

- 1) To train highly qualified Ukrainian experts for independent practical work in the principal branches of technology and economics.
- 2) To give opportunities to people already at work in the fields of technology and economics to complete their theoretical knowledge.
- 3) To spread general technical and economic knowledge among the broad mass of the Ukrainian general public.

According to its programme, the Institute was a university of the polytechnic type. The Institute was the first Ukrainian university which carried out its teaching by correspondence. Thus the Institute had the chance to continue a part of the work of the Academy. The leading organ of the Institute was the council of professors of the former Academy. The teaching staff was mostly the same as at the Academy.

The Institute was established on the model of the Academy. Its basic organisation was the three departments which had before existed at the Academy.

1. Economics and Cooperation,
2. Agriculture and Forestry, and
3. Chemistry and Technology.

The individual departments were divided into sub-departments.

In addition to the departments with a university programme, the Institute organised practical specialised courses for the Ukrainian general public. Even people without the lowest state school examination could take part in those courses.

In the time of the Nazi protectorate, the Institute was able to enlarge greatly the practical specialist courses and in part also the three main departments. The reason for this was the stream of young Ukrainians who had come to Germany to work. But after some time a great set-back was caused by the ban introduced by the Nazi authorities on the sending by post of material on Ukrainian history, culture, geography and economics to course members. The work had to be partly reduced. The events of the last years of the War forced the Institute to leave Pödebrady in 1945, with a part of the teaching staff, for Bavaria.

In Bavaria the Institute established itself first in Plattling. The council of professors decided to continue work. The Institute sent a request for recognition to the American military government, which granted the necessary permission for the resumption and continuation of the teaching work of the Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute on 28 June 1945. The seat of the Institute was removed to Regensburg and its work in three fields resumed:

- 1) Normal courses of lectures,
- 2) Correspondence courses,
- 3) Research.

Besides the three main faculties in Regensburg, a department for zoology was created in Munich, from which the faculty for veterinary science later came into being. In 1946 the pharmaceutical faculty was formed after the closing of the UNRRA university. The Institute was able again to set up laboratories for 72 people. Two hectares of land were leased for agronomic studies. The students of forestry were able to carry out their practical experiments in the German forestry institute and tree nursery. After the Bavarian State Ministry for Education was formed, the university took up close contact with this ministry and submitted its statutes and lectures list to it for recognition.

At the end of the academic year 1950/51 the number of students who had attended the Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute rose to 862. This number was divided among the individual faculties as follows: agricultural engineers, 216; forestry engineers, 118; building engineers, 12; chemical engineers, 64; economists, 178; hydrotechnical engineers, 117; masters of Political Science, 2; masters of Pharmacy, 123; veterinary surgeons, 32. The teaching staff in this

period amounted to 202 professors, deans, lecturers and assistants. The number of students who had in 1947 enrolled at the Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute was 1244. The correspondence course section had also been enlarged: the number of participants came to over 2,000. The 10,000th participant was registered after 20 years existence of the correspondence course section. The University has published 49 new teaching books since 1945. In addition to the carrying on of lectures and the general cultural work of the University, great attention was paid to practical retraining courses and schools, to make it possible for Ukrainian emigrants to learn a new profession, in order to give themselves a firmer footing and to protect themselves against symptoms of decline. In 1945/46 there were 38 schools and courses with 1,778 students and 199 teachers, in 1946/47 there were already 67 schools and courses with 2,344 students and 415 teachers, and 1947/48 61 courses with 2,313 students and 363 teachers. The drop in 1948 is to be attributed to emigration, which began to become intense. With the reduction in the number of students, it was no longer possible to continue these courses, so that they were partly given up and partly taken over by the IRO. Since 1952 the Institute has confined its activities exclusively to research.

NOTICE FROM THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURAL WORKERS IN NORTH AMERICA

Ukrainian cultural workers in the emigration, united in the pursuance of the ideals of Ukrainian intellectual independence and of the struggle for the statehood of the Ukrainian people, and executing the resolutions of the great rally which took place in Toronto on 6th June 1965 under the motto "For the Defence of Ukrainian Culture and the Ukrainian People", have founded an *Association of Ukrainian Cultural Workers in North America*.

The Association of Ukrainian Cultural Workers in North America is a non-professional organization, the purpose of which is to inspire and mobilize Ukrainian culture in its entirety in the emigration for those tasks facing every nation which wishes to live, to develop, and to create intellectual values with which to fully shape itself. One of the most urgent tasks of the Association of Ukrainian Cultural Workers is to counteract the processes of the Russian occupation of Ukraine through scholarly, literary and artistic works and through the press and conferences.

After all the difficulties of a technical nature have been overcome the Association of Ukrainian Cultural Workers in North America will approach the fulfilment of these tasks.

The executive of the Association consists of: Dr Mykhailo Kushnir, chairman; Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaluk, first deputy chairman; Dr Bohdan Stebelsky, second deputy chairman; Dr Stepan Halamay, secretary; Prof. Dr Mykola Chyrovsky, financial advisor.

Executive members are: Vyacheslav Davydenko, Mykhailo Dmytrenko, Prof. Ivan Kovaliv, Evhen Kurylo, Volodymyr Lasovsky, Prof. Hryhor Luzhnytsky, Prof. Antin Malutsa, Dr Fotiy Meleshko, Iryna Pelenska, Mykhailo Cheresnyovsky.

The Auditing Commission consists of: Dr Yuriy Stoyko, Dr Roman Kuchar, Orest Pavliv, Mykhailo Sosnovsky.

The editorial committee of the Association is at present working on an edition of a journal and is dealing with literary and artistic contributions for the Association's publications.

The Ukrainian community will be kept continually informed of the work of the Association through future releases.

*Information Bureau
of the Association of Ukrainian
Cultural Workers in North America*

Neglect of Ancient Monuments in Ukraine

Why was the Cathedral of St. Michael in Kyiv destroyed?

Since August last year many articles criticising the lack of official concern for the protection of ancient national monuments of Ukraine have been published in Ukraine. While a few show pieces have been preserved for propaganda purposes, hundreds of magnificent architectural structures with many centuries of history behind them — churches, castles, monuments, public buildings, etc. — have fallen into disrepair, were damaged, destroyed, or even pulled down by various foreign invaders, and more recently by the Russian bolshevist regime. Any attempts on the part of the lovers of Ukrainian antiquity to preserve these buildings, protect or repair them were discouraged and people who tried to save them were intimidated and persecuted as “bourgeois nationalists” and “reactionaries” who “looked back to the past” instead of “building Communist society of the future.” Among many other master-pieces of old Ukrainian architecture the famous St. Michael’s Monastery was pulled down in Kyiv in 1934 on the orders of the then Communist Party boss in Ukraine, Pavel Postyshev.

The Russian Bolsheviks deliberately ordered the destruction of many irreplaceable buildings of Ukraine, especially churches, as part of their campaign against “bourgeois survivals”, Ukrainian national consciousness and religion. Moscow purposely tried to wipe out the historical memory of the Ukrainian Nation, its glorious past, in order to make Ukrainians forget their national heritage, lose their identity and become dissolved in one big grey mass of the “Soviet people”, supposedly internationalist, but in fact Russian to all intents and purposes.

Proper care and protection of ancient Ukrainian architectural treasures cannot be assured in Soviet conditions which are unfavourable to Ukrainian national aspirations and development. They can be assured only when Ukraine becomes an independent country, free from Moscow’s interference in Ukrainian internal affairs.

The newspaper *Literaturna Ukraïna*, published in Kyiv, came out with an article by the writer Leonid Serpilin entitled “The Acropolis Lasts Forever”, in its August 10th, 1965, issue, pleading for the conservation of ancient Ukrainian monuments. Below we quote some excerpts from this interesting article.

“There was at one time the gold-domed Mykhailivs’kyy [St. Michael’s] Monastery. Old residents of Kiev probably still remember its high four-storeyed belfry at the end of Volodymyrskyy Lane, which seemed like a slightly reduced replica of the renowned Cathedral of Saint Sophia. It would be futile to call it a younger brother of Sophia, because both buildings were as one: in the brilliant style of Ukrainian baroque, the period of the greatest flowering of Ukrainian art in the pre-October period.

But speaking of the original Ukrainian architecture, the gold-domed Mykhailivs’kyy Monastery had the most characteristic features displayed even more clearly than Sophia. Mighty flying buttresses, four on each side, supported the walls of the cathedral; decorative gilded sun disks in thin metal rods, colourful majolica medallions on friezes and drums of the cupolas, all these are typical components of our architecture.

The ancient mosaics decorating the cathedral inside were also noted for their artistic perfection. Moreover, in the opinion of experts, the mosaics were superior to those of Sophia in the disposition and treatment of figures, modelling of clothes, composition of decorations and even in the selection of hues, there was a feeling of a comparatively greater freedom of creation and artistic inventiveness.

On a wall of the Cathedral, alongside the main door, hung a cast iron board proclaiming that the cathedral had been founded by the Kievan Prince Svyatopolk II in 1108.

This laconic information can be somewhat expanded: as we know, the cathedral was destroyed twice, in 1240 by the Mongols (rebuilt), and in 1482 by the Crimean Khan Mengli-Girey. But as early as the beginning of the 17th century the cathedral had been rebuilt again and it operated...

The eminent scholar, historian of Ukrainian architecture, Professor I. V. Morhylevs'kyy found some surprises while studying the monuments in detail. First came a doubt: Was this really the cathedral of the gold-domed Mykhaylivs'kyy Monastery? Convincing data suggested that this monument did not originate in the early 12th century, but went back at least to the middle of the 11th. It was obvious that those who restored the cathedral after the Tatar invasion, instead of the Mykhaylivs'kyy Cathedral, renovated some other building, which was half a century older. How could this happen? After long and tedious search, Professor Morhylevs'kyy came to the conclusion that the cathedral which was believed to be Mykhaylivs'kyy, was actually the *cathedral of Dmytro Soluns'kyy* [St. Demetrius of Salonica] and was built in 1062 by the father of Prince Svyatopolk, Izyaslav Yaroslavych.

However, the perfectly logical conclusions of the professor required confirmation. In subsequent scholarly literature this monument is referred to alternately as the gold-domed Mykhaylivs'kyy and as the Dmytro Soluns'kyy Cathedral. However, there is no final answer to this question, because the cathedral does not exist anymore, having been razed..."

"Recently I came upon a perfect memorial, or rather, the modern athletic facilities: a basketball and volleyball court, track, and some locker rooms where equipment is stored. The whole area is fenced off by wire. I walked around it and I felt hurt. The great cathedral had been standing for 875 years, witnessing the joys and troubles of its people, preserving their art and history, and now there is nothing. Not a single stone or other reminder of the cathedral can be found.

We do not have respect for antiquity, thought I. We are awed and envious when we come to Athens or Rome, enjoying the ruins of the Parthenon and Coliseum, and passionately argue the beauty and grandeur of ancient art, the immortality of the soul of a nation that is supposed to live in the stones. But on our own soil, we see no farther than our own noses.

Let no one think that I underestimate athletics; basketball, volleyball and track are all very important. But could we not have found some other place for these athletic facilities? We should make this into a square with a stone in the center on which would be engraved brief information about the unique memorial to the ancient Slavs which had adorned Kiev... nearly 900 years...

Of course, we should be proud of the restoration of the beautiful architectural complex of the exquisite Pechers'ka Lavra (Monastery of the Caves), and for good reason. The inimitable scale of buildings, so ably carved into the landscape of the hills along the Dnieper River, still adorns the city. The Volodymyr and Pokrovskyy cathedrals have been preserved, and the ruins of the renowned Golden Gates still stand intact.

From the ancient "Acropolis" of Kiev there is only the Cathedral of Saint Sophia remaining, which is known the world over. It is a pleasure to see how this beautiful building is held in respect and how it attracts guests to Kiev by the force of its art. However, two other monuments, contemporaries of Saint Sophia which together comprised an ensemble of the ancient sector of the city are no more...

The grounds of Saint Sophia, as well as those of the Lavra are a State reservation. This, of course, does not mean that the buildings should stand empty, or that some institutions cannot be located in them. But it is not worthwhile to locate business organizations in them whose activities are connected with a great influx of visitors and freight. The purpose of reservations is to serve as museum, admit visitors, and conduct scientific and lecture propaganda. Everything else can function if it does not interfere with the basic purposes. For large loading operations our business organizations should select other locations.

However, it is not the point to cite examples (this, incidentally, could be done much better by the workers of the Institute of History and Theory of Architecture), but in taking concrete measures, which in my opinion, must be used for a better conservation of architectural monuments.

And here it appears that there is no one to conserve them. There is no State organ in Ukraine which would be responsible for the historical architectural treasures of our artistic forefathers. I remember that there used to be a Department of Conservation of Architectural Monuments within the Building Committee. For some reason it has been abolished. There are only two positions of inspectors in the Architectural Planning Administration of the Committee. Two persons responsible for all of Ukraine!

Such a department would be necessary, even with public participation, but with more important rights and authority..."

Ukrainian History Society

In November 1964, the "Ukrainian History Society" was founded. By 1st March, 1965, after a written referendum by the 45 founding members, the executive committee for the four years 1965-69 was elected as follows: Chairman: Prof. Dr. Oleksander Ohloblyn (USA). Vice-chairman: Prof. Dr. Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko (German F.R.). Secretary and Treasurer: Assistant-professor Dr. Lubomyr Vynar (USA). Committee members: Dr. Oleksander Dombrovskyj (USA); Prof. Dr. Ihor Kamenec'kyj (USA); Prof. Vasyl Dubrovskyj (USA); Prof. Dr. Volodymyr Kysilevskyj (Canada); Dr. Roman Klymkevych (USA); The Rt. Rev. Prof. Dr. Iryney Nazarko (Italy); Prof. Dr. Jaroslav Pasternak (Canada); Prof. Dr. Mykola Chubatyj (USA). Control committee: chairman: Prof. Dr. Illya Vytanovych (USA); member: Prof. Mychajlo Zhdan (USA); further member Lev Bykovskyj (USA).

The Ukrainian Historical Society sets itself the following tasks:

1. To bring into closer contact with each other historians and researchers in the field of the historical auxiliary sciences as well as those interested in Ukrainian history.

2. To promote and protect the interests of free Ukrainian historical science.

3. To correct false and tendentious interpretation of Ukrainian history in historical works in the USSR and in the Free World.

4. To publish the historical periodical UKRAINSKYJ ISTORYK ("The Ukrainian Historian") and to help with the printing of monographs in the field of Ukrainian and East-European history.

5. To arouse interest in foreign libraries and archives for the recording, both for study and for printing, of source material of the history of Ukraine.

6. To cooperate with Ukrainian scientific institutions in the Free World, and to create contacts with foreign historical societies.

With this in mind, the Society appeals to historians and friends of Ukrainian historical science to become members of the Ukrainian Historical Society.

The Secretary of the Society is Dr. Lubomyr Vynar, 634 Highland Ave., Boulder, Colorado, USA.

On the Protection of Traditions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

MEMORANDUM SENT TO CARDINAL TESTA BY MR. YAROSLAV STETZKO

His Eminence
Gustavo Cardinal Testa
The Holy Congregation for the Eastern Church
The Vatican

Munich, 25th June 1965.

Subject: Perpetual obligations arising from the Berestia Union of 23rd December 1595.

Your Eminence,

...His Holiness Pope Clemens VIII, on the reestablishment of the unity of the Ukrainians with the Holy See, guaranteed to respect in the name of the Holy See the traditions and rites of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, in his bull 'Magnus Dominus, et laudabilis' of the 7th February 1595, in his breve 'Benedictus sit Pastor ille bonus, of the 7th February 1596, and in his bull of the 23rd February 1596, 'Decet Romanum Pontificem', as well as in the documents approved by Him of the synod, attended by the Ukrainian bishops of that time, headed by the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych, Michael Rahoza. The union was made on the basis of the ecumenical council of Florence. The Holy See conferred all rights, liberties and privileges that had been enjoyed up to then, and confirmed them in all their ecclesiastical usages in the administration of the sacraments, and in the performance of the ritual acts, which were usual for them, this in so far as they were not contrary to the dogmas of the Catholic Church.

For a long time, however, action for the introduction of the new calendar into our Catholic Church has been carried on by some bishops and priests in the USA. This contradicts the decisions of the Berestia Union of 1595 and 1596, exactly as do the attempts made now and then to introduce non-Ukrainian languages into services, which violates §23 of the "decree on the Eastern Church" of 21st November 1964.

Please allow me, Your Eminence, a few words on the historical juridical position of our Catholic Church:

1) On the 12th June 1595 the Ukrainian bishops held a synod in Berestia under the leadership of the Metropolitan Michael Rahoza and on this day drafted a letter to the Pope concerning the return of our Church into the pale of the Holy Catholic Church, in which it was particularly emphasised: '...siquidem Sanctitas vestra administrationem sacramentorum, ritusque et caerimonias Orientalis Ecclesiae integre, inviolabiliter, atque eo modo quo tempore unionis illis utebamur, nobis conservare, confirmareque pro se et successoribus suis, nihil in hac parte innovaturis umquam dignetur...' ('Your Holiness will allow us to retain any administration of sacraments, rites and

ceremonies of the Eastern Church, in the form in use at the time of union, wholly and inviolably, and to confirm in your name and that of your successors, and never to introduce innovations in this part...')

In the bull of 10th January 1595, on the 'Unio Nationis Ruthenae cum Ecclesia Romana', it is stated in §10: '...atque ad maiorem charitatis nostrae erga ipsos significationem omnes sacros ritus, at caeremonias quibus Rutheni Episcopi, et Clerus juxta Sanctorum Patrum Graecorum instituta in Divinis Officiis, et Sacrosanctae missae sacrificio, ceterorumque Sacramentorum administratione, aliisve sacris functionibus utuntur, dummodo veritati, et doctrinae Fidei Catholicae non adversentur, et communionem cum Romana Ecclesia non excludant, eisdem Ruthenis Episcopis, et Clero ex Apostolica benignitate permittimus, concedimus, et indulgemus.' ('...and, therefore, for the greater significance of our love, we permit, yield and allow to the Ruthenian bishops and clergy, from the Apostolic Grace, all those sacred rites, and ceremonies used by the Ruthenian bishops and clergy as well as the institutions of the divine services of the Holy Greek Fathers, and the holding of the sacred mass, and the administering of the other sacraments, or other sacred functions, provided that the truths and doctrines of the Catholic faith are not contradicted, and they do not exclude communion with the Roman Church...') In the papal breve of the 7th February 1596 Pope Clemens VIII informed Metropolitan M. Rahoza that he had granted all the requests and demands of the Ukrainians. By the bull of 23rd February 1596 the Pope confirmed the Metropolitan in the possession of his old rights of jurisdiction. He confirmed that the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych could confirm and institute all his Suffragan Bishops in the name of the Holy See, as soon as they were appointed for this office. Pope Clemens VIII was even gracious enough never to ask the Ukrainian Catholic Church to include the word 'filioque' in its Creed, the Pope contenting himself with the promises of the bishops that they were willing to teach the Catholic doctrine of the origin of the Holy Ghost in the Father and Son.

King Sigismund III issued a declaration on 29th May 1596, in which he proclaimed the completed union and added: 'The bishops have brought nothing new from Rome, nothing which will hinder your salvation, no changes in your religious rites, but all your dogmas and rites have remained untouched, conforming to the authority of the Apostles, of the Councils and to the teaching of the holy Greek Fathers, revered by you, whose feast days you celebrate'. (Annals, Eccl. Ruth., p. 227).

One of the four main points of the opponents of the union, which were put forward by Prince Ostrozhskyj, was the retention of the old calendar. The Ukrainian bishops had already had to plead for the retention of the old calendar, for this reason. On 10th October 1596 the Synod of Berestia issued a synodal statement, signed by the Ukrainian bishops, and the Metropolitan, Michael Rahoza, by which the union of the Ukrainian Church with Rome was promulgated in the whole metropolitanate. In this we read: '...so that the rites and ceremonies of the Greek Ruthenian Church remain with us, however, no alterations may be carried out in our church, but all must be left in accordance with the tradition of the Holy Greek Fathers, for time eternal, which the Holy Father truly granted us, and the relevant privileges and writings which He transmitted to us with the charge that we make the confession of faith, at a synod summoned for this purpose, to give obedience to the Roman See of St. Peter, Pope Clemens VIII and His Successors'.

2) On the present juridical position

From the documents of the Berestia Union, it is clear that neither a single bishop nor a parish congregation has the right to carry out any alterations at all to the rights laid down in the Berestia Union. In addition, other practices carried on in the USA contradict the decree accepted by the II Vatican Ecumenical Council, on the Eastern Catholic Church (§§ 19, 23, 9, 6, 2).

Any changes at all in the resolutions of the Berestia Synod, of 8-10 October 1596, can only be carried out by an analogous institution of the Ukrainian

Church, that is to say the Synod of Ukrainian bishops, headed by His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, according to §10, in agreement with §7 and §9 of the decree.

Hence I question the validity of the changes made in the USA: also, in consideration of the rights and privileges assured to us by the Holy See, in connection with the Berestia Synod. I consider it as illegal that a congregation or the decree of a bishop can alter the rights and privileges confirmed in documents of the Holy See, against the entire Church and the entire nation. According to §7, Section 3, in agreement with §10, even our bishops in the USA are subject to the jurisdiction of Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyj. Because of the new juridical position in our Church, in connection with the recognition of the institution of the Archbishop (§10), the legal position of our Church is within the framework of the whole Catholic Church, similarly in connection with the Berestia Union of 10 October 1596, and 23 December 1595.

The changes brought into force in the USA contradict the spirit and the wording of §§19 and 9 of the "decree on the Eastern Church", as well as the §1 also. The Ukrainian Catholics await the binding resolutions of the synod of Ukrainian bishops headed by Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, as the juridical equivalent of the Berestia synod. We are bound by the decisions of the Church when it lay down its teachings, that is to say, by the decisions of the Synod of bishops, which alone as an institution can alter the corresponding decisions of the Berestia Synod, and then only under the leadership of the Archbishop Major.

I herewith bring my thoughts regarding the alterations carried out in the USA and elsewhere, to the decisions of the Berestia Union, which, confirmed in documents by His Holiness Pope Clemens VIII, count as the rights and privilege of the Ukrainian people, before the Holy Congregation for the Eastern Church, before the corresponding legal institutions of the Holy See, and before our chief pastor, Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyj.

3) On the real position

The confusion in different Ukrainian Catholic parish congregations in the USA, in connection with the alterations to the calendar, cause deep concern, especially in Chicago, Cleveland, etc...

The underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, as well as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, celebrate their feast days in accordance with the old calendar. In families of mixed confessions disagreement and discord will now reign, just as in completely Catholic families, because one part celebrates according to the old calendar, and another according to the new. Instead of fighting atheism, the believers of the same Church and of the same confession are fighting each other, and are angry with the hierarchy.

In the USA, in practice, it is only a question of a single Feast day in the year, since outside Christmas, there are no other religious holidays in the USA which do not fall on a Sunday. It is not much of a sacrifice for the Ukrainians to devote one weekday in the year to a religious service, in order to be united in prayer with our fighting Church in Ukraine and our Orthodox brothers. The alterations mentioned above also contribute to the weakening of the ecumenical movement, *since the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians are of Orthodox belief and the Orthodox Church, as is known, follows the old calendar.* The Apostolic See is always urging ecumenical reconciliation and in different parts of the USA the supporters of the old and new calendar are in dispute. In such a position, it will be more than difficult to strive for a rapprochement and reconciliation with the Orthodox Church. Unfortunately the Catholics, quarrelling about the calendar, must be first brought together.

In my view, these alterations were made, not only on grounds of religious arguments, but were caused by Americanising tendencies and imitation of

American habits on the part of the calendar reformers. I must emphasise as clearly as possible that even in the past the Holy See had no intention of supporting tendencies towards latinisation.

Pope Urban VIII had already forbidden in his bull of 7th February 1624 the alteration of ritual and changing to Latin, without special permission of the Holy See. Pope Paul issued a similar decree on 10th December 1615. The "decree on the Eastern Catholic Church" of the II Ecumenical Vatican Council goes even further in this direction.

4) Because of the ineffectiveness of the jurisdiction of our Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, uniformity is lacking in our church.

I would also like to question the attempted introduction of English into services as a mother tongue instead of Ukrainian, amongst various congregations in the USA, since, exactly like the calendar reform, the resolutions on this subject of the decree are against it (§§1, 2, 19, 24). In §2 it is set out that the Catholic Church attaches great importance to the traditions of each particular Church, and their ritual being left untouched and whole. In §23 and §24 faithfulness to the old Eastern traditions is emphasised and stressed, and that the introduction of the mother tongue is reserved to the power of the Patriarchs with the Synod, the Synod of the bishops of each Church. In §19 it is clearly stated that the transfer of feast days for each Church lies within the competence of the Synod concerned, and not in the hands of individual bishops, which naturally also refers to the reform of the calendar.

My request to the Holy Congregation for the Eastern Church, and to the corresponding juridical authority of the Holy See is as follows:

a) Everything against the documented rights of the Ukrainian people concerning the arrangements of the Berestia Union and

b) the innovations contrary to the spirit of the Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches to be rescinded.

With this in mind I appeal to §4, in which the Council grants the right for recourse to be made to the Holy See, which as the highest arbiter hears the responsibility of the ecumenical movement, and in §6, in which the Council, led by the Holy Father, decided that, in the case of a deviation from the old traditions, these should be gone back to.

As Prime Minister of the last independent Ukrainian government on Ukrainian soil, and in the name of the Ukrainian Catholic believers, may I at the same time make the following request: that in accordance with §10 and §7 (especially Section 3) Archbishop Major Joseph Cardinal Slipyj exercise effectively his jurisdiction with the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops, order all religious matters of the Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad, and, in accordance with §23, of the decree, regulate even the language used in services, since here and there change is being made to the use of English, although it is not the mother tongue of the Ukrainians.

c) At the same time I would like, in my above-mentioned role, to repeat anew my request to the Holy Father, that He may bring about the institution of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, to bring unity into the Ukrainian Catholic Church...

I ask Your Eminence to consider this petition favourably,
and remain,

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) Jaroslav Stetzko

Obituaries

VASYL MUDRYJ

Vasyl Mudryj, a prominent Ukrainian political and social figure, well known not only in West Ukraine where he was active before the outbreak of World War II, but also in exile where he continued to take an active part in the life and struggle of the Ukrainian nation, died in New York on 19th March, 1966, at the age of 73.

Vasyl Mudryj participated in the Ukrainian War of Liberation in the period between 1917 and 1921, after which he settled in Lviv. There he was actively engaged in the struggle for a Ukrainian University. On this subject he wrote the work entitled "The Struggle for a Ukrainian University." For many years the deceased was editor-in-chief of the Ukrainian daily newspaper "Dilo", member of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party (UNDO), secretary of the "Prosvita" Educational Society. For many years, too, he served as a Ukrainian M.P. to the Polish Sejm (parliament) where he held the post of Deputy Speaker.

During World War II Vasyl Mudryj supported the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and took an active part in the struggle against the German occupation. The Ukrainian underground proposed to send him to London with the task of trying to win British support for the Ukrainian cause. Vasyl Mudryj was invited to attend the Congress of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) in 1944 and was elected Deputy Chairman of this underground Ukrainian parliament.

In exile after the end of the Second World War, Vasyl Mudryj devoted much energy and effort to helping to organise Ukrainian post-war life in West Germany. In later years he participated in the work of the Ukrainian institutions and organisations in the USA. In 1952 Vasyl Mudryj was elected full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh).

With the death of Vasyl Mudryj the Ukrainian community has lost a sincere and devoted patriot who throughout his life toiled for a better future for the Ukrainian people.

OSYP BOYDUNYK

Osyp Boydunyk, Chairman of the Ukrainian National Council in exile, died in Munich on 7th April, 1966, at the age of 71. He was a member of the leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (Solidarists), member of the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigrés in Germany, the Union of Ukrainian Journalists, the Society of Former Ukrainian Political Prisoners, honorary member of the "Rebirth" Society in Argentina and honorary citizen of Winnipeg, as well as member of other Ukrainian organisations and societies.

The deceased was born on 8th December, 1895, in Dolyna, Western Ukraine. He was an economist by profession. During the Ukrainian Liberation War of 1917-1921 he fought in the ranks of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA). After the lost war he became founder member of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and later of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) where he was elected to the Senate of the OUN. Osyp Boydunyk helped to found the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigrés in Germany and the Ukrainian National Council in exile after the Second World War. He was an outstanding publicist and theoretician of the Ukrainian national movement. His death interrupted the publication of his most interesting memoirs. Osyp Boydunyk spent many years of imprisonment in Polish gaols and in the German concentration camp of Sachsenhausen.



PRINCE NIKO NAKASHIDZE

On Sunday, 22nd May, 1966, there died in Munich a sincere friend of Ukraine and a champion of the struggle of the nations enslaved by Moscow for freedom and independence, Prince Niko Nakashidze, Secretary General of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and President of the Georgian colony in West Germany.

The deceased was born on 25th January, 1899, in Guria, a province of Georgia in the Caucasus. He completed his secondary education at Kutaisi and later studied at the officer cadet school in St. Petersburg. As an officer in the Georgian Army during the Revolution in the former tsarist Russian Empire he fought for the independence of Georgia in 1918 and later years, and after the Bolshevik Russian invasion and occupation of Georgia was forced to emigrate abroad. From 1922 onwards he lived in Berlin where he read law at the university and was engaged in journalistic work. During the World War II he fought on the Eastern Front against the Bolshevik enemy

for the freedom of his country. After his release from a British P.o.W. camp in Italy after the war, he settled in Munich where until his unexpected death he took an active part in the life of the Georgian emigré community and in the ranks of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. In 1954, the Third Congress of the ABN elected Prince Nakashidze its Secretary General and since that time he co-operated closely with Ukrainians, earning for himself general respect and love for his great patriotism, crystal-clear character and devotion to the cause of the liberation of the countries enslaved by Bolshevism.

Prince Nakashidze was a frequent contributor to "The Ukrainian Review" and other journals and newspapers and his clearly expressed ideas and bold and lively style have made his writings highly readable.

The funeral ceremonies took place on Friday, 27th May, 1966, at the Nordfriedhof in Munich, after which the body of Prince Nakashidze was buried at the Georgian Cemetery near Paris.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE CAPTIVE LANDS

According to various pieces of news reaching us from the East the situation in Ukraine and other captive lands can be characterized as follows:

a) Throughout these countries groups are coming into existence in considerable numbers opposing the regime and the Russian Communist empire in the spheres of philosophy, literature, and politics, sometimes even with armed force.

b) Revolutionary underground literature is spreading throughout the lands of the captive nations.

c) Political rallies against the regime and the empire are occasionally taking place in universities and colleges, and students and young workpeople are demonstrating in the streets.

d) Agricultural resistance is growing amongst farm labourers and peasants.

e) The captive nations are convinced that basic, all-embracing changes are possible and expect them to come through the revolutionary overthrow of the regime and the dissolution of the Russian Communist empire.

f) The Russian Communist rulers, deeply concerned about their survival, have again started persecuting the freedom-loving intelligentsia of the captive nations. They are endeavouring to exonerate and rehabilitate the KGB and the Stalinist regime, and to intimidate rebellious intellectuals with retaliatory trials, arrests, confinement in mental institutions, and the threat to revive the Stalinist terror.

THE SENTENCING OF THE WRITERS SINYAVSKY AND DANIEL

Foreign journalists were refused admission to the courtroom during the entire trial of these two writers, and Soviet citizens were only admitted if they possessed special permits. Immense crowds gathered again and again in front of the courthouse, only to be broken up by the police and voluntary special policemen.

As witnesses for the prosecution the regime was able to produce only the insignificant third-class writers Arkadiy Vasilyev and Zoya Kedrina, since more important writers had refused to become involved in this disgusting affair.

In spite of the pressure put on them by the court, Sinyavsky and Daniel refused to admit the allegedly criminal nature of their deeds, which up to now has almost never happened in a political trial. Thus the regime suffered a moral defeat in the eyes of the entire world.

In the last seven years Sinyavsky, who is of Ukrainian origin, has at various times stood up for writers opposed to the regime, including Boris Pasternak, and especially for younger writers.

The writer Daniel, of Jewish origin, published abroad a long list of Soviet writers and artists who were arrested during Stalin's purges and have never been seen since. In court he emphasized that he had done this in order to prevent similar occurrences in the future.

In *Pravda* of 22nd February 1966 the two writers are accused of "having co-operated with propaganda centres abroad and having extolled in their works not the proper Soviet freedoms but bourgeois freedom"; the article also states that "they were called to account by the court not as writers but as persons who had entered into criminal dealings against Soviet order."

The writer Valeriy Tarsis declared that it was not the two accused in the case who were the criminals but those who had stood in judgement over them and had sentenced them.

SECRET TRIAL IN KYIV

Münchener Merkur (Munich, Germany) reported on 3rd April 1966 that news has only now reached the West that at the same time as the trial of

Sinyavsky and Daniel was going on in Moscow two Ukrainian literary critics were on trial in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv. They were Ivan Svitlychny (42) and Ivan Dziuba (31). They were charged with having smuggled the manuscripts of the Ukrainian writer and poet Symonenko to the West; in these manuscripts Symonenko made a severe attack on Soviet cultural policies. Svitlychny was sentenced to seven years' hard labour, and Dziuba was released from captivity on account of a grave and incurable illness. The poet Symonenko died in unaccountable circumstances in 1963.

TARSIS CONDEMNS THE BOLSHEVIK REGIME

The writer Valeriy Tarsis was some time ago punished by the Bolshevik government on account of his open anti-Bolshevik pronouncements and writings published in the USSR and was confined to a mental institution. Tarsis was born of a Greek father and a Ukrainian mother. After his release he published a book entitled *Ward 7*, in which he openly charged the regime with locking up sane but hostile writers in mental institutions in order to keep them quiet. In spite of these brave resistance activities Tarsis unexpectedly received permission from the Bolshevik government at the time of the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel to go abroad to England — which he did. According to reports from Moscow this happened because the regime regarded Tarsis' presence in the USSR as more dangerous than his anti-Communist activities abroad and because it would help to soothe the protests of foreign Communist parties against the sentences passed on Sinyavsky and Daniel.

In his press conference and interview in London, Tarsis declared that he, like Sinyavsky and Daniel, was fighting for freedom in the USSR and struggling to free the USSR from the grip of those who had occupied it by force, and oppressed and plagued the people in a manner worse than the Tatars. To all involved in the arts Tarsis addressed the plea that they should make every effort to obtain

the release of the young poet V. Bykovsky (23) who had been sentenced to two years imprisonment on account of his anti-regime activities, and was now shut up in a mental institution, from which the KGB did not intend to let him go alive.

Tarsis also stated that the Nobel Committee had made a great mistake in giving the Nobel Prize to the Communist Sholokhov.

So far as human emotions, and particularly youthful emotions, are concerned in the USSR, Tarsis remarked that their attitude is that "of all good men at the time of the Feast of the Annunciation; Spring is in the air and the approach of that glorious day of the Resurrection — Easter Sunday — can be felt."

In *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of 8th February 1966 a certain Arkadiy Zakhnin attacks Tarsis for his anti-Communist activities; in the process, however, he virtually admits that letters are censored in the USSR — although freedom of correspondence is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. Zakhnin recounts that Tarsis "wrote on tiny scraps of paper so that his manuscripts could be smuggled over the frontier more easily."

RELAPSES INTO THE PAST IN THE FIGHT FOR DICTATORSHIP

In Tsarist Russia the population was always told that the Tsar himself and the Tsarist system were good; only the noble Tsarist environment and the civil service were at fault, and must therefore be removed and replaced by people from the masses. Then all would be well. Lenin attacked this outlook bitterly and preached to the people that the evil lay in the Tsarist system itself and not in individuals; thus the Tsarist system had to go.

Now, after nearly fifty years of Bolshevik rule, the same convenient lie is being repeated. The regime has used the most dictatorial and bloody of methods to introduce Bolshevik dogmas into everyday life, and still reached the stage where the bankruptcy of the regime is clear for all to see. But the Communist rulers refuse to

admit this, and assure us, in spite of the Leninist principle, that it is not the system which is at fault, but only the individuals in it. We are told that the Bolshevik system is good, and that it is only individuals who are bad and must make way for changes. To this purpose the regime is trying through drastic educational measures to create a "Soviet man", but they are having no success, as they are opposing human nature. Officials are indeed being changed all the time, but the old evils, and in particular the incredibly bad economics, continue to exist because they are concomitants of the system which will only disappear when the whole system is abolished.

This is particularly well understood by those courageous writers who write openly and bring the state of affairs to the attention of their fellow-citizens.

THE YOUNG TODAY

The eternal problem of opposition between fathers and sons also comes to the fore in the captive lands of the USSR in the radical attitude of the young towards the means to be employed in the struggle for freedom and humanity, for national independence against the dictatorship and irreligion of the regime, and against the empire. The young find far more understanding and agreement for their attitudes amongst their grandfathers than their fathers.

National feelings are becoming more and more dominant amongst the young, as well as the values and truths of humanity.

What is also significant is that these attitudes have currency in the universities and amongst the youngest generation. We have already reported the arrest of the young poetess Yuliya Vishnevskaya and the young poets Leonid Gubanov and V. Bykovsky on account of their participation in demonstrations against the regime in connection with the arrest of Sinyavsky and Daniel.

Komsomolskaya Pravda of 26th January 1966 reported a strike amongst the students of Professional and

Technical School No. 18 in Arkhangel'sk, where many non-Russians live in banishment. The strike was in protest against the unjust dismissal of their teacher, Yuriy Baldin, who had defended the students against wilful measures taken by the school authorities and had spread amongst the students a broadsheet in which several students had written the truth about certain administrative abuses. Komsomol headquarters in Moscow, alarmed by the students' strike, took the part of the dismissed teacher and helped the students to success.

A similar case occurred in Erevan, Armenia, where the authorities intended to dismiss the much-loved rector of the Pedagogical Institute and had to abandon their intention under pressure from the students.

At the end of January 1966 a conference was held in Moscow on matters of "ideological instruction" of pupils in higher classes. 2000 delegates from the Pedagogical Academy, the Communist Party, Komsomol, the teachers, and social organizations throughout the whole of the USSR took part. The goal of the conference was "further improvements in the Communist education of the young" — of which there must obviously be a lack.

DECLARATION OF FREEDOM — SOVIET RUSSIAN VARIETY

In an article in its 12th November 1965 edition, the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (Soviet Russia) took a great deal of trouble to convince the Free World that Soviet citizens are free and feel free.

Soviet teacher Alla Lavrikova, from Grozny, Caucasus, corresponds with an American teacher by the name of Marguerite Svantyk. The American teacher declared in a letter that in her opinion there was no freedom in the Soviet Union and that the downfall of Communism was near. Lavrikova felt it necessary to send the letter to *Sovetskaya Rossiya* and to appeal to the paper to provide her "ideological opponent" with a crushing reply.

Immediately the newspaper organized an opinion poll amongst the teachers

of the town of Grozny in which they were asked to send open letters to the paper stating whether they felt free and could teach freely.

A restrained reply came from teacher Z. Abramov, a Chechen, whose people were almost wiped out after the return of the Red Army to the Caucasus in the Second World War by killings and deportations to Siberia. Abrazov, who somehow or other has remained alive, writes:

"I belong to a comparatively small nation. But I feel equal to all others."

Answering the question as to whether she can teach as she wishes, V. Arutiunova writes:

"Of course the state's recommendations — in this case the curriculum — form a basis for me. But within its framework no one can prescribe the methods I use, my choice of materials, or the shape of my lessons. We wish to educate the children to the active construction of the new society."

STRATEGIC DOCTRINE IN THE USSR

Should the USSR take part in a world war, the Soviet rulers have fixed as their target the total annihilation of the enemy — "the Capitalists and Imperialists" — and the spreading of Communism as far as possible throughout the world, at least over a fresh and significant section of the world.

Soviet strategists say (in *Krasnaya Zvezda*, No. 52, 1965), "A new world war would inevitably be a war of rockets and nuclear weapons, with bitter battles and the greatest efforts on the front and in the hinterland. The slightest appearance of panic or fear of atomic weapons would be mercilessly dealt with. The main attack force of our army lies in the strategically important missile troops. The characteristics of the war at sea would be the use of atomic submarines, missile-firing seaplanes, missile and anti-submarine destroyers, coastal missile batteries, etc."

Col. V. Larionov writes in *Krasnaya Zvezda* No. 64, 1966, that the conduct of the war would have to be ruthless and determined and would demand from the people and from the Army

a release of moral and physical energy, steadfastness and courage such as had never been seen before. Major-General Y. Zavyalov, writing in the same periodical, emphasizes that war at the present time would be fought not only within the frontiers of the warring states but outside them too; our whole planet would be turned into the arena of future battles. On account of the peculiarities of atomic war the relative territorial sizes of the warring states and of the theatre of war would grow considerably in significance.

In his orders of 18th August 1965 USSR Defence Minister Marshal Malinovsky demanded of the Soviet Army and Fleet that they should "be continually ready to smash to pieces any aggressor." "Any blow against the USSR would be replied to with a blow. But the answering blow must not come too late." Marshal Malinovsky leaves unanswered the question as to whether an "attack on the USSR itself" or simply an "attack on a friendly state or territory" such as Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, or Red China, would be regarded as an act of aggression, and also the question as to whether the USSR would employ nuclear weapons if suitable political circumstances and the right moment arrived.

TRAINING THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES

General Yepishev, head of the political department of the Soviet forces, stated at the USSR Writers' Congress that every fourth officer had received higher military or specialist training. Half of the entire body of officers was made up from engineers and technologists. Of those called up for military service, eighty per cent had received higher, secondary, or partial secondary education. Immense political activity was unfolding within the Soviet Army, he said, "in order to strengthen the influence of the Party, and to instruct soldiers and officers in the spirit of unlimited devotion to the Party and of burning hate for the enemies of Communism." General Yepishev added that although these educational efforts were meeting with success, "there are often serious deficiencies."

General Yepishev also took part in the Party Conference of the Soviet Army in East Germany, where delegates to the twenty-third Party Congress were elected.

THE DIFFERENCES AND QUARRELS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

At the Jubilee Conference on the Comintern in Prague on 23rd October 1965 the Soviet delegate, Ponomarev, who is also head of the external relations department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, put forward three main aims of Comintern activity: "The internationalist fights against imperialism, chauvinism, and racist ideology." These aims should be followed up with special intensity on the "peoples' fronts." If we take into account the fact that these are also the three deadly sins of which the Soviet Communist Party accuses its "Chinese comrades", it becomes clear that Comrade Ponomarev would like, with the help of the Comintern and the peoples' fronts, to suppress the influence of the Chinese Communist Party wherever it is to be found.

Comrade Ponomarev also gave individual Communist Parties *carte blanche* to take whatever actions were appropriate to the circumstances within their own spheres, even to make ideological and political concessions where necessary. In this way the Soviet Communist Party approved those divergences from orthodox Communism which the Communist Parties of France, Italy and other countries have already adopted. The Italian Communists, for example, have put their ideas about a Marxist state into cold storage, and given their comrades the right to oppose the policies of the Party leadership and the opinion of the majority in public. The Italian Party also wants to negotiate with the Roman Catholic Church. The Polish Communist Party has permitted private ownership in agriculture, as have the Hungarian Communists. The French Communist trade unions wish to co-operate in the European Common Market.

These Parties are working against the ancient "dogmas" of the Com-

munist faith, since they have recognized that to do otherwise is to sacrifice themselves to their own downfall, since they can no longer deceive their own nations.

The Communist Parties in the West also condemned the sentences passed on Sinyavsky and Daniel; not, however, on principle, but because their position and backing in Western society is weak and they are forced to manoeuvre for self-preservation and pretend to be democrats.

But the Russian comrades are prepared to grant the Chinese comrades no absolution for their sins. On the contrary, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party recently sent to its Party organizations a circular pointing out the deadly sins of the Chinese and directly accusing Peking of wishing to drive the USSR into war with the USA. On the other hand, the Soviet Communist leaders would be only too pleased if the USA were to precipitate itself into a war with Communist China. In this way the USA would be engaged on part of its front and would withdraw from decisions about the most important of world problems. Then the USSR could await a favourable moment to stab the USA in the back.

On the other side, the organ of the Chinese Communist Party *Huntsi* accuses the USSR of engaging in a policy of encirclement against China in alliance with the USA, India, and Japan, and alleges that these four nations have signed an encirclement pact. For this reason Red China refuses to work together with the USSR.

Nevertheless *Pravda* invites the Chinese comrades "to return to the former path of cordial friendship and all-round co-operation between the two states."

ECONOMIC PLANNING AND REALITY

A report appearing in Russian newspaper on economic figures for the year 1965 admits that planned production figures have not been attained.

"The drought in the eastern areas resulted in a decrease for agriculture in grain production in comparison with 1963 and 1964. In 1965 120.5 million

tons of grain were produced." The purchasing of corn from the USA and Canada has been kept from the population; it forms a state secret. The potato harvest was eight per cent lower than planned. The results of cattle breeding are said to be better, but according to other sources, this has happened only because the peasants on the collective farms have slaughtered masses of cattle because of lack of fodder and for fear of foot-and-mouth disease.

According to the plans for 1965 dwellings covering an area of 84.1 million square metres were to have been built. In fact the figure attained was "approximately" 78 million square metres.

The Seven-Year Plan, which was terminated at the end of 1965, was not realized in the light, chemical, gas, timber, and paper industries; in construction and heavy industry it was only partly realized.

The new Five Year Plan is far more modest; no more is heard of "catching up with and overtaking the USA", and only a far more modest rate of growth is hoped for.

On 1st January 1966 the population of the USSR amounted to 232 millions — a growth at the annual rate of 1.3 per cent.

THE LEADERSHIP

According to news from Moscow the eternal struggles, conflicts, and intrigues within the Communist leadership have temporarily grown somewhat milder, or at least are no longer visible from without. This is due to fear of the growing opposition of the captive nations.

Brezhnev remains in power as leader — because there is no one better and because the battling factions are more or less in equilibrium at present and incapable of pushing through "their man." Apart from him, the man with the most chances would be Shelepin, but at least for the moment people are keeping away from him because he is known as a Stalinist and a KGB man, and there is no desire to provoke overmuch the

captive nations, whose resistance is growing.

The cunning Armenian Mikoyan, who has survived all previous leaders and purges, has resigned from the government as President and from the Party Presidium, but neither due to his age nor, as officially announced, due to ill-health, but because he can sense which way the wind is blowing and has jumped from the sinking ship while there is still time.

The growing resistance of the young, of the writers, and of the masses, has on the one hand caused the quarrels within the leadership to diminish, but on the other has brought whispered threats of a revival of Stalinism in order to stifle the resistance of the captive nations. Finally the leadership is trying to spread the illusion that the present leaders of the Communist Party and Government are clever, intelligent, humane, and moderate, and that they intend to and will improve conditions for the masses and relieve the lives of peasants on collective and state farms.

THE DECAY OF TITOISM

Recently a Montenegrin writer, Miodrag Bulatovich, gave a lecture in Munich, Germany, in which he reported that only a few of the old Communists in Yugoslavia remain. Before the second World War there were approximately 12,000 Communists in Yugoslavia. Half of these fell in the War; of the other half about 2,000 were removed from their posts in 1948, because they had spoken out in favour of Stalin and the Cominform resolution. There now remain, we were told, some three or four thousand, who have grown fat and torpid, and spend most of their time hunting. They form the Party leadership and their burning interest is in the preservation of their personal privileges. Most of them hope to achieve this by pressure at home and by relying on the USSR for support (in which Tito plays first fiddle). The rest, the reformers, would like to maintain their positions by a relaxation of dogmatic severity, and their leader is said to be the Croat Vladimir Bakarich. Apart from diff-

erences of opinion in this respect there are also national conflicts between Serbs, Slovenes, Croats, Macedonians (Bulgarians), and Montenegrins.

The Communist mass consists of a few hundred thousand former partisans and war-time soldiers. They come mostly from the poorer provinces, are uneducated, and stick to the Party for opportunist reasons, since the Party ensures them better living conditions.

Finally there is also the "relieving guard", the young intellectuals, graduates from secondary schools, who, although Party members, think in national terms and have little understanding of Party dogmas. Their main interest is that they should occupy the good, influential, and remunerative posts which are at present occupied by the two groups mentioned above. The path to this would be offered to them by an economic reform which would also give their specialist qualifications more validity.

However, the two first-named groups have no desire to renounce their privileges, so that changes can only be made through pressure from below, from the underprivileged masses of the population. And this liberation of the population can only be brought about by doing away with the Party's leading role, and by dissolving Yugoslavia into independent national democratic states based on the captive nations of Yugoslavia.

NEWS IN BRIEF

* It was revealed at the Twenty-third Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow that the first secretaries of seventy district Party Committees were dismissed recently and new district secretaries appointed to replace them. Reports in *Pravda* stress that many secretaries were dismissed because they had allowed themselves to be carried along by economic work, to the detriment of ideological activity.

* In mid-February, 1966, five accused were sentenced for "treason", one of them to ten years imprisonment and

the others to death, at a military tribunal in North Caucasus. They were charged with co-operating with the Germans during the second World War.

* The Polish writer Ryszard Ketling-Szemlej has been sentenced to four years imprisonment for publishing his literary works abroad.

* Throughout the lands subjugated by the Russians within the USSR a great deal of anti-regime literature, mostly of local origin, is in circulation. This fact is giving the Russian rulers cause for considerable concern, and they would like to persuade the captive nations that such literature comes only from the "hostile West." In *Komsomolskaya Pravda* stories have been concocted on this theme, to the effect, for example, that such literature is smuggled in through Odessa harbour by foreign sailors.

* A bibliography has appeared in the Polish journal *Literatura Ludowa* of all ethnographic works published in Poland in the last twenty years. Also counted in are books by Polish and Ukrainian ethnographers on Ukrainian ethnographic themes; the authors include Yaroslav Rudnycky, A. Oleshchuk, Klinger, Lukaszewski, Blachowski, A. Rosh, K. Yudenko, Y. Klak, Penkalski and others.

* The Czech Minister for Tourism, F. Ucher, has informed the Committee for External Affairs of the Czech National Congress that of the Czechoslovak tourists who visited free countries in 1965 1500 Czechs and Slovaks refused to return to their homeland.

* The Georgian newspaper *Zarya Vostoka* (Tbilisi) of 6th February 1966 reported that the district court in Baghdad had, in a resolution dated 26th January 1966, dissolved the Iraqi-Soviet Friendship Society since it had been inactive for a whole year. On the same grounds the court liquidated the Iraqi-Czechoslovak, Iraqi-Rumanian, and Iraqi-Chinese Friendship Societies.

Ukrainian Chronicle

THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE

The Twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine took place in Kyiv on 15th and 16th March 1966, and detailed reports on it appeared in the official organ *Radyanska Ukraina* on 16th—19th March 1966. Of especial interest in these reports is the speech of a Ukrainian writer faithful to the Party line, O. E. Korniychuk, delivered at the Congress and throwing symptomatic light on intellectual and political conditions in Soviet Ukraine.

Comrade Korniychuk emphasized "that Ukrainian literature and art have followed the broad road of world culture", but he admits faint-heartedly that "we (= the Communist Party) have done little to propagate Ukrainian writing outside the borders of our native land."

"The Ukrainian literary language is highly developed, has a rich vocabulary and a wonderful sound, and is used by wide sections of the people, all of which forms remarkable evidence for the high level of development of the Ukrainian literary language. However, the Ukrainian people respect and love the language of its Russian brother nation as a means of intercourse, communication, and unification within our multinational Soviet family of nations."

He added that Ukrainian language experts must devote even more attention and effort to raising the cultural level of the Ukrainian language in schools and in the theatre, as well as to combatting tendentious linguistic distortions and imperfections. This was also true of the Russian language in Russian schools and theatres in Ukraine.

"At present heated discussions are going on amongst the artistic youth of Ukraine, especially in connection with Socialist Realism and Roman-

ticism. The young are undertaking the reassessment of literary and artistic values and are seeking new artistic paths. There are among us certain young writers who maintain that only they know what is black and what is white.

"Recently a number of American senators formulated clearly and unambiguously the chief goal of subversive propaganda against the Soviet Union: at all costs to lead propaganda in such a direction that Soviet young people produce no more Matrosov. Can you see what they are aiming at — these rabid warmongers! I say this because there are among us certain young people who spend all their nights listening to sly and insidious anti-Soviet propaganda on the radio so that their ears are sore from it.

"Our bitter enemies have been throwing a lot of rusty nationalist fish-hooks with rotten worms into the aether in the hope that they might reach fools who would bite. And such fools do exist — they gossip, they repeat various lies which have been fabricated by German Fascist remnants in West Germany for dollars and marks. These "young and gifted individuals" have lost their honour and their consciences, and fail to recognize that which forms the greatest good fortune on earth — belonging to the great family of Soviet nations. We have only one thing to say to these young people: "Come to your senses, for otherwise you will be brought before the people, your Soviet passport will be taken from you, and you will be told: 'Out with you from our sacred land!'"

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Shelest, said: "Various anti-Soviet organizations and hostile emigré groups are being used in subversive activities against our country. Day in, day out, hours of anti-Ukrainian broadcasting are being transmitted from dozens of hostile

radio stations. The poisonous seeds of bourgeois ideology are reaching us by various channels. The ideological struggle is above all the struggle for the souls, for the intellect, for the hearts of men. For this reason we must decisively direct our ideological struggle against the various phenomena of bourgeois ideology. Even among us there are individuals who have become promulgators of attitudes alien to us. But our society cannot and will not reconcile itself with those who, disregarding the honour and dignity of Soviet citizens, have slipped into the attitudes of the bourgeoisie. We must work on these people persistently and try to re-educate them. If, however, they refuse to understand us, and continue to spread the provocative gossip, rumours and inventions of hostile press and radio sources, then they must be subjected without fail to the judgement of our society.

"The Party very much appreciates the efforts of our scholars, artists, and intellectuals who are united in the organization 'Knowledge.' They are spreading amongst the masses the burning ideals of the Party and the accomplishments of scholarship. But above all talks and lectures by our older Communists, veterans of the Red Army, partisans and resistance fighters, must be organized and put on as frequently as possible for the workers in our factories and on collective and state farms, as well as in educational establishments and schools."

UKRAINIAN BURNS HIMSELF IN PROTEST AGAINST THE OPPRESSION OF HIS COUNTRY

At about 9 p.m. on 7th April 1966 a young man mounted the steps of the Dzerzhinsky Memorial opposite the KGB building (Lubyanka Prison) in Moscow. He poured petrol over himself from a hot-water bottle which he had brought with him, set fire to himself, and, enveloped in flames, began to descend the steps of the memorial. A crowd of two or three hundred rapidly formed, and coats were thrown over the burning man, so that the flames were soon

extinguished. People rushed out of the KGB building and surrounded the man, until an ambulance arrived and took the man off to hospital, where he died on 10th April as a result of serious burns.

The burnt man's name was Mykola Didyk. He was 23 years old, and had come to Moscow from Ukraine. The authorities spread a rumour that he wanted to be sent as a volunteer to Vietnam and had come to Moscow to seek permission. When he received no permission, he burned himself. News of the burning spread like lightning through Moscow, and made a deep impression. But no one believes the rumour, for the place where the burning took place contradicts it. If the refusal of permission to go to Vietnam had been the cause of the burning, then Didyk would have burnt himself in front of the Foreign Ministry or the Defence Ministry of the USSR, not in front of the notorious Lubyanka Prison, the headquarters of the KGB, at the Dzerzhinsky Memorial. Everyone is saying that the cause of the burning was anti-Russian, and that it was meant as a political demonstration against the malice of the KGB, the Communist Party Congress, and the cruel oppression of Ukraine by its Russian occupiers.

RUSSIFICATION ENDEAVOURS IN UKRAINE

Chauvinist Russian feelings and strivings are appearing more and more in Russian literature and the Russian Press at the present time. Much more is written about the Russian soul, about the faithfulness of the Russian people to its historical past, about the preservation of Russian historical monuments, etc. Attention is being transferred more and more from "Soviet patriotism" to "patriotic Russian consciousness." Instead of the term "Soviet Union" the word "Russia" is being used more often.

Russification measures are being doubled by the Russian rulers throughout Ukraine. Russian schools are being opened everywhere, in which all lessons are in Russian. In Ukrainian schools Russian has not only been introduced as obligatory, but as the

language of instruction in the majority of subjects. Ukraine is being flooded with Russian press and literature. The works of Ukrainian writers, on the other hand, meet with great difficulties at the printers, and editions of only a few thousands are allowed, whilst Russian works are published by the million. As regards the press in Ukraine itself, only 26 papers and periodicals are allowed to appear in Ukrainian and these only in small editions. 76 appear in Russian, in huge quantities. On top of this the Russian press from the Russian Republic and other Soviet territories enters Ukraine in unlimited and immense quantities. According to *Kultura i Zhyttia* (Culture and Life) no. 103, 1965, the citizens of Ukraine receive 22 million newspapers and journals from Russia (mostly from Moscow and Leningrad) and only 9 million "Republican", i.e. printed in Ukraine. Of these Republican newspapers and journals, half are printed in Russian, and a quarter partly in Russian, partly in Ukrainian.

BARBARIC TREATMENT OF UKRAINIAN WORKS OF ART

Monuments of Ukrainian art are being barbarically destroyed. According to *Literaturna Ukraina* (Literary Ukraine) of 21st December 1965, artistic masterpieces — many of them of West European origin, stolen from their owners in the early years of the Russian occupation of Ukraine — have been thrown together in piles in the cellars of the National Museum in Zhytomyr without being catalogued and have been decaying there for over forty years, because the Russian rulers are unwilling to set aside proper space for art treasures.

It was reported by the same journal on 7th December 1965 that the famous seventeenth-century wooden church in the Ukrainian resort of Vorokhta (Nadvirna rayon, in the East Carpathians), which is of great and unique artistic value, is falling into ruin due to lack of proper care.

* The seventeenth volume of the *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia* has appeared in Kyiv. It contains detailed articles about Ukraine, her people, her

literature, and her history. However, the relevant "scholarly" articles are written in a false pro-Russian light. The violent occupation of Ukraine by the Russians is depicted as "a joyful union between the Ukrainians and Russians." The Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalists" come in for special rebuke — as "the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people", since they want to spread "hostility" between the Ukrainian and Russian "brother nations." The allegedly close connections between Ukrainian and Russian literature are stressed.

* According to *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 98, 1965, a great bronze memorial to the Ukrainian poetess Lesya Ukrainka by the sculptor Muravin has been erected in the town of Lutsk, Volhynia, Western Ukraine. It must be mentioned that Muravin's work is very similar to a statue of Lesya Ukrainka, which has long stood in Cleveland, USA, and is one of the masterpieces of the outstanding Ukrainian sculptor and former UPA fighter, Mykhailo Cheresnyovsky. Muravin's work, however, is far weaker, and does not equal Cheresnyovsky's work at all.

* The "State" Ukrainian Jubilee Committee, led by the Soviet Ukrainian, pro-Muscovite writer, Kornychuk, has decided to celebrate this year the 110th anniversary of the birth and the 50th anniversary of the death of the outstanding West Ukrainian poet and writer Ivan Franko. Celebrations are to take place in all republics of the USSR, the complete works of Franko are to be published in fifty volumes, and a monograph on the life and work of the poet is to be published. Such monographs will also appear in English, German, French, and Spanish. A film is also to be made about Franko and a travelling exhibition is to be shown throughout the USSR and in Canada.

THE HISTORIC SKYLINE OF THE UKRAINIAN CAPITAL, KYIV, MUST BE PRESERVED AT ALL COSTS

In the Kyiv magazine *Literaturna Ukraina* (Literary Ukraine) of 19th October 1965 Leonid Serpilin indicates the absolute necessity of preserving

Kyiv's historic monuments as the city is rebuilt.

"Unfortunately, unpleasant and very sad occurrences are to be seen in a whole series of cases. There are probably not very many citizens of Kyiv who are aware that it is intended to build a museum-diorama to commemorate the defence of Kyiv, a hotel, and a theatre, all on the little Volodymyr Hill, so popular with those who live in Kyiv. Truly an architectural feat! If Kyiv's citizens were asked about it they would certainly reject the whole idea."

"It is hardly conceivable that someone should wish to destroy one of the quiet, picturesque parts of Kyiv, loved so deeply and known so well to the inhabitants of Kyiv as the little Volodymyr Hill. The realization of this plan would cause irreparable damage to Kyiv's skyline, which has come into being through the centuries and confers a unique character upon our city."

The writer of this article, entitled "And yet that's still Art!" protests against the destruction of historic places and silhouettes, for much destruction has already taken place in Kyiv:

"A great deal has been destroyed in Kyiv. Perhaps no city in the Soviet Union has suffered so much through the ill considered demolition of buildings and arbitrary decisions as Kyiv. The ancient and wonderful silhouettes of the past, sacred relics of the Ukrainian people, have disappeared without trace... Let us at least keep from destruction that which remains and without which Kyiv would lose her skyline for ever."

The author refrains from mentioning that the destruction of the Church of St. Michael and other priceless historic monuments of Ukrainian culture is the work of Russian Bolshevik barbarism.

"In the course of Kyiv's further rebuilding, the city's historic form should be preserved, and the famous belt of parks running along the Dnipro from north to south should be lengthened", writes the author. "The time has already come when we must think about the silhouette of the left

bank, which is now being rebuilt: Its monotonous construction lacks any clear architectural accents when viewed from the higher part of the city: the scene is rather desolate, even miserable."

UKRAINIANS IN POLAND

In one of its recent issues, the Warsaw newspaper *Życie Warszawy* notes that in 11 provinces there are 180,000 Ukrainians living in Poland today. The largest settlements are to be found in Olsztyn and Koszalin provinces.

U.S. CONGRESS OBSERVES 48th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

Washington, D.C. — Members of the U.S. House of Representatives from both sides of the aisle rose to speak on Monday, January 25, 1966, in what was a day of tribute to the Ukrainian people on the 48th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine.

The presentation of specially prepared statements on this occasion, subsequently included in the Congressional Record, was preceded by prayers offered in the House by the Very Rev. Constantine Berdar, Rector of St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Seminary here.

Rev. John Hundiak, pastor of St. Demetrius Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Carteret, N.J., delivered the prayers in the Senate on the following day. Here, too, Senators honoured Ukraine's indomitable spirit of resistance and her people's relentless struggle for freedom and national independence.

Congressman Daniel J. Flood (D., Pa.) set the tone for other legislators when he likened the current war in Vietnam to the struggle of the Ukrainian people against Red aggression five decades ago.

"The plight of 17 million captive North Vietnamese", the Congressman stated, "is substantially no different from that of 43 million Ukrainians or the millions of other captive nations in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America."

Mr. Flood also called attention to House Resolution 14, introduced by him in the first session of the 89th Congress, calling for the creation of a special Captive Nations Committee. The Congressman asked that he be allowed to include as part of his remarks the pamphlet entitled "The Educational Policy of UCCA" by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, as well as a pastoral letter by Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn issued in October of last year.

According to the Congressional Record, 46 Congressmen presented statements on January 25th following Mr. Flood's introductory speech. Among them were: Gerald R. Ford, Carl Albert, Edward J. Derwinski, Henry Helstoski, Dominick V. Daniels, Melvin Laird, Florence P. Dwyer, James A. Byrne, Frank Annunzio, Ray J. Madden, Ducien N. Nedzi, John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House — Frank J. Horton, Joseph G. Minish, Seymour Halpern, Martha W. Griffiths, Paul J. Krebs, G. Robert Watkins, Elmer J. Holland, James M. Hanley, Edward J. Patten, Barratt O'Hara, Herbert Tenzer, William T. Murphy, Mark Andrews, Harold R. Collier, Leonard Farbstein, Cornelius E. Gallagher, James J. Delaney, Silvio O. Conte, William H. Bates, George A. Fallon, Michael A. Feighan, Edna F. Kelly, Samuel S. Stratton, Frank T. Bow, William S. Morrehead, John H. Dent, Alphonzo Bell, Glenn Cunningham, J. William Stanton, Robert McClory, William L. St. Onge, Kenneth W. Dyal, John D. Dingell.

Congressman Robert E. Sweeney included in his remarks an address by Dr. Z. Wynnysky, delivered in Cleveland on October 16. Other legislators included gubernatorial proclamations and speeches by public officials and Ukrainian civic leaders.

VIRTUOSO BANDURIST, VASYL YEMETS, IS 75

The first among the famous bandura players of recent time, Vasyi Yemets, passes the evening of his life in exile, in distant California (where he owns a small inn with a garden) in full vigour and vitality (he is now 75). Ukraine must thank him above all

others for the revival and popularisation of playing on this ancient Ukrainian musical instrument — the bandura (a kind of lute) after the First World War and during the Ukrainian struggle for freedom. After the destruction of Ukraine as a state by the Russians towards the end of the 17th century, bandura players were to be found principally among the common people, in the country, and very few in the cities of Ukraine, and so the Russian overlords did not pay too much attention to the content of the folk tunes handed down by the bandura-players. Yet these folk tunes were dangerous for the Russian Empire, for they sang of the recent glorious past of Ukraine and aroused the Ukrainian nation to resistance against the Russian oppressors.

Vasyl Yemets, who had completed his musical training in Moscow, Berlin and Prague, organised the first school for Ukrainian bandura players in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv and continued his work in this field as an organiser in exile, mainly however in Prague (1923). Overseas he organised bandura concerts in the USA and Canada.

In addition maestro Vasyl Yemets is the author of numerous articles on the bandura in both Ukrainian and other languages, of which his book, "The Cossack Bandura Players", published in 1961 in Toronto (Canada) — 381 pages — is the most important. This luxury edition contains on almost every page a photograph or an illustration from the artistic life of the author himself and from the history of the bandura (also known under the name "Kobza").

Although only the introduction is in English, the rest of the text being in Ukrainian, non-Ukrainians would also derive pleasure from possessing this book, for the photographs and illustrations explain the Ukrainian text very clearly.

The author is thinking of publishing soon a second similar publication entitled "An Album of Kobza Players."

W. Luzhansky

DIVIDE AND RULE — RUSSIAN STYLE

When Yair Saban, a member of the Central Committee of the Israeli Communist Party, recently went to Moscow, Warsaw and Kyiv for political talks, he heard of the existence of a Soviet plan according to which Poland would cede a strip of territory about 30 to 50 miles wide and 300 miles long to the east of the Oder-Neisse Line to the Soviet Zone of Germany and receive back or have ceded to her in compensation by the Soviet Union some 23,500 square miles of land. The areas involved would be a part of West Ukraine, including the Carpatian oilfields and bordered by a line running through Rava Ruska, Drohobych, Boryslav, and Turka, and a part of Byelorussia, formerly in Polish hands and bordered by a line running through Terespol — Volkovysk — Grodno and including the great forest areas of Ruzhany and Pruzhany.

This Russian "International Friendship" plan, which provides for the reclamation by the Soviet Zone of Germany of at least some German territories to the east of the Oder and the Neisse, is undoubtedly aimed at attaching a higher status to the Soviet Zone regime and to its strongest man, Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State. An Ulbricht who received German territory back from Poland as a reward for services rendered would, it is hoped in Moscow, no longer seem so insufferable to the entire German people as he does today; he might still be transformed from the Joker to the Ace of Trumps of Russia's German policies.

This knowledge of what the Russians have in mind, contradicted by all official statements, has given rise to considerable anxiety in Poland, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. A result of the exchange of territories would be the resettlement of tens of thousands of Ukrainians and Byelorussians from

the territories being ceded to Poland. For them to remain in Poland is unthinkable. Relations between Poles on the one hand and Ukrainians and Byelorussians on the other are, in spite of all "Socialist friendship", definitely bad. Between 1945 and 1947 Red Poland drove large sections of the Ukrainian population of the Lviv, Kholm and Peremyshl regions from their homes, but even today wide stretches of this territory lie unsettled and uncultivated by the Poles.

In order to dispose of the last shreds of evidence that this area once belonged to Ukraine, the Polish administration is at present having old Ukrainian wooden churches — cultural monuments — torn down. Eye-witnesses report:

"The churches in the area are being destroyed as quickly as possible, several each week. The destruction of all Ukrainian churches is a decided fact, their demolition only a matter of time. At present the churches in Zhuravytsia, Ostriv, Kupyatychi and Konyukhy are being pulled down, while the churches in Rokshytsi, Iskanya, and Ruske Selo have already been destroyed. Appeals to the Primate of Poland have been useless. Before the churches are torn to the ground, thieves go to work. Among the thieves who emptied the church at Tylych, destroyed part of a valuable painting, and removed sixteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century icons, were even students of the Academy of Arts in Cracow".

Furious indignation reigns amongst the Ukrainian minority in Poland and in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic about the conduct of the Polish authorities. It is scarcely imaginable that Poles, Ukrainians and Byelorussians are going to listen patiently to Moscow's wish for an exchange of territories under these circumstances.

The next few months will show just how seriously the Russians are considering this plan, which the Israeli Communist leader has certainly divulged prematurely.

Book Review

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Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

AN OBJECTIVE BOOK THAT SHOULD SEE THE SECOND EDITION

John S. Reshetar, Jr., THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION. A Study in Nationalism.
Princeton, New Jersey. Princeton University Press, 1952. 363 pp.

Reshetar's book is arranged into seven chapters: (1) Incipient Nationhood, (2) The Rise of the Rada, (3) The Demise of the Rada, (4) The Hetmanate, (5) The Republican Revival, (6) The Debacle, (7) In Retrospect.

The essential part of the book (chapters: 2-6) is a critical chronicle of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1920) while the last chapter (7) is an analysis of the chief causes contributing to the failure of the Ukrainian Revolution. The first chapter presents a picture how the Ukrainian national movement was developing before 1917.

The Ukrainian Revolution rested on the historical heritage of this development. In larger measure this was a cultural rather than a political legacy. The Ukrainian cultural renaissance began with Ivan Kotliarevsky (1769-1838), often referred to as the father of modern Ukrainian literature and found its political expression with Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) — the greatest Ukrainian poet and one of the founders of the Saints Cyril and Methodius Society (1846), which proposed a Ukrainian version of Panslavism. The retardation of the movement in the second half of the XIXth century can be attributed to the restrictive measures of the Russian government, symbolized by the "ukazes" of 1863 and 1876. The political thought of this dark period was reflected in the works of Prof. Michael Drahomaniv (1841-1895). But even his moderate program was impracticable to the autocratic Russian taste and Professor Drahomaniv was forced into exile.

At that time, the Ukrainian national idea was able to flourish only in Galicia under more moderate Austrian rule. Gradually, it became the "Piedmont" of the Ukrainian Nationhood, where the men like Prof. Michael Hrushevsky (1866-1934), author of the monumental *History of the Ukraine-Rus'*, Ivan Franko (1856-1916) — the greatest Galician-Ukrainian poet and novelist and many other Ukrainians who preferred to study in the West, spearheaded the Ukrainian national movement.

In Ukraine itself, the Ukrainian independence found its most fearless and outspoken advocate in Nicholas I. Mikhnovsky (1873-1924) — the author of the brochure *Independent Ukraine*, which was adopted as a program of the first Ukrainian political party — the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP). Mikhnovsky's demands for Ukrainian independence were based on the assertion that Russian Tsar had broken the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) and that Ukraine as the injured party could obtain redress only by insisting upon the fulfilment of the original provisions of the Treaty or by severing relations with the violator of the Treaty — Russia.

On the next pages, the author presents a picture of the development undertaken by the Ukrainian political parties before and after 1905.

In 1905, the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences recognized the existence of a separate Ukrainian language and, in 1906, the Russian government lifted the restrictions of 1863 and 1876. This gave an impetus for the development of the Ukrainian literature and journalism. The Ukrainians were also active in political field and there were 44 Ukrainian deputies in the First Duma (Parliament) who participated in the Parliamentary Union of Autonomists composed of deputies representing the national minorities. The Second Duma contained 47 Ukrainian deputies organized in a separate faction which pressed for a free Ukrainian school system. The reaction which followed caused many Ukrainians to be arrested and the government curtailed Ukrainian political and cultural activities, even forbidding the public celebrations of Shevchenko's Anniversary in 1914. The advent of war gave the Russian government an opportunity to make a real *pogrom* of Ukrainian political and cultural institutions and the occupation of Galicia (1914-1915) brought a débâcle for the Ukrainian "Piedmont." However, the war itself provided the prelude to the collapse of the Russian Empire which in turn enabled the Ukrainians to start their Ukrainian Revolution.

The second chapter of the book deals with the rise of the Ukrainian Central Rada (Ukrainian Central Council) — the first Ukrainian government in modern times. It was established on March 17, 1917, by the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP) under the leadership of Prof. Hrushevsky. The Rada called an All-Ukrainian National Congress (April 17-21, 1917) in Kyiv and 900 delegates and 600 guests participated. The Congress demanded national-territorial autonomy for Ukraine. Many other Ukrainian congresses were held in Kyiv at that time (p. 50) and the resolutions adopted at these meetings demanded a democratic federal Russian republic with national-territorial autonomy for Ukraine. On April 1, 1917, a huge demonstration was staged in Kyiv and a mass meeting on St. Sophia Square adopted resolutions supporting demands for autonomous order in Ukraine.

By the end of May, 1917, a delegation of Ukrainian Central Rada arrived in Petrograd and presented their modest requests to the Russian Provisional Government as well as to the Petrograd Soviet which then shared the authority with the government in the capital. However the delegation returned to Kyiv empty-handed as the commission on constitutional questions which heard the demands of the Rada's delegation, unanimously agreed that the Provisional Government lacked authority to grant autonomy to any portion of the Russian State, and only the All-Russian Constituent Assembly would be empowered to pass such a law. Conversations of a semi-official nature held in Petrograd at that time (p. 59) were also of no results.

The rejection of Ukrainian demands caused Prof. Hrushevsky to announce at the First Ukrainian Peasants' Congress in Kyiv that "the holiday of the revolution has come to an end. We are approaching a dire period. Ukraine must be organized. Only the Ukrainian people must decide their fate." At the same time a large number of Ukrainian soldier-delegates to the Second All-Ukrainian Military Congress vowed not to return to their units until Ukrainian autonomy was proclaimed. This prompted the Rada to issue its First Universal, which recapitulated the requests of the Rada and solemnly announced that "from this day forth we shall direct our own lives." (p. 61)

Shortly after the proclamation of the Universal a General Secretariat headed by Volodymyr Vynnychenko was established. It contained 9 portfolios and can be considered the first autonomous government of Ukraine, though it had hardly any of the authority customarily associated with a government. Much of the Russian press regarded the proclamation of the Universal and the establishment of the Secretariat as a "treason" and "German intrigue", yet calmer opinions also asserted themselves. Early in July the All-Russian

Congress of Soviets urged the Provisional Government to come to an understanding with the Rada. On July 12, 1917, the delegation of the Russian Provisional Government headed by Alexander Kerensky arrived in Kyiv to negotiate with the Rada's General Secretariat. The result of these negotiations was the Second Universal issued by the Rada on July 16, which declared that the Russian Provisional Government recognized the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination and thus made the Rada "the sole supreme organ of revolutionary democracy in Ukraine." The Universal also provided for the inclusion in the Rada of delegates of the non-Ukrainian nationalities living in Ukraine. The issuance of the Second Universal precipitated a crisis in the Russian Provisional Government and four ministers resigned from the cabinet. Shortly after this crisis Prince Lvov resigned and Alexander Kerensky assumed the premiership.

The inclusion of the national minorities in the Rada was completed by July 25, and the newly enlarged Rada drafted a statute for the administration of Ukraine, and the statute was taken by a delegation of the Rada to Petrograd for approval, but the Provisional Government wanted no definite settlement and prolonged discussions with the Ukrainian delegates. Only on August 15, the Provisional Government made a counterproposal in the form of a "Provisional Instruction to the General Secretariat" and sent it to the Rada. Two of the Rada's delegates returned and were superseded by two substitute delegates — a Russian and a Pole, who were selected as members of national minorities groups to persuade the government to accept the Rada's proposals. The Rada convened for its plenary session on August 18, just after the abortive Polubotok Regiment coup (July 15-16, 1917, liquidated by the Rada — I. Shanykovsky) and the shooting incident with the Bohdan Khmelnytsky Regiment (August 8, 1917), and after stormy debates which lasted for three days adopted a resolution embodying a reluctant acceptance of the "Instruction." The new Secretariat, headed by Vynnychenko, was confirmed by the Provisional Government on September 14, 1917. However, the acceptance of the "Instruction" was regarded as truce rather than a peace settlement. The Provisional Government contemplated the dispersal of the Rada by force and the Ukrainians spoke more and more of sovereignty and attacked Russian centralism and imperialism.

On November 2-12, 1917 the Third All-Ukrainian Military Congress met in Kyiv with approximately 3000 delegates in attendance. The hostility which was manifested by the delegates towards Petrograd prompted Vynnychenko during one of the sessions to sound a call for a Ukrainian People's Republic. He promised that the Secretariat would convoke the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly and would not enter into relations with Kerensky's government. The Congress was interrupted by the November Revolution in Petrograd. Fighting broke out in Kyiv and the Rada threw its military forces in support of the enemies of the Provisional Government and forced its forces to withdraw from Kyiv. The Military Congress reconvened and called upon the Rada and the General Secretariat to assume full civil and military authority in Ukraine.

The third chapter deals with the demise of the Rada. As the conflict between the Bolsheviks and their opponents spread in Russia, the Rada issued its Third Universal on November 20, 1917, proclaiming the Ukrainian People's Republic and the convocation of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly on January 22, 1918. Simultaneously, the Rada proclaimed the nationalization of large land estates, the eight-hour work day, state control over production, amnesty for political crimes, abolition of capital punishment, freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly and strikes, as well as the principle of "national-personal autonomy" for all national minorities in Ukraine.

In the meantime, the tension between the Soviet Russia and Ukraine mounted. On December 17, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars in Petrograd sent the Rada an ultimatum in which recognizing Ukraine's right to self-determination even to the point of complete secession — at the same time accused the Rada of counter-revolutionary activities. If the Ukrainians failed

to cease "disorganizing the front", "disarming Bolshevik forces in Ukraine", "supporting the counter-revolutionary Don Cossack rebellion of General Kaledin" — a state of war was to follow between the Rada and the Soviet Government in Russia and in Ukraine. Simultaneously, the Bolsheviks in Kyiv called an All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in order to oppose the Rada.

The Bolshevik plan with the Congress failed as few of the about 2500 delegates were controlled by them and the rest supported the Rada. The Congress protested the ultimatum and refused to listen to the Bolshevik Zatonksy. The Bolsheviks withdrew from the Congress and went to Kharkiv where they called a Congress of their own which now is referred to in official histories as the first such meeting. This "Congress of Soviets" proclaimed the Rada dissolved on December 26, and proceeded to organize the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

As the Bolsheviks had concluded an armistice with the Central powers on December 15 (in the name of whole Russia), the Rada found itself in difficult situation, it was confronted with a dilemma: if they refused to conclude a peace with the Central powers — the armies of the latter would invade Ukraine; if they did conclude a separate peace — they would antagonize the Entente powers. This led the Rada to address a note to all belligerent and neutral states (Dec. 24) declaring its peace program: a general and democratic peace with no annexations and contributions and with compensation for the "little peoples and states." The Rada warned that any enemies of Russia making a peace with the Soviets could not regard such a treaty as automatically binding Ukraine.

The delegates of the Central powers at Brest Litovsk responded to this note on December 26 with an invitation to the Rada to participate in the deliberations. The delegation of the Rada left Kyiv for Brest Litovsk on December 30, with instructions to "protect our interests."

In the following pages, the author describes the negotiations in Brest Litovsk which were concluded on February 9, 1918 with signing of the Treaty between the Central powers and Ukraine, the Treaty which the editors of the *New York Times* on the following day termed "secret diplomacy of the worst sort."

The Rada's reply to the Bolshevik invasion was the proclamation of Ukrainian independence contained in the Fourth Universal from January 22, 1918. As the main Bolshevik force approached Kyiv at the end of January, the Rada was able to muster only a students' military unit which opposed the Bolsheviks at Kruty, but were defeated and the road to Kyiv lay open to the Reds. The Bolsheviks approached the capital and street fighting lasted twelve days. On February 7, the Rada fled secretly to Zhytomyr with some 2000 disorganized troops. The Ukrainian delegation in Brest Litovsk frantically appealed to the Central powers for help. The Rada had no alternative but to accept the Central powers' proposal of unconditional military aid.

The German and the Austro-Hungarian armies advanced into Ukraine and soon the whole of Ukraine was recaptured from the Bolshevik troops. Although, the Ukrainian government believed that Ukrainian sovereignty would not be limited, it soon had to face the fact that this was not the case. The Central powers were primarily interested in grain deliveries and their first direct act of intervention into Ukrainian affairs occurred on April 6, when the supreme commander of the German forces in Ukraine, Field Marshal von Eichhorn issued an order to his subordinates in which he completely ignored the Rada's agrarian law and declared that the harvest was the possession of those who collected it. The Rada protested to the German Ambassador Mumm and instructed the Ukrainian population that von Eichhorn's order was not to be executed. This controversy placed an added strain upon German-Ukrainian relations and the Germans began to plan overthrowing of the Rada's government and to replace it with a government that would not hinder the undertakings of the German authorities. During the evening of April 24, General Skoropadsky

met with General Groener to discuss the conditions of the new regime that he intended to establish. General Skoropadsky accepted all of the important conditions laid down at this meeting and started preparations for the seizure of power. The *Dobry* affair (a banker who collaborated with the Germans was kidnapped by pro-Rada agents) prompted Field Marshal von Eichhorn to issue an order on April 25, introducing the jurisdiction of military courts in Ukraine. At the same time, the Germans disarmed a Ukrainian division composed of former Ukrainian prisoners of war in Germany. These new acts of intervention in Ukrainian internal affairs caused the Rada to spend April 27-28 in a stormy debate. On April 28, the debate was interrupted by a detachment of armed German soldiers and a German officer, speaking in Russian, ordered the members of the Rada to stand up and raise their hands. Only Prof. Hrushevsky remained seated. The Germans arrested several ministers and officials because of their alleged participation in the *Dobry* affair. Premier Holubovych protested to Mumm and von Eichhorn expressed regrets. However, on the next day, a Congress of Landowners attended by some 6000 delegates elected General Skoropadsky — Hetman of Ukraine. While the newly elected Hetman was inaugurated in religious ceremonies at St. Sophia, the Rada was holding its last session at which it adopted belatedly the constitution of the Ukrainian People's Republic and elected Prof. Hrushevsky — President of the Republic. Skoropadsky's supporters seized various ministries and from the Rada troops, only the Sich Sharpshooters offered a slight resistance. On the morning of April 30, Skoropadsky's forces were in full control of Kyiv and the Sharpshooters were disarmed. The new regime became a matter of fact.

The Interlude of Hetmanate has not been regarded with favour by the author. Choosing between deprecatory and the panegyric literature dealing with the period the author apparently based his studies mostly on the deprecatory type. The Hetman regime was a shift to the right, and it was a conformation to the existing conditions, because the former leftist government failed to achieve the political reconstruction of the Ukraine and win the necessary support of the population. However, it would be too far to conclude that the regime was composed of the Russians or of the Russified Ukrainians. The May 3 cabinet contained no men who were prominent in the Ukrainian national (socialist — I. Shankovsky) movement (p. 151), but the majority of those men were closely connected with Ukraine and were *sui generis* Ukrainian patriots. Fedir Andriyevych Lyzohub — the premier, was not only a Ukrainophile, but also a Ukrainian from origin and persuasion. He made himself famous by greeting the Tsar Nicholas II in Poltava, 1902, in Ukrainian, which met with the highest displeasure of the visiting Emperor and his entourage. Minister Vasylenko (and his wife Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko — later in exile) was a noted Ukrainian historian. Other "good" Ukrainians were ministers Butenko (railroads), General Rohoza (defence) and of course Dmytro Doroshenko, who as the author says was a "nationalist with an unimpeachable reputation" (p. 151).

During the most of the summer, 1918, Lyzohub's cabinet had a hard time in coping with anarchy and disorder and the opposition by the Ukrainian leftist elements or the Russian great power chauvinists who regarded the building of Ukrainian State a "farce" or "operetta" or dismissed it as *chepukha* (nonsense).

The attempts to come to an understanding between the Hetman regime and the Ukrainian National Political Union, formed from the socialist and liberal elements after the fall of the Rada, were hindered by the anti-Ukrainian attitude of the Ministry of the Interior headed by Igor Kistiakovsky who succeeded Lyzohub as minister. This ill-chosen minister (Hetman wanted the appointment of Mikhnovsky as minister of the interior, but the latter declined to take the responsibility — I. Shankovsky) bore the responsibility for the appointment of an anti-Ukrainian administration in the provinces of Ukraine, composed mostly of the *chinovniki* (officials) of the tsarist regime. Kistiakovsky

was responsible for arrests of noted Ukrainians on the grounds that they were "bolshheviks." Many Ukrainians were also displeased by the failure of Hetman to prevent the trial of former Rada ministers and officials by the German court in connection with the Dobry affair.

These setbacks could hardly be compensated by the progress of Ukrainian culture widely supported by the Hetmanate. The Ukrainian Universities and Gymnasiums were established. Ukrainian state theatres were founded, foundation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences planned and Prof. Hrushevsky offered its presidency. Prof. Hrushevsky declined and the position was accepted by Prof. Vladimir Vernadsky, father of Prof. George Vernadsky the noted historian of the Yale University. To this must be added that, during the Hetman regime, much of preparatory, legal work was done, without which the building of a state would have been impossible and from which even the future regimes had profited, as e.g. the law on Ukrainian citizenship, the military law, the law on agrarian reform, etc.

The Hetman regime had also to cope with the Russian terrorism planted in Ukraine by imported Russian Social-Revolutionaries evidently with Bolshevik support. The culminating act of terrorism was the assassination of Field Marshal von Eichhorn (July 30). This was supported by the explosions of munition stores in Kyiv and Odessa. These difficulties were augmented by the open uprisings of the Ukrainian peasantry with *karni zahony* (punitive expeditions) organized by the landowners under the tutelage of the German and Austro-Hungarian military forces. The Hetman agrarian policy was considerably burdened by the demands which the Central powers were making. The Hetmanate inherited a series of economic agreements between the Central powers and the Rada. But since Central powers would not provide the manufactured goods which the peasants wanted in return for their deliveries — the Hetmanate failed in meeting their monthly delivery schedules.

In October 1918, Hetman conducted the negotiations with the Ukrainian National Union and this precipitated the crisis within the Lyzohub cabinet. Within a week a coalition cabinet was formed in which the Union gained five portfolios. Soon a much worse crisis approached with the defeat of Germany and a new government was formed in Kyiv which proclaimed Ukraine's federation with Russia. It was a vain effort on the part of Hetman regime to appease the Entente powers. This act was answered with an insurrection by the forces of the Ukrainian National Union. A Directory of five men under the leadership of Vynnychenko was established and called upon all Ukrainian soldiers and Cossacks to fight for the independence of Ukraine. The intervention by the German forces allowed Hetman Skoropadsky to regain power for a month in Kyiv, but on December 12, 1918, an agreement between the German Command and insurrectionists was signed and it provided for German neutrality and withdrawal of German troops. Two days later the Directory's forces, led by colonel Evhen Konovalets, entered Kyiv and Hetman Skoropadsky abdicated. He fled to Germany took up residence in Wansee where he headed the Ukrainian emigré movement for the restitution of the Hetmanate in Ukraine.

The chapter about the Republican Revival begins with the author's account about happenings in Western Ukraine where, after the fall of Habsburgs, the Ukrainians established the Western Ukrainian People's Republic. This Republic entered Union with the Ukrainian People's Republic on January 22, 1919, forming a United Ukrainian People's Republic. This was achieved amidst Bolshevik and Polish invasion, civil war, internal party conflicts and different conceptions by the Ukrainian leadership of what the future policy should be: orientation towards Moscow or towards the Entente powers. The Ukrainian army could not hold Lviv now captured by the Poles nor halt the advancing Bolsheviks. Neither could it annex the Northern Bukovina which became part of Rumania, nor the Carpatho-Ukraine which became part of Czechoslovakia. A further difficulty was the French intervention in Odessa, when the Directory

was unable to arrive at a satisfactory understanding with the French Command as the Entente powers backed the conception of a "single and undivided Russia." The French Command in Odessa succeeded only in antagonizing both the Ukrainians and the White Russians and finally the French were ejected from Odessa by the forces of Ukrainian insurrectionist Hryhoriiv (cf. Grigoriev — p. 249). Hryhoriiv was a typical insurrectionist of that time. He first supported Petliura against Skoropadsky, pushed the French into the Black Sea, joined with Bolsheviks, but then turned against the Bolsheviks, disillusioned by their policies in Ukraine. He was assassinated by "ataman" Makhno — leader of the Anarchists in Ukraine.

Yet the spring of 1919 was still very far from the débâcle which is pictured by the author in the following chapter. The author begins this chapter with the eulogy of Simon Petliura who unjustly has become a very controversial figure in the world opinion. Controversial mostly because of accusations of anti-Semitism laid against him and "made in Moscow" which convinced a large segment of the world opinion that he was the originator of *pogroms* against Ukrainian Jewish population which took place in the first half of 1919 because of anarchy reigning then in Ukraine.

Petliura was not a man who suddenly appeared on the Ukrainian horizon. He was a noted journalist and publicist, the editor-in-chief of one of the best publications (in Russian) on the Ukrainian problems — a monthly review *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'* which was published in Moscow. His attitude toward the Jewish question can be best evidenced by the fact that he translated Chirikhov's: *Yevrei* (The Jews) into Ukrainian and provided his translation with a large preface in which he presented his pro-Jewish views. These views were of a democrat and a great humanist who in fact Petliura was.

In October 1919, the situation on the Ukrainian front worsened considerably. The lack of supplies together with the spread of typhoid fever greatly reduced the fighting capacity of the Ukrainian armies. The Command of the Ukrainian Galician Army entered into negotiations with the Denikin Command and a final Galician-Russian treaty was signed in Odessa on November 17. The Ukrainian Galician Army passed to the side of General Denikin and that was regarded as "treason" of Galicians though Galicians retained their autonomy and committed themselves to no fight against the Ukrainian army. However, the Galician-Russian agreement enabled the Denikin armies to advance in Ukraine and bring the Ukrainian army into an almost catastrophic situation. On December 6, the commanders of the Ukrainian army met in Liubar and decided to continue with the partisan warfare. Petliura went to Poland to seek for help, and the bulk of the Ukrainian army started its famous Winter Campaign under the leadership of General M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko and Yurko Tiutiunyk. The Winter Campaign brought the Ukrainian army to the banks of the Dnipro River and largely contributed to the defeat of the Denikin's armies in Ukraine.

In Warsaw Petliura met with Pilsudski and became convinced that the sole means of obtaining Allied support was to become a Polish satellite. This led to the conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty on April 21, 1920 between Poland and Ukraine. The treaty was largely the work of late Andriy Livytsky who was noted, later, as the President of the Ukrainian government in exile. In this treaty Poland recognized Ukraine and offered military aid. But the Ukrainian contracting party consented to annexation of considerable parts of Western Ukraine to Poland. Petliura joined Pilsudski in an invasion of Ukraine that followed the signing of treaty and on May 7, 1920 the Polish and Ukrainian troops entered Kyiv.

This venture ended rapidly when Budenny's Cavalry army defeated the Polish armies in a series of battles and the decimated Polish and Ukrainian forces retreated hastily westward. The victory of Polish forces at Warsaw (largely facilitated by a gallant defence of Zamość by the Ukrainian troops —

I. Shinkovskiy) and repeated Polish advance against now defeated Red armies did not prevent Pilsudski from betraying his Ukrainian ally. He started negotiations with the Bolsheviks which ended with the Treaty of Riga.

In Retrospect analysis the author tries to find the chief causes of the failure to achieve independence and comes to conclusion that the Ukrainian national movement at the time of the Revolution was too weak to arrive at the goal of Ukrainian nationhood. The author stresses the inability of the Ukrainian armies to withstand the onslaught of Bolsheviks.

The author thinks that many of the weaknesses which brought on the Ukrainian failure are no longer real for in the several decades since the Ukrainian Revolution Ukrainian nationalism has continued to develop instead of deteriorating. "It has become the vital factor in any analysis of Eastern European politics", states the author and concludes that "the last page in the development of the Ukrainian national movement has not been written. Only the future will determine whether the Ukrainian quest for independent statehood will be fulfilled." Detailed bibliography follows his book.

Clark, Alan: BARBAROSSA; THE RUSSIAN-GERMAN CONFLICT, 1941-1945. New York, W. Morrow, c 1965, xxii, 522 p., illus., maps (part col.) 25 cm, Bibliography included, Bibliographical Note.

This study is devoted to the second World War, the Eastern campaigns, and especially to the war between Germany and Soviet Russia. The Barbarossa plan was launched on June 22nd, 1941, with a *Blitzkrieg*. It was a merciless four-year struggle between two giants, and took place mostly in Ukraine. This study is based upon Soviet official histories, memoirs and information, with little consultation of other sources, especially those of the liberation movements, such as those of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and ABN.

The author tried to answer the question of how the Russians recovered after losing two million men in six months and claims that the Soviets had more effective espionage than the Germans. Little attention is given to the American help which Russia received and to the importance of the nationality problem in the USSR, which Germany had ignored, so that she was forced to face the national resistance movements which as a consequence contributed greatly to the defeat of the German army. The writer shows (in a special chapter) the suffering of Ukraine during this war, entitled "Slaughter in the Ukraine."

The German exploitation of Ukraine reached its peak under Reichs-

kommissar Erich Koch and the occupation of Ukraine made the Germans believe that war with the Soviets was over. This chapter gives in detail the history of the military activities of the Germans and Soviets in Ukraine with their gains and losses, which have a certain importance for the history of World War II. The author unfortunately bases his discussion of the Eastern campaign mostly on Soviet sources which are not always correct and objective in their presentation and can only with certain reservations be regarded as impartial, unbiased, objective sources for academic research. Anglo-Saxon scholars should know this and should base their research not only on so-called Soviet official sources, but also on sources which are unbiased. Their present approach makes their works less important for research and makes them look like propaganda writing, similar to that published in foreign languages by Soviet authors. Because of this we think it does not pay to publish books in English with Soviet view points since this is done by the Soviets themselves, who do not mention the nationality problem.

Too much attention is given to the Red partisan movement by the author although, basing his statement on Soviet material, the author points out

on p. 69 that this Red partisan movement was never a major help to Red Army activities against the Germans.

We find several mentions of partisan bands operating behind the German front lines, but no attention is given to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought from 1942 until after the Second World War. For anti-German activities in Ukraine rapid pacification and mass executions were ordered. For one German killed in Ukraine, the Gestapo ordered the execution of 50 to 100 people. In order to prevent resistance movement activities in Ukraine, the sadistic Reichskommissar Erich Koch ordered the removal of so-called "labour volunteers" to Germany, forcibly taking people from the streets. On p. 377 the author mentions Soviet Marshal Vatutin, who captured the Right-Bank Ukraine. But it is not indicated that this Soviet Marshal was killed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Volhynia. On p. 461 the Russian General Vlasov, who deserted the Soviets and went over to the Germans and at the end of the war surrendered to American General Patton is mentioned. Vlasov at that

time was fighting the Germans with Czech partisans. But he was returned to Moscow and hanged by the Soviets. On p. 459 we find the name of the Chief of the SS Police in Ukraine, Hans Preutzmann, and on p. 460 the name of German General Reinecke, personally responsible for the death of three million Soviet prisoners. Not mentioned is the fact that this figure of three million was composed mostly of Ukrainians who surrendered to the Germans in the hope of being saved from the Red Russian terror. Politically the Germans were not able to understand the nationality problem in the USSR and that was the major cause of their defeat.

Each power should know that without liberating the captive nations from the Red Russian yoke no peace in Eastern Europe can be maintained. This would involve the dismemberment of the USSR into national states within their ethnographical national territories. This is the slogan of today for the defeat of the Red Muscovite empire, the last colonial power existing in modern times.

A. S.

Hanns von Krannhals: DER WARSCHAUER AUFSTAND 1944 (The Warsaw Uprising 1944). Frankfurt am Main 1944, Bernard & Graefe Verlag für Wehrwesen. 447 pages with 9 schematic maps.

This is a book written by Professor Hanns von Krannhals of the *Ost-akademie* in Lueneburg, Germany. It is an inquiry into the origins, operations as well as political and military consequences of the fateful uprising, which according to the author marked the beginning of the "cold war" between the East and the West. From the first to the last chapter the author had set critically a vast amount of first-hand documentation, partly Polish, mainly German, which has hitherto been either inaccessible or available only at a great expenditure of time and labour. The bibliography prepared by the author lists almost everything that has been written on the subject in different languages. The book itself covers an enormous

field of research emphasizing systematic investigation of the conduct of the German army and police troops in the Polish capital during the uprising. The author's verdict is unfavourable to the German side: he provides specific and explicit information about the war crimes, perpetrated especially by the German police troops and their non-German mercenaries in Warsaw. Written with a scholarly vigour, deep insight and remarkably objective approach, the book will long remain the most competent and comprehensive German treatise on the Warsaw uprising and a valuable contribution to the history of World War II.

When on August 1, 1944, the National Army ("Armia Krajowa") commanded

by Gen. Bor-Komorowski rose against the Germans seeking a political advantage in its expectation that Warsaw was about to fall, the German situation on the Eastern Front was desperate, but still not entirely hopeless. However, the uprising caused a great deal of confusion in the German ranks, and the Red Army was able to advance on Warsaw. On September 15, the Red Army was able to establish itself in Praga, the eastern suburb of Warsaw, just across the Vistula River. Soon it became evident that the Red Army had no intention of helping the Polish insurgents in Warsaw; Marshal Rokossovsky did not even move a finger to intervene on their behalf, he even barred the Polish units of his army from taking part in any operation that might relieve the insurgents. When at the same time the Soviet Government refused to grant permission to the Western Allies to use Soviet airfields to bring supplies for the Polish insurgents in Warsaw (the distance from England or Italy to Warsaw and back was too great for an uninterrupted flight), the Soviet duplicity was visible to all.

With neither Soviet nor Allied help coming, the Polish underground forces under Gen. Bor-Komorowski had no other choice but to surrender to the Germans after two months of fighting at the terrible cost to the Warsaw population and the city itself. For this act the Soviet propaganda has depicted Bor-Komorowski as a "traitor", and this propaganda line has been repeated by its Polish stooges in Warsaw up to this very day, despite the fact that the A.K. has been rehabilitated by the Warsaw regime since October 1956.

It must be said that Professor von Krannhals' book has also been important for the Ukrainians because it finally destroys a popular myth about the participation of the Ukrainian troops in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising. Since August 12, 1944, when the order No. 15 was issued by the Warsaw Command of the National Army that members of the German police troops and the "Ukrainians" should be shot on the spot, the legend had a free circulation among the Poles, and was reiterated in

many memoirs and essays on the uprising. The Warsaw Red regime did all in its power to keep the legend alive; the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the uprising in 1964 was predominantly used by the Polish writers for this purpose. All in vain. On the basis of the German orders-of-battle, cited by Professor von Krannhals in his book, it can be established without any doubt that practically no Ukrainian troops were involved in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising. The author himself is conscious of the confusion regarding the term "Ukrainian" in Polish writings as he always puts the term into quotation marks while using Polish sources, or states directly that in some particular case the Azerbaidzhanians were mistaken for "Ukrainians" by the Polish witnesses (p. 311). In discussing the problem the author states explicitly:

"In the horrible days of August 1944, the people of Warsaw stated that the major part of crimes, perpetrated on the Polish civilian population, was the deed of the Ukrainians or Kalmyks. In numerous reports by the witnesses which were deposed immediately after the uprising, the indicated terms turned up again and again. However, the inhabitants of Warsaw could not know what nationals were hidden behind the German uniform; they simply distinguished between the Russian speaking Ukrainians and Asiatic looking Kalmyks. The Ukrainian organizations in exile always fought such a generalization chiefly because it made the Ukrainians responsible for the crimes perpetrated preponderantly by the Kaminsky brigade. Indeed, there were also true Ukrainians employed in the suppression of the uprising: two companies under Col. Diaczenko fought in Czerniakow on the Vistula River front (i.e. against the Red Army — L. S.). There were also Ukrainians in police uniform serving with the police battalions brought from Posen as well as the Warsaw *Sicherheitspolizei* which maintained several Ukrainian companies for years" (p. 318).

The security police of Warsaw had two "Ukrainian" companies, 80 and 110 men strong, but the Ukrainians will never recognize the "Ukrainian" national character of those police troops. Recruited from Soviet prisoners of war without any distinction as to the nationality, clad into the black uniforms by their police masters and, therefore, known as "blackies", those troops were called provocatively "Ukrainian" by their German masters not without influence of the Soviet agents-provocateurs, distinguished themselves by their ruthless behaviour and gruesome deeds in pacifying the Ukrainian countryside, especially in Volhynia and in Galicia. In this sense, the "true" Ukrainian participation in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising could be limited to two companies of the so-called "Ukrainian Liberation Army" which operated against the Red Army on the Vistula River front. There is, however, no mention about these troops in the documents of the 9th German Army which were cited by Professor von Krannhals in his book. The orders-of-battle of the 9th German Army list Russian, Azerbaidzhanian, Turkestanian, Eastern Mohammedan, Cossack, Volga-Tatar, Lithuanian, but no Ukrainian troops. On August 26, 1944, i.e. on the zenith of the uprising, there were employed in the ranks of the Corps Group Bach-Zelewski the Russian SS Regiment Kaminsky, the 3rd Cossack Police Regiment, the 1st Eastern Mohammedan SS regiment (without III. Battalion); in the ranks of Dirlewanger SS Brigade, the 1st Battalion of the 111th Azerbaidjan Regiment, the II. Azerbaidjan Battalion "Bergman", the IV. Battalion of the 57th Cossack Security Regiment, the 572nd Cossack Battalion, and two squadrons of the 3rd Cossack cavalry brigade. In the reserve of the Corps Group Bach-Zelewski there were listed two Cossack battalions, two Turkestanian battalions, one Volga-Tatar and one Lithuanian battalion. There was a total of 6,100 non-Germans in the German uniform employed in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising (pp. 319, 381 ff).

To close our discussion of the problem it must be said that the order

No. 15 of the Warsaw Command of the National Army from August 12, 1944, was issued as the Polish reprisal for the terrible destruction brought about by the German police troops and their non-German mercenaries in the suburbs Wola and Ochota on August 5, 1944. On this fateful day more than 10,000 Polish civilians were murdered in cold blood without any distinction as to the age or sex. According to the author, the chief culprits in the mass shootings were the Dirlewanger SS Brigade, composed of German criminals, and the Russian SS Assault Brigade commanded by Mieczyslaw Kaminsky, a Russian Nazi of Polish extraction (born in 1896 in Poznan). The Russian SS brigade was the unit of which the Polish General, Wladyslaw Anders wrote in his book (*Hitler's Defeat in Russia*, p. 175) that it earned "the worst possible reputation among all who had anything to do with it." The deeds of the Kaminsky brigade, described on many pages of Professor Krannhals' book, were indeed gruesome. The atrocities perpetrated by the brigade might have cost Kaminsky his head: he was shot by the Germans on October 4, 1944 (p. 320) while remnants of his brigade were incorporated with the Russian Liberation Army of Gen. Vlasov.

The question now arises: was it possible that the Warsaw Command of the National Army could not distinguish between the Kaminsky men and the "Ukrainians" and ordered only to shoot the latter for the crimes perpetrated by the former in Wola and in Ochota? I think not. Above all, the intelligence service of the Polish National Army consisted of professional officer corps who certainly knew the pertinent facts. If they chose, however, to make Ukrainians responsible for Russian crimes, then there is only one explanation for their myopic anti-Ukrainian mystification. At that time, i.e., on August 12, 1944, the leaders of the National Army still dreamed of Soviet help and tried to appease the advancing Red Army by concealing the Russian character of Hitler's Russian allies in Warsaw. In their vain effort to please Moscow, the leaders of the National Army as if pointing at the "common" enemy,

chose deliberately to find the scape-goat in the Ukrainians who, as it was always in the past, had to fall victim of the Russo-Polish understanding. It is no wonder, therefore, that this tactic of the National Army was embraced and approved by the Red regime in Poland and has been faithfully followed by it up to this very day.

The Chinese proverb says: "A lie never grows old." The lie about the participation of the Ukrainian troops in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising was killed by the documentary source material cited by Professor von Krannhals in his interesting book. Indeed, this lie has not grown old; it did not survive its 20th birthday.

Lew Shankowsky

U.S. SENATE REVEALS SOVIET-RUSSIAN TERROR ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary, MURDER INTERNATIONAL, INC.; MURDER AND KIDNAPING AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET POLICY. Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1965, xv, 176 p.

The above book is the transcript of a hearing held before the U.S. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security on March 26, 1965, and presided by Senator Thomas J. Dodd.

In the introduction Sen. Dodd evaluated the case of Bohdan Stashynsky, the Soviet-Russian agent who murdered Stepan Bandera — Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — and the Ukrainian emigré leader, Dr. Lev Rebet, as deserving "to be ranked with the great trials of history..." (Stashynsky was tried in the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany in Karlsruhe, October 1962). The Senator continued: "The evidence presented at the trial established for the first time in a court of law, that the Soviets employ murder as an instrument of international policy... Political murder... has been systematically carried out by a special planning apparatus of the Kremlin, beginning immediately after the Russian Revolution and carrying on to the present day." (p. v-vi)

Senator Dodd then stated: "According to the testimony of Stashynsky, at the top of the list of Soviet officials directing this apparatus was Alexander N. Shelepin, Chairman of the Com-

mittee on State Security of the USSR. Today, this former commander-in-chief of the 'Department of Blood-Wet Affairs' is Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers, Member of the Presidium, and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party, USSR." (p. vii)

On the following 9 pages of the introduction is the excerpt of "the Stashynsky story." Next comes the testimony of Petr S. Deriabin, a high Russian official in the Soviet secret service, who deserted and fled to the West. His revelations are of tremendous importance. On p. 54 he testified: "...the Soviet State Security engaged in assassination as early as the twenties, especially against the Russian and Ukrainian emigrant leaders... there was the case of one Ukrainian nationalist leader, Petlyura.

With regard to the case of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Bandera and Rebet, from my knowledge of the emigré department of state security, they were put on the list for assassination — in the case of Bandera, before World War II. They had been hunting for him since World War II." (p. 54)

On page 60-61 is a table showing 40 names of persons assassinated by Soviet-Russian Government. Among

them we find the following data: "May 25, 1926: Gen. Simon Petlyura, assassinated in Paris, leader of Ukrainian Nationalist Movement" and "May 1938: Lt. Col. Evhen Konovalets, killed by explosion of parcel bomb, Rotterdam. Comment: Konovalets was leader of Ukrainian Nationalist Movement." On p. 62 Deriabin stated: "I have heard it said in the Emigré Department of State Security that *Petlyura was assassinated by Soviet State Security*." About the assassination of Col. Konovallets Deriabin confessed: "...I heard that his killing was organised by State Security... They were a particular danger before World War II, and especially so right after World War II, which is why Soviet State Security killed such persons as Petlyura, Bandera and Rebet — because the nationalists, especially in the west Ukraine, were very active in 1946, 1947, 1948, and as late as 1949." (p. 64)

The second half of the book consists of the full record of the "Sentence and oral opinion" in the case of B. Stashynsky. (p. 80-163). Finally, on pages 164-168 is the text of answers to 18 questions given to Stashynsky after his trial. Among them the most interesting are: 1. From my political training with the KGB I had known for years who Stetzko was... he was regarded by the KGB (and by the Russian men in power) as the next important person to Bandera... Bandera was regarded as the ideological leader of the OUN, Stetzko as the government leader... The KGB was of the opinion that after Bandera's

death Stetzko would also succeed him as the ideological leader of the OUN. The KGB regarded Konovallets, Bandera, Stetzko and Melnyk as the big symbols of the Ukrainian fight for freedom... When Sergey gave me instructions to spy on Stetzko he expressed considerable indignation at the fact that Stetzko had visited Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and had posed as governmental head on that occasion. Stetzko had to a certain extent given his visit there the appearance of a state visit. This, said Sergey, was the limit..."

"6. It was evident to me that Stetzko was to be next who was to be killed... 8. I know through the KGB that Stetzko is the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian exiles (OUN) and the President of the A.B.N. In the opinion of the KGB Stetzko is the chief representative of the Ukrainians... To the KGB, Stetzko and Bandera were one and the same thing... the names of Stetzko and Bandera are in Russia and in particular in Ukraine a kind of symbol for the independence aims of Ukraine. These two men are regarded as freedom-fighters. And this fact is unpleasant for the ruling men in Russia... As long as there are men such as Stetzko, who are alive in the memory of the living, they will always be an obstacle to the rulers of the U.S.S.R. For this reason the KGB will continue to endeavour to liquidate men who are regarded as the "symbol" of the freedom and independence of Ukraine."

A. W. Bedrij

Vladimir J. Kaye: *EARLY UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS IN CANADA, 1895-1900*. Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest. Published for the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation by University of Toronto Press, 1964.

This work is intended to be a *documentary* history directed to the specialised reader doing research in sociology, history or politics. It presents us with complete reproductions of first hand documents, letters and memoranda with painstaking attention to detail. Assumptions and statements of belief, as they are often found in

social histories of immigrants, are completely avoided and every statement is extremely well founded upon facts. A book of this nature could have turned out as a rather unrewarding reading material for the layman due to its technical details. However it is precisely this bare presentation of real life situations together with the

economy in derived conclusions that produces a tremendous impact on the general reader.

The first part of this work deals with Dr. Oleskow's efforts to organize Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Throughout the mass of correspondence that has been going on between Dr. Oleskow and the Department of the Interior in Ottawa and all the other official channels, we are confronted with the struggle of every advanced social ideas against a traditional government machinery. Dr. Oleskow was concerned with the possibilities of improving the standard of living among the Galician farmers. One part of the solution seemed to be emigration to a country with favourable climatic conditions and free land for farming like Canada and the other part would be achieved by buying the land from the emigrating people and making it available to the remaining small farmers, securing a fairer distribution of property and decreasing exploitation. However Dr. Oleskow's main concern was to avoid the future hardship of the prospective Ukrainian settlers in Canada. It is for this reason that he considered that only those who had certain capital should consider emigration, as the difficulties encountered in starting farming in completely primitive conditions would be enormous. However, the most revolutionary part of his emigration plan was to ask a bonus of \$50-60 from the Canadian Government for each homestead. His ideas about farming on a completely different basis were expressed in the following passage of a letter to the Minister of the Interior in Ottawa, written on the 22nd September, 1895:

"The our people (different nations) will be organized on a cooperative basis as companies of farmers, because the single farmers would not succeed. These companies receive on the arrival on their grounds bonuses of at least \$50-60 per each homestead, taken up by a number of company. The company warrant, that the homestead, for which is paid bonus, will not be abandoned, respective will be settled again. The bonuses will build a fundation store

of an institution, which shall make easier the life of farmers. At first the institution which will be whole under control of companies, will serve to common buying of such objects as seed, victuals, stoves, agricultural machines and tools etc., then to common purchase of products, to building of elevators, mills, establishing creameries, cheese factories and other agricultural factories, for improving of cattle breeding by buying of generous reproducteurs etc. It will be my care to convey through this organisation."

Needless to say that ideas of this sort were unheard of at that time and seemed completely unacceptable, quite beside the shortage of funds for immigration matters in the Department of the Interior. Dr. Oleskow did not receive support either for this purpose or for buying up the property of the emigrating farmers. And it took a very long time until he was compensated for his efforts in directing the right sort of immigrants to Canada, and for making the necessary arrangements for their departure.

The accuracy of Dr. Oleskow's predictions and the problems of the Ukrainian settlers are vividly described in the second part of this work, which provides a detailed account of each particular settlement.

Had Dr. Oleskow's plans been followed the Department of Interior would have spared itself and the settlers a great deal of trouble. Instead of self-supporting communities of quickly advancing farmers we are presented with single homesteaders struggling very hard for survival against cold winters, prairie fires, disease, death, hunger, etc. receiving the minimal support from the Government and taking up several years before a decent standard of living could be achieved. Although this part of the book deals with collective problems, it provides the reader with the actual records of names and personal details of the situation of each settler producing a sense of proximity that only case histories achieve. Throughout each page it is not possible to escape from the actual

individuals and to keep admiring their courage and tenacity, and to follow their progress after several years. However in spite of all the hardships the Ukrainian settlers succeeded in becoming the efficient farmers the Canadian Ministry had been so desirous to receive and the official records are not short of praise for them.

The success of the future generations of Ukrainians in Canada has gone far beyond farming and ample evidence is given in the last chapter. Dr. Oleskow's prediction that the Ukrainians would soon become good Canadian citizens has proved to be true, although this has not meant complete rejection of their ancestry and of Ukrainian folkways.

M. Gorodeckis, M.A.

HET CHRISTELYK OOSTEN, Nijmegen, November 1965.

The edition of the quarterly *Het Christelyk Oosten* published in the Netherlands at the end of 1965 (the title means "The Christian East") is mostly devoted to questions connected with the Ukrainian Church (in this case largely with the Catholic Church, although the question of the relationship to Rome of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is also touched on). There is a long obituary on the zealous Dutch champion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Mgr. J. F. Th. Perridon, who lost his life in an accident, written by Professor J. G. Remmers. Right up to his tragic death, Mgr. Perridon had worked closely with the Ukrainian Church. Perridon was Vicar General as well as Apostolic Visitor to the Ukrainians in the Benelux and Scandinavian countries. At the same time the magazine published a long series of articles and publications which Mgr. Perridon had written, including several about the late Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Count Andrew Sheptytsky.

The second article, by Domma Ursula M. Schuver O.S.B., deals with the important question of a Ukrainian Patriarchate. The main point of this article is that Sheptytsky's successor, Cardinal J. Slipyj, put forward at the second session of the Vatican Council in Rome the suggestion that the Ukrainian ecclesiastical province should be elevated to the Status of Patriarchate. In her analysis of the Decree on Oriental Churches the authoress sees a provision for this. She stresses the intimate relations between the young Ukrainian Church in Kyiv in the tenth and eleventh centuries and Rome, and investigates the later estrangement of the two Metropolitan Sees. She also points out the attitudes of Pope Gregory XIII and Pope Leo XIII towards the creation of a Ukrainian Patriarchate.

Mention of Ukrainian ecclesiastical affairs is also made in other parts of the magazine, particularly in the book reviews.

V. Luzhansky

Alain Yaouanc: VISA POUR IAKOUTSK ("Visa to Yakutsk"). Collection Espionage, Les Presses de la Cité, Paris, 1962.

This is no doubt the first novel containing inside information which has been written in France on the subject of the struggle of the Ukrainians for their liberation. It is probably

also the first novel in the world which is based on the actual facts of the assassination of the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, Stepan Bandera, by the Russian secret service.

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The
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Vera RICH

Elizabeth, the wise-king's daughter...

Elizabeth, the wise-king's daughter,
Walked by the green and purple water,
Pale on the shores of Birsay Bay
While the Islands glimmered in silver light,
Like dreams that sail on the rim of sight,
And the moon was a misted king by night,
And the autumn sun was a queen by day.

Elizabeth, the wise-king's daughter,
Gazed at the gleam of light on water,
And dreamed the gold of her father's home;
The sea lapped quiet amid the creeks,
She dreamed the splendour of Norway's peaks,
And her lord's swift navy, set forth to seek
The seven-fold kingdom to grace his own.

Elizabeth, the wise-king's daughter,
(Wedded with song beside Dnipro's water)
Waited, pale as October, waning-skied,
While her lord slept quiet in an English grave,
(The seven feet that his namesake gave)
While, traceless vanishing as a wave,
A daughter's life, with her father, died.

N. B. Elizabeth, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Kiev, was the wife of King Harald Hardrada of Norway (1045-1066). She was left behind in Orkney — then a Norwegian dependency — together with her two daughters, Ingigerd and Maria, when Harald sailed on his full-scale invasion of England in September, 1066. At the same hour as Harald was killed in the battle of Stamfordbridge near York on September 25, 1066, his daughter Maria died "and men say they had but one life between them." (*Orkneyinga-Saga*, ch. 34). See also "Ellisif Jarizleifsdottir in the Northern Sources", *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 4, 1963.

Karl SIEHS, Ph.D.

A Great European Mind

Ivan Yakovych Franko

(Born 15 (27) August 1856 at Nahuyevychi. Died 28 May 1916 at Lviv)

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his death.

Labour and song are mighty twin forces
To which to the end all my service I'll give;
A broken skull in the tomb, in time's courses,
For generations to come, I shall live.
(Pisnya i pratsya, 14 July 1883)

... Son of a nation
Once prisoned in deep vaults, now rising high,
My watchword: toil, conflict and liberation.
Peasant, no epilogue but prologue I.

(Dekadent)

"Prologue, not epilogue"... Who does not think here of Rytsky and the neo-classicists? The parallel is by no means a superficial one, for as they were born into the renaissance mood after the first world war, so Franko found himself placed in the atmosphere of a nascent Galicia, a mighty prologue, a spokesman for the whole of Ukraine.

Yet Franko's personality cannot be adequately explained by the mood of the times alone. Although we do not intend, any more than Beletsky (Ivan Franko. *Stikhotvoreniya i poemy*, Biblioteka Poeta, M. 1960, p. 5), to compare Franko with Goethe or the geniuses of the European renaissance, "the range of his activity is nevertheless unusual. Though the European literatures of the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century abound in great writers, there is hardly one among them who at one and the same time was poet, belletrist, dramatist, literary critic, historian of literature, folklorist, economist, philosopher, political journalist, translator of ancient and modern foreign writers, bibliographer and textual critic..." (ibid.).

The clue to this extraordinary versatility is to be found not only in the fact that Franko — as Baratynsky said of Goethe — literally "responded to everything with his heart", but also in a truly super-human capacity for work. Percival Cundy (Ivan Franko, *Select.ed*

Poems, N.Y., 1948, p. 8) relates an incident which, as he rightly says, suffices to characterize the whole. A young man, then a first year student at the University of Lviv, records his first meeting with Franko in 1889. "When I called on Franko for the first time at his home, he was sitting at the table writing. Standing at the threshold, I greeted him with the words 'Good day!' and stepped forward a little way into the room. However he did not return my greeting, merely glanced at me absent-mindedly and went on with his writing. I remained standing a while and waited for him to reply. But he did not do so and continued his writing without a break until he finished, folded his papers and looked up. He then immediately asked me what I wished and very willingly gave me the information I desired. It was clear that the most important thing for him was work, literary work, to which he devoted all his time and all his strength, without regard to circumstances or environment. Later, visiting Franko frequently at his home, I found him many a time busy with his literary work with children playing and crying around him, in the midst of the disorder caused by the household activity going on all around him. It was manifest that he was a man of strong nerves."

Nothing and nobody could keep him from his work, neither prison nor vacations, neither the most depressing circumstances nor his paralysing illness. In this respect, too, he fully deserved the epithet attached to his name, "kamenyar" — the stonebreaker (derived from his poem "The Pioneers").

Ever since his early childhood Franko had displayed this indefatigable industry. And the theme of his childhood in the parental home frequently recurs in his work. The well in front of his father's house from which the boy drew water to lug it to the smithy. Water and fire hardened the steel which his father's skill turned into useful tools. "At the back of my memories there is burning still that small but mighty fire of my father's forge, and it seems to me that even as a child I stored enough of it in my soul for life's long journey." (Mykhailo Voznyak, *Veleten' dumky i pratsi*, 1958, p. 26.)

He had need of this fiery force and steeliness throughout his hard life, not only to produce about 1000 articles, translate from 60 different authors, write more than 100 short stories, 9 novels, and publish a considerable amount of poetry, but above all in the fight for his ideals, an all-out and rigorous fight, conducted over a field as extensive as his activity as writer and critic.

*

The year in which Franko was born was a memorable one. It saw the conclusion of the Crimean War by the Treaty of Paris, the prohibition of privateering by international maritime law, the establishment of the Boer Free State in far-away Africa. In the

world of letters there appeared Wilhelm Raabe with his "Chronik der Sperlingsgasse" and A. de Tocqueville with "L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution." Franko's lifetime fell into a period when the working classes demanded their rights with ever greater insistence. Socialist thought, spreading throughout the world, found a fitting expression in the birth of the British Labour Party and its rise to political power in 1906. This was at a time when Franko had already abandoned his former radical views. The moderation of his social standpoint is clearly discernible in his "Boa Constrictor", a sociological novel whose first version of 1878 differs considerably from the last version of 1907. And in 1916, when his troubled life came to an end, there appeared — almost symbolical of him — the first genuine anti-war novel, "Le Feu", by Henri Barbusse.

It was a time — as E. Malaniuk in his clear-sighted analysis stated it (*Knyha Sposterezhen'*, Toronto, 1962, p. 120) — when cosmopolitanism in politics, naturalism in the arts, and atheism in religion were the predominant features. Malaniuk goes on to say: "What feats of clairvoyance, even of prophecy, Franko's intellect has produced!" To illustrate his point, Malaniuk then quotes two passages from Franko's writings. The first, dating from 1898, reads: "Oh, the cruelty of our time! There is distrust and hatred everywhere, and antagonisms have reached such a pitch that it will not be long before we have a formal religion (in fact, we have it already) based on the dogmas of enmity and the class struggle." The second quotation is from Franko's essay entitled "What is Progress?", written in 1903:

"...The infinite power of the [Marxist] state would lie like a terrible and crushing burden upon every citizen. Personal freedom and individual thought would have to disappear... Education would turn into a mind-killing drill. Men would grow up and live in such utter dependence and under such thorough-going surveillance by the authorities that the methods of even the most absolutist police states would seem mild by comparison.

But who is to be at the helm in this type of state? About this the Social Democrats are not very explicit. But, whoever they are, those at the top would have tremendous power over the lives and fate of millions of people, such as even the most despotic of governments have never exercised."

These are the words of a man who, like the famous Russian philosopher Berdyaev, had studied Marx and admired Chernyshevsky. Berdyaev, however, was only after the bitter experiences of the year 1905 to reach the point at which Franko had arrived seven years earlier. While Shevchenko had been a crier in the wilderness and fate did not grant him to see even the slightest result of his labour, Franko was destined to witness how under the influence of his thought the stirring buds of social solidarity and national consciousness burst into full bloom.

*

Who would have predicted this for the little boy from Nahuyevychi? His mother, it is true, came from the small gentry but knew no other than the social level of the Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia, one of the most forsaken regions of the Austro-Hungarian multinational empire, of whose Habsburg doctrine *divide at impera* the Polish gentry took full advantage. Only eight years had passed since the abolition of serfdom in Galicia when Ivan was born a free peasant's son. He was the eldest of the Frankos' four children; there were two other sons and a daughter who died in childhood. The impression of the yoke of serfdom was still so fresh that in 1887 Franko wrote his famous poem "Pans'ki Zharty" (The Lord's Jests) as a memorial to his father, who had died at Easter 1865. At that time, still a small schoolboy, he was moved to write his poem "Velykden" (Easter) in memory of his father. In Franko's time his home district was still so poor that Nahuyevychi had no school and the boy had to attend the elementary school at Yasenytsia Silna, where he lived with his uncle Pavlo Kulchytsky. At the age of eight, by which time he had already acquired a considerable knowledge of Ukrainian, Polish, German and Church Slavonic, he was sent to the German-speaking school of the Basilian Fathers at Drohobych. His stepfather Hryn Havrylyk, whom he held in high esteem all his life, enabled him to continue his education, and in 1868 he entered the Gymnasium (Grammar school) in Drohobych. He was an excellent scholar and — according to the custom in those days of seating the pupils in the order of their progress — was never in less than third place, but mostly in the first.

Franko was twelve when he entered the Gymnasium. During his time in the lower Gymnasium (the first four years of the eight-year course) he displayed, apart from his outstanding performance as a scholar, no particular ambitions. But this was to change radically when he was in the upper Gymnasium. Here he began to read omnivorously everything he could lay his hands on: Goethe, Heine, Schiller, Klopstock, Mickiewicz, Eugène Sue, Dickens and Shakespeare. In this fertile period he also made his first acquaintance with Ukrainian literature from beyond the border. Shevchenko, to whom one of his teachers — Ivan Verkh ratsky — had introduced him, soon became his favourite author beside Kotlyarevsky, Marko Vovchok, Kulish and Panas Myrny. He owed much to another of his teachers, the Pole Julian Turczynski, who belonged to the "Ukrainian school." The name of the young Franko began to get known outside Drohobych and, as Antin Chaykivsky relates, one had heard in Sambir, a town about 20 miles north of Drohobych, of his brilliant work at school. In the fifth class he wrote a versified history of Rome up to the time of Tullus Hostilius. A year later, in the 6th class, he handed in a verse tragedy in Polish, a fragment of a tragedy in German verse, and for his teacher of Ukrainian, Okhrymovych,

he wrote a story of Ukrainian country life. Under the direction of M. Vahylevych, the student dramatic society performed a historical drama of his, written in hexameters, a precursor of his later prize-winning novel "Zakhar Berkut."

Several important events further mark this period of early development: Franko saw himself in print for the first time; the death of his mother leaves him bereaved of both parents; a journey through parts of Galicia provides him with new material for his collection of folklore and enables him to become intimately acquainted with the local intelligentsia and the common people, the contact with whom was to prove of great importance later in his life.

In 1875, having finished his studies at the Gymnasium, he passed the entrance examination for Lviv University with flying colours. When in the autumn of that year he departed for Lviv he carried in his luggage his collection of more than 800 folk-songs, as well as a number of his own translations, including "Antigone" and "Electra" of Sophocles, two cantos of the "Odyssey", large portions of the Bible (especially the Book of Job), the first chapters of Karl Gutzkow's "Uriel Acosta" and parts of the "Nibelungenlied." He had widened his knowledge of literature and, apart from knowing the whole of the "Kobzar" by heart, he had become familiar with the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Aleksey Tolstoy, Khomyakov, Turgenev, Lev Tolstoy, Pomyalovsky and Emile Zola. An affair of the heart, however, made him unhappy. His ardent but unrequited love for Olha Roshkevychivna, daughter of the parish priest of Lolyn, inspired many of the lyrics in his "Withered Leaves" (Ziviyale Lystya):

If you hear in the night at your window there seems
Something weeping and mournfully sighing,
Do not awake in alarm, do not stir from your dreams,
Do not run, dear, to see who is crying.

It is not an orphan that, motherless, roams,
No starveling, dear, troubles your sleeping,
It is my yearning, despairing that moans,
It is my love that is weeping.

Neither Franko's own nature nor the turbulent events into which he found himself plunged on his arrival in Lviv allowed his personal emotions to get the upper hand. In the political squabbles of the time one of the disputed questions was the use of Ukrainian as a literary language. (Cf. George Y. Shevelov: *Die Ukrainische Schriftsprache* (Ukrainian as a written language), 1798-1865. Wiesbaden, 1961, p. 61 seq.) Corresponding to the warring factions of their elders, the Lviv students were also split into two hostile groups: The Academic Circle (Akademichnyy Kruzhok), supported by the Muscophiles, and the society known by the bizarre name of The Friendly Moneylender (Druzhnyy Lykhvar), maintained by the Nationalists. Franko joined

the Academic Circle, not because of its Muscophile tendencies, but for purely material and practical considerations. It was not for the sake of free theatre and concert tickets, etc., furnished to the student members, that Franko took this step. What really attracted him were the facilities offered by the Circle's assembly rooms, a reading room well supplied with periodicals, and the magazine "Druh" (The Friend) which it had been publishing since 1874 and in whose pages Franko first appeared in print. Proof of Franko's far-sightedness came when he succeeded in persuading a number of Nationalists to join the Academic Circle and with the help of their votes at a general meeting in 1875 gained control of the society's organ "Druh."

This successful manipulation, which brought the editorship of the Muscophile "Druh" under the influence of the Nationalists, coincided with a growing acceptance of the ideas of Michael Drahomaniv. Franko's first contacts with Drahomaniv eventually led to a close and lasting friendship between the two men.

One of the leading scholars of the time in Dniro-Ukraine, Drahomaniv, then in exile in Switzerland, paid close attention also to events in the Galician West Ukraine. The gist of his ideas was:

- 1) The young generation should not be hostile to Western ideas and should not blindly follow the prejudices of the older generation.
- 2) In order to bring the Galician Ukraine into touch with European culture the local vernacular must be developed into a literary language. In this connection, the ideas of the Muscophiles must be kept at a distance. It must be appreciated that a Ukrainian literature already existed.
- 3) The masses must be dragged out of their state of ignorance, so that they can be better protected from exploitation.

An extended argument with the editors of "Druh" earned him Franko's wholehearted admiration, and the influence of his thought can clearly be traced in Franko's work. From the romanticism of his earlier writing Franko now turned to realism, a trend which becomes more marked from about 1877 onwards with his masterly poem "The Hired Hand" (Naymyt) and the "Boryslav" sketches.

The third of Drahomanov's demands had in Franko the most eager champion. The sincerity of Franko's friendship with Drahomaniv was soon put to a severe test when in August 1877 Franko, Pavlyk and practically the whole of the editorial staff of "Druh" were arrested because of their connection with Drahomaniv and their alleged advocacy of "international socialism."

"...I was treated like a common criminal, thrown together with 14 to 18 malefactors and vagabonds in one cell..." Coming out of prison after many months, Franko faced still greater moral trials when he discovered that society treated him as an outcast. He stood

at the parting of the ways. He could either rejoin society as a "repentant sinner", or he could voluntarily take his place in the ranks of the "outlaws." He chose the latter course, and Franko the radical became Franko the revolutionary. Yet his socialism was of a special kind. He himself tells us: "...I had courage enough... to strive for a true humanitarian socialism... for personal as well as national liberty, and not for any party dogmatism..."

And that so tender heart you bear, life gave you
To bring man succour in his hour of grief,
To speak a word of warmth to ease woe's craving.

(From: "The Poet's Task" in the *Semper Tiro* cycle)

In this period appeared his famous "Kamenyari" (The Pioneers), the novel "Boa Constrictor", his translations of Byron's "Cain", Zola's "L'Assommoir", and selections from Goethe, Heine, Hood, Moore, Shelley and Lermontov. It was also at that time that he made contact and eventually worked together with the Polish socialists, in whose periodical "Praca" (Labour) he published much of his work. In 1880, however, he was arrested and imprisoned for the second time.

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Perhaps the best introduction to the following years of tribulation in Franko's life is his story "Na Dni" (At the Bottom), which he wrote in a miserable hotel room and sent with his last money to Lviv. It begins with his release from prison and his return, under police escort, to Nahuyevychi. "This trip from police station to police station, through Stanyslaviv, Stryy and Drohobych, was one of the hardest experiences of my life", wrote Franko.

The spirit of rebellion and courage, bitter disillusionment, the nobility and magnanimity of the poet's soul — all these find expression in his poetry of that time: "Vichnyy Revolyutsioner" (The Eternal Revolutionary), "Vesnyanky" (Spring Songs), "Ukraina", "Vidsuralysya Lyudy Mene" (Forsaken), "Ne Lyudy nashi Vorohy" (Not Men are our Enemies). Never before had Franko spoken so strongly in his poetry. He was now becoming for the younger generation the idolized prophet and leader. In the nineties the majority of students went so far as to rank Franko above Shevchenko. This is probably explained in part by the fact that Shevchenko's "Kobzar", though mutilated by the Polish censor, was permitted reading, while Franko's "Z Vershyn i Nyzyn" (From Heights and Depths) had the added attraction of a prohibited book.

The two prison sentences cruelly dashed Franko's hopes of becoming a university teacher. There was no chance of his obtaining an appointment and he had therefore to try and make a living by journalism.

In 1881 began his collaboration with "Svit" (The World), but, not being able to earn enough to support himself in Lviv, he was forced to

return to Nahuyevychi. He also wrote for the magazine "Zorya" (Dawn), published by Drahomaniv's partisans in Kiev, but this, too, did not bring him in much, and he had to do farm work. In spite of these depressing circumstances, he completed his translation of "Faust" and wrote the novel "Zakhar Berkut", with which he won a prize. There followed further years of disappointment and privation. It came to a break with both parties. He then went to Kiev to seek support for a new literary periodical. Although this was done on Drahomaniv's suggestion, Franko failed to raise the necessary funds and nothing came of the project. He returned to Lviv and, compelled by financial need, rejoined the staff of a paper from which he had earlier dissociated himself, an action which almost cost him his friendship with Drahomaniv.

Franko's marriage to Olha Khorunzhynska fell into this period. According to Volyansky, the union was on the whole a happy one.

Considering the difficulties Franko had to contend with, it is not surprising that for his literary work those years were not very fruitful ones. In his collected works we find only four poems dating from the time between 1884 and 1886. Reading his correspondence with Drahomaniv during those days, one can well understand why his poetic output at that time was so meagre. In the end things came to a head in the autumn of 1886 when, after a lot of friction, Franko finally resigned from the staff of "Zorya" and joined the editorial board of the Polish "Kurjer Lwowski", a position he held until 1897.

Yet it cannot be said that Franko "broke his Ukrainian pen", although the majority of his articles during that time were written in Polish.

In 1889 his poem "Smert' Kaïna" (The Death of Cain) was published, one of the profoundest of his speculative and symbolic creations. It attempts nothing less than to fathom the meaning of human existence: Reason and emotion were to combine in harmonious union, so that the lost paradise might be regained within each individual soul. The work appeared shortly after his revised translation of Byron's "Cain" and demonstrates the strong influence the English poet exercised over Franko.

That same year, 1889, Franko was imprisoned for the third time, on this occasion in connection with the elections to Parliament. This new bitter experience, which he shared with Pavlyk, the Polish Radical Wyslouk, and a number of students from Kiev, who had come to Galicia on a 'tour of friendship', moved him to write his "Prison Sonnets." For the rest, all we have of that time are some short prose sketches.

There was, happily, a brighter finale to this distressing period in Franko's life: In 1892 he went to Vienna University, where he won the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1894.

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In the last decade of the 19th century a strong Ukrainian renaissance in Galicia came about at long last. Franko and Pavlyk brought out the review "Narod" (The People) and soon succeeded in attracting a good number of contributors, among them Drahomaniv, who by that time had moved to Sofia. In 1892, the group which had gathered around "Narod" organised a political party of their own, the "Radical Party of Ruthenian Ukrainians." This was the first political party, in the European sense, to come into being in Galicia. From then on Franko was feverishly engaged in political activity. The new Radical Party championed tax and economic reforms, freedom of speech and of the press, and its membership grew consistently despite vigorous attacks from both Muscophiles and Nationalists.

Notwithstanding his activity in the political field, Franko kept up his literary production. In 1890 he published a collection of stories, drawn from the life of the people, under the title "V Poti Chola" (By the Sweat of the Brow). They give a realistic view of the most varied types: exploited peasants, unfortunate artists, Jews, thieves, prisoners, gypsies, and many more, all drawn with deep sympathy and gentle humour.

In the same year began the publication of a long series of books for children, with "Lys Mykyta" (Micky the Fox) as the first, followed, in 1891 by a verse adaptation of Cervantes's "Don Quixote" and, in 1893, a collection of fables "Koly zviri hovoryly" (When the Animals Talked).

In 1893 there appeared the second, enlarged and improved edition of "From Heights and Depths." This contained many happy surprises, especially with regard to form, in which he is seen to have found the link with the literary traditions of Western Europe. The same year Franko published the best of his dramas, "Ukradene Shchastya" (Stolen Happiness), which only by some mistake obtained the second instead of the first prize in a drama competition. Other plays followed, among which the comedy "Uchytel" (The Teacher) is perhaps the most successful.

At the same time Franko continued to pursue his studies in Vienna from 1892 to 1894 and presented as his doctoral thesis a monograph on Ivan Vyshensky. This subject he was to treat again in a great poem, first published in 1900 in Lviv and issued in book form in 1911. In the meantime, the chair of Ukrainian Language and Literature at the University of Lviv became vacant and Franko hastened to take the necessary steps to qualify for nomination. On 18 February 1895 he gave his inaugural lecture on Taras Shevchenko's "Naymychka", which was a great success and led to his election to the chair by the college of professors. However, another bitter disappointment awaited Franko. The Polish authorities refused to approve the appointment of a man who had three times been in prison.

In 1894 Franko began to publish the fortnightly "Zhyttya i Slovo" (Life and Word), devoted to literature, history and folklore, the first local periodical conceived on European lines. In it appeared, besides a great many articles, two of Franko's short stories, "Osnovy suspil'nosti" (The Bases of Society) and "Dlya domashnoho ohnyshcha" (For Hearth and Home).

The appearance in 1896 of the volume "Zivviale lystya" (Withered Leaves), containing his finest love lyrics — an absolute novelty in the Ukrainian literature of Galicia — was justly acclaimed. Only a few voices were raised in adverse criticism, among them that of the poet Vasyl Shchurat, who reproached Franko with decadence. To him Franko replied in the following lines:

Because my song has pain and sorrow in it —
Only since life has burdened us with this;
Brother, there is a further note within it:
Hope and free will, feelings of joy and bliss.

(From "The Decadent")

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Shchurat's attack was only the prelude to another stormy period in Franko's life, in which two affairs were to have particularly strong and wide repercussions. The reason for the first scandal was the appearance in the Vienna weekly "Die Zeit" (Time) of an article by Franko on the Polish poet Mickiewicz and his poem "Konrad Wallenrod." The article was entitled "A Poet of Deceit" and laid special emphasis on this line from the poem: "The captive's only weapon is deceit." Any illusions Franko had cherished as to the possibility of Poles and Ukrainians becoming reconciled and working together, an aim for which he had striven in the ten years of his close collaboration with the Poles, were now dispelled — burst like shimmering soap-bubbles. Wild indignation among all classes of the Polish population broke like a storm over Franko's head.

At the worst possible moment Franko committed another still greater sin, which made things even more difficult for him than they had been some years back when, after his break with all the Galician-Ukrainian parties, he had to return from Kiev to Galicia deprived of all his hopes. In 1897 his "Galician Sketches" appeared in a Polish translation, prefaced by an introductory piece called "Nieco o sobie samym" (Something about Myself). This foreword, originally written in 1895 and previously held back from publication, contained the fateful personal confession of the thoroughly honest author. In it Franko wrote: "First of all let me confess that which many a patriot will consider a mortal sin: I do not love the Ruthenians... I confess an even greater sin: I do not even love our Rus' to such an extent as our self-labelled patriots do, or pretend to. What is there about it to love?... I am too great an enemy of empty phrases... I so ardently love the universal ideals of justice, fraternity and freedom as to be

only too conscious of how few examples there are in our history of real social spirit, real self-sacrifice and real love for Rus'... Yet... no honest labour on behalf of such a people will ever be in vain."

The volume of poems "Miy izmaragd" (My Emerald) reflects a good deal of this bitterness and of Franko's honest and true love:

"And, brother, you love Rus',
But I do not love her,
You are a patriot,
And I am but a cur.

You love Rus', and for that
Honour and praise be yours,
But Rus' to me's a wound
Where heart's blood ever pours.

And, brother, you love Rus'
As you love bread and bacon,
While I can only bark
In hope that she awaken.

For, brother, you love Rus'
Like home, beasts, cows — no less;
I love her not, from love
Too deep to be expressed.

(IV)

And what great hardship came to wrong you?
That men called down this tumult on you:
"He does not love Rus', not a trace!"
Spurn it! I, son, know well the babble
Of all this patriotic rabble,
The value of each loving phrase.

(II)

One might well have assumed that the rising storm would rob the tree, now in full flower and promising a rich harvest, of its fruit. Fortunately the incident did not leave destruction in its wake, thanks to Franko's earlier work and to subsequent statements of his which defined more clearly the essence of true patriotism as he conceived it. He was able to continue his victorious advance, now devoting all his strength to literature and science, and to attain fulfilment — the crown of a poet's life.

With Franko's assistance, a new periodical was founded in 1898, the monthly "Literaturno-Naukovyy Vistnyk" (Literary and Scientific Herald), whose appearance was a landmark in the history of Ukrainian culture. Although there were many changes on the editorial board and the magazine's headquarters were moved in 1907 from Lviv to Kiev, Franko always remained chief editor as well as main contributor.

In 1899, a publishing concern which was to become well-known, the Ukrainian-Ruthenian Publishing Company, began its activities. From that time, practically all of Franko's work appeared either in the "Vistnyk" or was published by the Company.

It is not surprising that Franko withdrew more and more from political activity and devoted himself almost exclusively to scientific and literary work. He was, nevertheless, named in June 1898 the Radical Party candidate in the provincial elections. However, he was

defeated, due to machinations behind the scenes, one more reason for Franko's final withdrawal from partisan politics. It was all to the good: Franko was by now looked upon and acknowledged by the community as a whole as its spiritual father and leader.

This development and the true state of affairs became clearly visible on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his literary and public activity, which fell on September 30, 1898. The public celebration of this jubilee turned out to be one of the highlights in Franko's life.

"My thanks are also due to my opponents. During the twenty-five years of my activity fate has bestowed them on me in no unsparing measure. They have spurred me on, never allowing me to settle down in one spot. Fully realising the value of struggle as an aid to development, I am grateful to my opponents, and I sincerely esteem all those who have fought against me with honourable weapons..."

From that memorable year 1898 onwards, Franko's literary work is marked by a mood of tranquillity, the expression of a soul which has found peace.

If outwardly his life reached the highest point in 1898, Franko the writer and poet came to culmination in 1905. Even in this last period he occasionally strikes a minor note, as for instance in his volume of poems "Iz Dniv Zhurby" (From Days of Grief), published in 1910. But this is clearly a matter of passing shadows. The same volume contains his great poem "Ivan Vyshensky" which, like "The Death of Cain" and "Moses", is of the psychological and philosophical type that explores the inner relations of the human soul to certain problems of life, a theme exclusive to his masterpieces.

"Moses", which appeared in 1905, is almost an autobiography of Franko. Together with "Cain" and "Ivan Vyshensky", its closely related forerunners, it may confidently be placed alongside the greatest achievements in world literature. It shows the working of the mind of the spiritual leader in the difficult task of communicating his ideas to the people around him and his equally compelling desire to follow the chosen path to the very end. Cain, Vyshensky and Moses — each of them depends on human society for his mission. Sooner or later each of them comes to realise that he cannot find the peace he sought either in solitude or among the inert, unthinking crowd — and herein lies the tragedy with which their inner lives are confronted.

The despairing Moses withdrew from his people and even lost faith in Jehovah, whom he accuses of deluding him. He was not to know that only a short time after his death Joshua would be able to lead the people into the Promised Land.

During these years Franko's career reached another zenith. In 1908 he was elected an honorary member of "Prosvita", having previously received an honorary degree from the University of Kharkiv. There

was talk of making him a Fellow of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. He was proposed for the chair of Slavonic Literature at the Ukrainian University to be established in Galicia. But at this stage fate struck a last disappointing blow, eight years before his death.

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It was the onset of a progressive paralysis, and the doctors did not think he would live much more than a year. Yet he valiantly remained at his post for a full eight years in the midst of his family — one daughter and three sons. Materially, things had by then become easier for him, since a regular salary from the Shevchenko Society at last enabled the family to live in modest comfort.

It seemed as if he had no time to die. The fortitude which he had shown throughout his life remained with him to his death. When he lost the use of his hands, he dictated to his son Andriy. When the latter died in 1913, he asked his friends to come and take his dictation. When these failed him at times, he would himself with infinite pains put his verse and prose to paper in clumsy capital letters. He gave the impression that something was driving him onward, as though he were in a desperate hurry to finish a task begun. Having achieved more than one might think humanly possible, he at last released his hold on life, after an agonizing winter, in May 1916.

One last poem may here bear witness to the nobility of this great man:

THERE ARE TWO ROADS

There are two roads to virtue the years offer,
There are two crowns that life for us ensures:
One, burdensome, to trudge on feet that suffer,
With faith and prayer, the other, to endure.

Happy the man and happy is the nation
Fate leads from this to that with its sure guiding,
From field of toiling to the field of patience,
Silent to pass through flames and through deriding.

Yet if he walk, like traveller benighted,
Tears in the eyes, yet hope in heart, he'll prove
To come to see the dawn, free will and rightness.

Brothers, fate leads us by the hand to move
Forward with prayer, ill-destiny despitng,
We journey towards fortune, light and love.

(*The Years of Youth*, 1914)

(*Translations of poems by Vera Rich*)

Evhen MALANIUK

IVAN FRANKO AS A MANIFESTATION OF THE INTELLECT

Ivan Franko was born more than a hundred years ago into the family of a blacksmith — not a peasant, but a craftsman — on the edge of the village of Nahuyevychi in the Drohobych region — a man to whom fate had allotted greatness.

He became famous not only in Galicia, but in the whole of Ukraine, in the whole of Europe, as one of the select circle of those representing European culture before the entire world. Even if today this statement is still likely to be considered perhaps as Ukrainian national exaggeration, yet one day it will no doubt happen that the historian of European literature will no longer be able to pass by the name of this great son of our native country. For even the recently organised special exhibition in the New York Public Library on the occasion of Franko's anniversary, or the meeting in his honour held by the Polish Scientific Society in New York, are not isolated events, but represent a growing trend. These first signs of the inevitable recognition of the extent to which Franko is more and more penetrating the frontiers of national communities can therefore be evaluated as such.

I

Let us meet then the greatness of this man face to face. What a far-reaching and, in the final analysis, inconceivable subject! What in fact is his greatness? The penetrating mind and imaginative intuition of the literary critic, Mykola Zerov, has emphasized this characteristic of Franko in his historical study of Franko as a poet: "A greatness which is no longer doubted by anyone." And this was written at the end of the twenties.



IVAN FRANKO
(Reproduction from a portrait by the painter I. Trush)



IVAN FRANKO
(Photograph from 1875)

PICTURESQUE UKRAINE



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH OF VYDUBYTSKY
MONASTERY NEAR KYIV (1088)



HOLY SAVIOUR'S TRANSFIGURATION CATHEDRAL
IN CHERNIHIV (11th Century)



THE CASTLE OF THE PRINCES OSTROZHSKY
IN OSTRIH, VOLYNIA (14th Century)

Thanks to the fatal accumulation of a whole series of insurmountable obstacles, Franko did not succeed at the end of his life in reaching full maturity either as a poet, as a great scholar, or as a great thinker; indeed, he did not even — and this surely was the worst — gain recognition from us, Ukrainians, as a great organiser and leader of our nation.

But this characteristic and — I may say — specific greatness of Franko paradoxically created a unique synthesis of all these outstanding achievements just listed, for he was at the same time a leading figure in public life and a political thinker, as well as a scholar, novelist, playwright and poet, and all this in such a high measure and in such a rounded completeness, as had been seen only in the men of the Italian Renaissance or in our Kievan Athens in the epoch of Mohyla and Mazepa (the 17th century patrons of arts and sciences, the Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and the Cossack Hetman Ivan Mazepa). It was relatively easy to become famous in the atmosphere which reigned even quite recently in Britain and to a certain degree it was still possible, up to the ruin of Europe in the Second World War, in countries such as France, Italy, Germany or in Scandinavia — all countries in which there existed a stable structure of society, with its instincts for hierarchy finely shaped by history, and this state of affairs still pertains to a large extent even today. To become great — even if only in the field of culture — was still possible where there was patronage, either noble patronage as in Poland, or a social one as with the Czechs. But how much more difficult it was to think of becoming famous in the historically and culturally deformed conditions and in the politically colonial circumstances, in which social life was lacking in vigour, as was especially true of some East European countries! It was extremely difficult there; it was difficult enough simply to preserve and save from destruction even a candidate for a great man.

If, then, Ivan Franko succeeded in becoming famous in just such a country (and, as time passes, the more famous he is likely to become), he was indebted only to himself and to no one else, but certainly not without paying a high price for his greatness! Let us just consider the story of his hard life with its daily sacrifices and superhuman efforts, his life filled with the struggle with his environment, with conditions and even with himself. His greatness was due only to his steel-hard will and the character of his extraordinary personality. For it is precisely the personality in him which made the greatest impression and will impress more and more. His greatness and its secret is precisely concentrated in his character and his untraditional, almost un-Ukrainian will.

But let us imagine that that miracle in the life story of Shevchenko which he himself described in "Ovidian Metamorphoses" had not occurred and he had remained all his life a serf of the

landowner Engelhardt. Let us further imagine that Lesya Ukrainka had not been born into a family of Volynian hereditary gentry, but under the thatched roof of a peasant hut!

In the case of Franko there was no such miracle. He possessed clear understanding inherited from his forefathers, diligence and in some measure also a certain realistic outlook on life. Yes, and then there was the fact that Franko was a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Empire — which after all was constitutional — even though he lived in its most distant, semi-colonial, culturally backward corner... Naturally, Franko's life story is not particularly extraordinary in comparison with similar biographies. The salt, so to speak, which is necessary for the development of the creative powers of every man is tragedy. Despite the large number of catastrophes which overshadowed the life of Franko, — and moreover with a fatal consistency, — despite that constant lack of opportunities to proceed at last to creative work, or more exactly, to devote himself to poetic creation, Franko was without doubt a born poet, although that "bitter poverty of a beggar", as his friend Mykhaylo Pavlyk describes it, was apportioned to Franko in such strong doses that they would normally have been more than enough to break a strong character, indeed even a person above the average.

The external framework of life, in which the days of his creative existence were enclosed, formed so to speak a life-long prison... Fate granted him, the brilliant pupil of a Jagić and school-fellow of an Alexander Brückner, not even such a natural and logical basis for existence as a chair at a university, and this misfortune pressed all too clearly in 1895 both on the life and on the general creative activity of Franko, as if one could minimise another misfortune. But all this was on the material plane and it sank powerless into the dust before the spirit of this man. Clearly more frightening, however, seemed another circumstance, which Franko himself described as follows:

I am ready to fight for the truth, —
But in fighting with myself
I do not persevere for long...

The young Yevshan, the first modern critic of Franko, noticed this problem and formulated it as "the terrible fatalism of the epoch", whose living symbol — influencing Franko's life — was Mykhailo Drahomanov, more a demonic warder than an angel.

II

Let me once again recall the times in which Franko was born and in which he was to be formed. It was a time in which positivist, rationalist, socialist and even anarchist doctrines ruled and were being received like a religious message of joy, as it were. Proudhon,

Marx, Bakunin were the most outstanding apostles of this trend and considered unshakeable deities. There was a belief in a kind of sociological Darwinism with a so-called peaceful evolution leading to a paradise on earth. There was a fanatical idolisation of so-called progress and the extension of a genuine and innate patriotism to an unnatural "class consciousness." As a consequence of all this, the symbol of this belief seemed to be, as someone in Pavlyk's circle once put it:

- 1) cosmopolitanism in politics,
- 2) naturalism in art,
- 3) atheism in religion (!).

For us all this sounds like a casual anecdote, and a very amusing one at that! But in the 1870's and 1880's this piece of grotesqueness was by no means just an anecdote even in Western Europe. And where do our Ukrainian territories fit into this, not to mention Eastern Europe, which was very exposed to the powerful influences of these dogmas in one way or another, and to the dozens of Chernyshevsky's and Mikhailovsky's who dominated the so-called great Russian literature of the time which was poisoning and killing off everything which had life in it? It was in such an atmosphere that the specifically Socialist reverence of the peasantry was born in Russia which tainted and deformed our love of nationhood, which was pure and idealistic and, in a sense, even holy. We saw and witnessed all this much later, when it drew a mist across the eyes of the Ukrainian Central Rada government and played such a fatal role in the violent pains of our state's foundation.

The ideological situation of that epoch was really formidable, and as unshakeable as the hardest rock. And it was this rock that the young Franko, perhaps not yet aware of it, had decided to shatter.

What could the son of a craftsman from Drohobych do against this rock?

The peasant Shevchenko, who in any case was of Cossack origin, attacked this rock with his powerful national instincts; he knew in spite of everyone and everything that "one's own rights and liberty and power dwell in one's own house." But Franko, for various reasons, was not graced with this national genius. So the craftsman's son from Drohobych went at this rock with the weapons he had brought with him into the world, the weapons he had hardened and perfected throughout his difficult life — the weapons of **reason**.

Shevchenko flew over this rock on the wings of genius. But Franko had to shatter this rock bit by irksome bit. And he worked at it, winter and summer, day and night, year after year, untiring, with systematic and directed labour, until through a hole in the rock he was finally able to show the light of historical reality, almost

suffocating in smoke and blood. But the tunnel had been dug, and bondage, intellectual bondage, was conquered and overcome by Franko's superhuman labour.

In the poetry of the whole world I know of no apologist and singer of reason and the intellect such as was the poet Ivan Franko:

Thou reason clear and sharp,
Rip off the chains of centuries!

This is the *leitmotiv*, the daily prayer of the poetry of Franko's youth. It is a prayer, for when he wrote it, this "materialist" through idealism and circumstance did not yet believe in reason, but in a "mighty reason not founded on belief." This miraculous power of reason was still hidden from the young Franko, and he was not yet aware that

Thy birth, O Christ, our God,
Bathed the world in reason's light;
Serving the stars on Earth,
A star Thou hast departed from us.

And it was this very divine power of reason which brought him from the stance of "no belief in the foundations" to the position of "with the foundation of belief." This belief flamed aloft like the great oratorio from Moses.

III

It is worthwhile to return again and again to Franko's reason, for in its full creative force it was the pure expression of our national intellect. It became a force which cannot be excluded from the history of our thought. However, the history of this thought has been so little illuminated that we are still far from any conjectures or conclusions about it — although this is essential from the historian's point of view.

Our modern national thought was fanned into flame by Pańko Kulish, smouldered gently, and finally went out again with Drahomanov. When in the eighties and nineties the chasm of provincialism refused to close and "national non-existence" blossomed forth, it was Franko who strengthened, deepened, and extended Kulish's intellectual prologue, and brought us a huge step forward along the often difficult and unpleasant path of national thought. And our experiences of the not too distant yet already historical past prove that we hardly possessed this thought to a sufficient degree, and will certainly not possess it to this degree in the foreseeable future.

Franko's intellectual victory was a miracle not only of clear-sightedness but of prophecy. Two extracts will be enough to show this.

The first comes from the year 1898, from the time when Offenbach's operettas were being played all over Europe and the whole continent

danced to the waltzes of Strauss, when the Tsar was receiving no ambassadors because he was recuperating on a fishing holiday, and the intellectual skies of Europe were dominated by two idols — progress and Karl Marx. Of Marxism Franko wrote:

“O cruel time! It is full of hate and mistrust. Antagonisms have increased in such a horrifying manner that we have not long to wait before we have (and in fact we have it already) a religion founded on the dogmas of hate and the class-struggle.”

The philosopher Berdyayev, now so famous, was himself once a Marxist, and all of ten years later after the bitter experiences of 1905 he repeated almost word for word the formulation of the craftsman's son from Drohobych.

Our second extract from Franko comes from his work of 1903, **What does Progress really mean?:**

“The all-powerful might of the (Marxist) state would put a terrible, oppressive burden on the life of every single citizen. Personal freedom and personal thought would disappear... Education would become a spirit-killing set of exercises. People would grow up and live in a state of such dependence and under such thorough state control that it is unthinkable even in the most absolutist of all police states at present.

“But who would be at the helm in this type of state? On this subject the Social Democrats do not express themselves very clearly, but at any rate these people would have tremendous power over the lives and fates of millions such as has not been known in the most despotic of states.”

Is this not the prophetic vision of a great man, a vision which has been made real down to the smallest detail? These conclusions, stemming from an intellect with such a scholarly training as Franko's, can be compared only with the irrational seer Dostoyevsky when he wrote **The Devils**.

As early as 1904 Franko was using expressions such as “total rule” (we would say “totalitarianism”), “Communist state”, “State Socialism”, “the triumph of the new bureaucracy over the material and spiritual life of society”, etc.

This, if we honour the truth, was written for our then freshly baptized Marxists. Perhaps a certain Petlura, who, together with his party, was thrown into the conflagration of the liberation struggle, had remembered these prophetic warnings and concise findings of the heroic intellect of Ivan Franko.

Ivan FRANKO

Translated by Vera RICH

Easter Day

(From "The Lord's Jests")

Come Easter Day. Dear God Almighty,
There had not been since we were born
Such Easter morning for us ever.
From daybreak, chatter, noise; excited,
The village like an anthill swarmed
And seethed with people. All together
Rushed to the church. And when the first
Time: "Christ is risen" sang they throbbing,
Then all, like children, wept, the sobbing
Shook the church in a mighty burst.
For, so it seemed, that we had languished
An age, had suffered long-drawn anguish
Till He had risen here with us.

Then, somehow, we all felt the birth
Within our souls of light and cherished
Peace, and, it seemed, that all were ready
To cry aloud to heaven and earth,
To shout and sing: "All evil's perished!"
The worst of enemies, effacing
Their feuds, kissed, joyfully embracing, —
And still the bells pealed far and wide!
And the young folk ran, hardly sober
With joy, and shouted on all sides:
"No lord, no serfdom, it's all over!
"We're free, we're free, all, all are free!"
And even the small children, seeing
Their elders, also cry out, seeming
Like quails that run the field about.

But when the praise of God was over,
Out to the churchyard we all poured,
Some several hundred; in accord
All knelt upon the earth, and raising
Their voice, the whole folk sang God's praises,
And sang that glorious hymn of yore:
"We praise Thee, God, forevermore!"
Like thunder, first, the sounds came throbbing,
The mighty words, a joyful ringing,
But at the end the holy singing,
Covered the sound of deep, deep sobbing.

It is in vain I try, my children,
To tell you, even in the least,
What happened on that glorious feast,
The things which mine own eyes beheld then.
The people seemed to have gone mad!
Like boys, old men danced round each other.
And by his horses, one old dad
Stands kissing them just like a brother,
And talks, and pats them quietly.
And there the girls stand, grouped together,
And each of them takes off her headdress
And makes a bow, and humbly spreads it
Before the ikons. Each man said
Loud to his neighbour, as a greeting
"Christ is risen! Serfdom has
Gone to hell." And, one grand-dad, weeping,
Older he is than all the rest,
On an old grave-hump, half-effaced,
As if he'd gather to his breast
And would the very sod embrace,
And cries with all his might: "Dad, dad!
We're free, O dad, d'you hear, we're free!
And you a hundred years were trying
To live out serfdom, fought against dying,
Waiting for freedom. Dad, d'you see?
We're free! Poor Dad! You couldn't manage
To live it out, but dawn has come!
And now no master in his palace
Can take my grandsons, unlike me.
O Dad, now call me, call me home,
Your son can die a man, and free!"

Ivan FRANKO

Translated by Vera RICH

The Idyll

It was in days of old. Two little children,
Clasping each other's hand, across flower-spangled
Meadows of the low slopes, by narrow pathways
Over the fields, on a hot summer day
Went from the village.

The boy was the elder,
With flax-white hair and large blue eyes, and holding
A willow-branch as hobby-horse. He carried,
Tucked in his shirt, a fine big chunk of bread,
And in his old felt hat he'd stuck a flower.
The little girl, though, led him by the hand
Though she was smaller. Her eyes, sharp as thorns,
Blazed like small coals, and darted, full of life,
Here, there and everywhere. Like a mouse's tail
Her little plait hung down behind, and in it
A strand of scarlet ribbon had been woven.
And in a little apron, folded double,
She had some roast potatoes, while some pods
Of ripe green peas were safely tucked away
Inside her bodice. The boy seemed unhappy,
And as he walked, he glanced round timidly.
But without pause, the small girl chattered on,
Giving new depths of courage to her comrade.

“You ought to be ashamed! He’s grown so big,
And yet he wants to cry! A boy, afraid!
What’s there to be afraid of? When I say
Something is so, it must be true. My granny
Is not like some who might tell fbs, you know!

Just look — d'you really think it's very far?
Just to that hump, and then Mount Dil's quite near,
And then we'll climb Dil, higher all the time,
Right to the very top! Enough! We'll rest —
Or maybe not, for what's the point of resting
When we have got so near?... We'll shout "Oooo-ooh!"
And straightway we'll run until we reach
The iron pillars that hold up the sky,
And then we'll hide behind a pillar, quiet,
O very quiet, and hide there till evening.
And don't you dare start whimpering to me,
And don't start crying! So you hear? Or I
Will give it you! And then, when evening comes,
And the bright sun comes homeward for the night
And knocks upon the gate, then quietly,
O very quiet, we'll steal in behind him.
And do you know what my dear granny said?
He has a daughter — and so beautiful
You can't believe it. And she works the gate
Each evening for her father, and each morning.
And she loves children, she loves them so much
You can't believe it. But the sun won't let
Children come in to her, for fear straightway
She'd run away with them. But we'll steal in
O very quietly, and then — we'll seize
Tight to her hands, and then the sun can't do
A thing to us. Only don't be afraid,
And don't you dare start crying. It's so near,
And we have all we need to last the way.
And then, of course, the Lady'll give us plenty
Of everything, we only have to ask her.
Say now, what would you ask for?"

The boy looked

At her, and put a finger to his lips
And said, "Well, p'waps I'll have a nicer horse?"
"Ha-ha-ha-ha!" The girl burst into laughter.
"Well, maybe, then I'll have a nice new hat?"
"Ask what you like, but me, I know, I know
What I shall ask for!"

"Tell me, what is it?"

"Aha, I shan't tell *you*!"

"Tell me, or else

I'll cwy!"

"Well, go ahead and cry! I'll go
On by myself, and leave you here alone!"
"Well, then, why won't you tell me?" "You know, you're
So silly. My dear granny told me that
The sun-maiden has apples made of gold,

And if she gives a golden apple to you,
Then you'll have health and wealth for all your days,
And beautiful, you'll be so beautiful.
These apples, though, are just for little girls!"
"I-wanna-napple!" The boy started crying.
"Silly, don't cry! Just don't forget to ask.
I'll see to it, and she will give you one.
And once we have the apples safe and sound,
Then we'll go home once more, and nevermore
Tell anyone. You won't tell?"

"No, not I!"

"Well just remember! If you do, she'll take
It back. So hide it safe where no one'll find it.
No, I know, you must give me yours as well
And I will hide them both together. You're
Too silly, she would take it back from you.
All right?"

"All right!" The boy said. Off they went.

Many a year since then has rolled away.
And far beyond their childish expectations
The road still stretches, long and burdensome,
To the sun's palaces. The grass, the ploughland,
The sun, the sky, all, all of it has changed
To the boy's eyes. Only she has not changed,
His little friend, his guide upon the way.
Her chattering so merry and so dear,
Her laughter and her hope beyond all quenching
They are a living stream that binds today,
Yesterday and tomorrow in the heart.
And since that time their purpose has not changed,
Only grown, branched forth and become more clear.

And thus along the many-peopled highway,
Among the crush, disputes and buffeting,
They go, deep-hidden in their breasts they have
The hearts of children as their dearest treasure.
The fool in puffed-up pride will pass them by,
And sneer. The grand "Excellency" will pass
Without a glance. But when a peasant meets them,
He gives to them fresh water, so that they
May slake their thirst, points out the path to them,
And gives them shelter from the storm and darkness.

Clasping each other's hand, then quietly
And happily, without a backward glance
Or fear, they go towards the golden sun.

Terrence J. BARRAGY

ROMANOVS OR PSEUDO-ROMANOVS?

I

American students have been mesmerized by the constant repetition of both College teachers and textbooks that "...both the Tzar [Nicholas II] and his brother abdicated, bringing the Romanov dynasty to an abrupt end."¹ Books omitting a reference to the Romanovs at the time of Nicholas II generally include a sweeping statement with their treatment of Michael Romanov, such as "From the election of Michael in 1613 to the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Romanovs held the throne",² or "Finally Michael Romanov became Tzar (1613-1645), thus founding the dynasty that ruled Russia until 1917."³ In short, it seems extremely difficult to discover a European or World History textbook in America which deviates sharply from the standard Romanov approach.⁴ Thus, American students have been led into the unquestioning belief that Russia was ruled from 1613 to 1917 by the Russian Romanov dynasty. This is understandable, since even most books written specifically on the Romanovs are confusing, unscholarly, and in many cases blatantly in error. I propose a careful examination of the Romanov question.

II

The Romanovs were descendants of the Kambila, who migrated from Prussia and Lithuania in 1280 and soon gained a prominent position in the Russian Empire. Andrew Kobyla, who is mentioned in the Muscovite Chronicles in 1347, is generally considered to be the founder of the Romanov dynasty. Kobyla served under the Grand Dukes Ivan Kalita and Simeon the Proud.

¹) S. B. Clough, *et al.*, *A History of The Western World* (Boston, 1964), p. 1113.

²) C. Brinton, J. B. Christopher, and R. L. Wolff, *Civilization In The West* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964), p. 206.

³) Joseph W. Swain, *The Harper History of Civilization* (New York, 1958), II, p. 71.

⁴) See also: Richard M. Brace, *The Making of the Modern World* (New York, 1955), p. 268, and Steward C. Easton, *The Heritage of the Past From The Earliest Times to 1715* (New York, 1959), p. 674.

Although not even the Ruriks were all legitimately descended in an unbroken line from Rurik, the founder of the dynasty, it was considered essential in 1613 that their successor be related to the original Rurik line. Michael Romanov, however, was elected Tzar in 1613 by the Zemsky Sobor for reasons chiefly of convenience rather than legitimacy. He was representative of the royal house of Rurik only through his grandmother, and therefore families more suitable than the Romanovs were certainly available. Specifically, the Dolgorukis, a family of direct descent from Rurik, were passed over because the Zemsky Sobor felt that Michael could be more easily controlled.

Fortunately for the dynasty, Romanov legitimacy, having started in this un auspicious manner, followed the principle of primogeniture through the reign of Peter the first; and the first Romanovs took brides from among their subjects. These two facts are important for my study, which has two primary aims: first, tracing the so-called royal Romanov blood, and secondly, examining the amount of non-Muscovite blood in the royal family. Michael Romanov, who was born the 12th of July, 1596, married a Muscovite commoner. She gave birth to a son, Alexis, who succeeded his father on the throne. Alexis also married a Muscovite girl, named Maria Miloslavsky. Maria gave birth to two male children: the first, Theodore, ruled as Tzar from 1676 to 1682, when he died childless; the second became Ivan V and ruled as co-Tzar from 1682-89, with the son of Alexis' second wife. Ivan V fathered three daughters, Catherine, Anne and Praskovie, before his death in 1696.

After tiring of Marie, Alexis married, in 1669, a low-born peasant girl named Natalie Naryshkin. She was the daughter of a Muscovite officer of dragoons and a foreign woman named Hamilton. As the Hamiltons were of Scottish descent, we have the first introduction of non-Slavic blood into the Romanov line, for Natalia gave birth to Peter I (Peter "the Great"). Peter ruled with his half-brother Ivan V until Ivan and his sister, Sophia, were driven out in 1689. Peter, who is undoubtedly the greatest figure of the Romanov dynasty, married twice. He first married Eudoxie Lopukhin in January of 1689. Although he deserted her after two months of marriage and eventually had her shut up in a convent in 1699, they had one son, named Alexis. Alexis, differing in many respects from his father — one being physical stamina — died of torture inflicted by Peter's henchmen in 1718. The practice of primogeniture was broken when the son of the murdered Alexis, Peter II, was not allowed to rule.

Peter the Great, who possessed a prodigious sexual appetite, soon formed an association with General Menshikov's mistress, Martha Skavrenska. Martha, later Catherine I, has a background somewhat surrounded in controversy, though almost all books agree that she was of Livonian origin. She bore Peter eleven children, at least five

of them before her marriage to Peter in 1712. Two daughters of great importance in Russian history, Anne and Elizabeth, were thus half Livonian — and were illegitimate.

Although both Scottish and Livonian blood were thus introduced relatively early into the Romanov family, the blood line eventually became overwhelmingly German. The first princess of the house of Romanov to marry a German prince was the niece of Peter the Great, Anne Ivanovna, who married Frederick, the Duke of Courland. She was destined to rule Russia from 1730 to 1740. Next, Peter had his niece Catherine married to Charles Leopold, the Duke of Mecklenburg. This marriage is very significant, as it resulted in the birth of grandson, Ivan VI, who was apparently the last of the Romanovs. Finally, Peter had his daughter, Anne, married to Charles Frederick, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. This marriage resulted in the birth of Peter III, whom I shall discuss later.

Shortly before his death in 1725, Peter passed a new rule of succession abolishing primogeniture and conferring upon the sovereign the power to nominate his own successor. This decree was to result in many difficulties for the Romanov line. Rather than place Alexis' son Peter II on the throne, according to primogeniture, the Russian Guards regiments insisted that Peter I's widow, Catherine, be his successor. Upon her death in 1727, Peter II, then twelve year old, was considered next in line. Unfortunately, he died of smallpox in 1730 before his coronation, and the Supreme Privy Council chose as his replacement Anne, the niece of Peter I who had married Frederick Duke of Courland. As Anne had no children at her death in 1740, she was succeeded by Ivan VI, the grandson of Catherine Duchess of Mecklenburg. Ivan ascended the throne in 1740 at the age of one month and three weeks and was deposed at the age of one year and three months in 1741 by Elizabeth, the second daughter of Peter I. As she had declared before her ascent to the throne that she would never marry, she provided for the succession by naming her nephew, Karl Peter Ulrich (Peter III) heir to the throne. Being the son of Anne, eldest daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I, Peter was approximately one-fourth Livonian, half German, six percent Scottish and only nineteen percent Russian. His father was Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

Peter III, being orphaned at an early age, was brought to Russia. After long and careful deliberation, Elizabeth chose Peter's cousin Sophia-Frederica-Augusta of Anhalt-Zerbst as his future bride. They were related through the house of Holstein-Gottorp. Upon her reception into the Greek Church, Sophia was renamed Catherine (Catherine II). With the marriage of Peter and Catherine in Kazan Cathedral, on August 25, 1745, we arrive at the principal point of dispute in the history of the Romanov family. Russian historians are almost evenly divided concerning the true father of Catherine's first

son, Paul, who was born in 1754. If Peter is the father, then Paul has Romanov blood from Peter's mother and Holstein-Gottorp blood from Peter's father. Thus, Paul and all later Romanovs possess Romanov blood, although in greatly diluted form toward the end of the dynasty. But, if Serge Saltykov is the father of Paul, as the second group contends, then the Romanov blood abruptly ends at this point. Paul would possess low Muscovite blood from his father, Saltykov, and only German blood (Anhalt-Zerbst and Holstein-Gottorp) from his mother.

There are at least three writers who firmly believe that Peter III is the father of Paul. In her book *Catherine The Great and the Expansion of Russia*, Gladys Scott Thomson states that Paul was probably the son of Peter for three reasons. First, Paul looked like Peter; secondly, the two possessed many of the same traits, and thirdly, Catherine actively disliked her son. Miss Thomson states that Paul is probably the son of Peter because Catherine actively disliked Paul, but she then, in at least two different places, explains that Catherine was afraid of Paul because of her instability on the throne, and that this factor served to divide them. In a third place, Miss Thomson states that Catherine saw in Paul the same faults she had seen in Peter. She also states that Paul and Nikita Panin were plotting to overthrow Catherine. She thus destroys one of her own arguments, forcing one to question her grasp of the problem.

In his introduction to *The Memoirs of Catherine The Great*, edited by Dominique Maroger, Dr. G. P. Gooch agrees with two of the points set forth by Gladys Thomson. Gooch states that Paul's legitimacy is strongly supported by his appearance. Paul, being an ugly snub-nosed man, was probably not the son of a "good-looking woman" (Catherine) and an exceptionally handsome man.⁵

Secondly, Gooch agrees in general with Miss Thomson when he states that Paul possessed the same mental instability as Peter. He then weakens his argument by stating that perhaps this is explained by his being quarantined by Catherine. He remarks that it is impossible to answer the question of Paul's legitimacy with confidence since both Catherine's husband and son profess uncertainty on the subject. He admits that Catherine provides circumstantial evidence in her diary that Serge Saltykov was the father of Paul, but he does not consider it definite proof.⁶ In taking this position Gooch differs sharply from the first editor of Catherine's *Memoirs*, Alexander Herzen, whom I shall discuss shortly.

⁵) Catherine II, *The Memoirs of Catherine The Great*, ed. Dominique Maroger, Trans. from Fr. by Moura Budberg (New York, N.D.), p. 13.

⁶) Catherine II, Maroger, p. 12. In his book *Catherine The Great and Other Studies*, G. P. Gooch presents an even weaker defense of Paul's legitimacy than in his preface to Catherine's *Memoirs*.

The most significant and also most recent exponent of Paul's legitimacy is E. M. Almedingen, who sets forth her views in *Catherine the Great: A Portrait*. Miss Almedingen bases her approach to the legitimacy of Paul on two reports. In February, 1746, the French Ambassador, d'Alion, reported to Paris that "on m'assure que le Grand'Duc n'a pas fait voir encore à la Grand Duchesse qu'il fut homme..."⁷ She firmly believes that Peter suffered from a physical defect and states that "The married life of their Imperial Highnesses was a mere fiction. They were husband and wife in name only."⁸ Mrs. Almedingen then describes "a story which had many versions", that Serge Saltykov persuaded the Grand-Duke to consent to an operation which ended successfully. She bases her approach to the problem on an account "told by a man who had heard it from Saltykov himself." Although this affair concerning a possible operation is mentioned in several works, its precise nature is never described and thus leaves the reader rather confused.

Almedingen's statement is somewhat vague; however, she seems to indicate that Saltykov was responsible for Catherine's first pregnancy, which ended in a miscarriage, as he was "forbidden to Court and ordered to live on his estates for a time."⁹ While she admits that the affair of Paul's legitimacy remains confused she bluntly states:

Of that son's [Paul's] paternity, however, there can be no doubt. Here, Catherine's liaison with Saltykov becomes irrelevant and all palace gossip must be brushed aside. Paul was Peter's son in body, soul and mind. The grotesque and puerile traits in the father's character were all inherited by the son.¹⁰

In my opinion her defense of Paul's legitimacy is weaker than those already described. Her presentation and interpretation of Catherine's *Memoirs* is weak and confused, and her work seems generally undependable. Although Miss Almedingen is convinced of the continued Romanov legitimacy through Paul, she states that Elizabeth was "the last Romanov living..."¹¹ although both Peter III and Ivan VI were alive during the period she refers to. She then turns about and falsely states that "Peter [III] was the only living member of the Romanov family at the time",¹² although both Elizabeth and Ivan VI were alive at this time. Thus, Ivan VI, in actual fact the last indisputable member of the Romanov dynasty, is not a Romanov and Peter III is either a Romanov or non-Romanov depending on which part of the book one consults.

7) E. M. Almedingen, *Catherine the Great: A Portrait* (London, 1963), p. 30.

8) Almedingen, p. 35.

9) Almedingen, p. 40.

10) Almedingen, p. 40.

11) Almedingen, p. 14.

12) Almedingen, p. 43.

In conclusion, while there exist some rather solid arguments supporting Paul's legitimacy, these arguments are best found in books other than that of Miss Almedingen.¹³

All works concerned with Paul's illegitimacy are based upon Alexander Herzen's edition of the *Memoirs Of The Empress Catherine II*. Catherine's *Memoirs* were banned in Russia by her son and grandsons and hence were first published by the revolutionary Herzen in London in 1859. In her *Memoirs* Catherine states that the Empress Elizabeth informed her that she should have children. The lady-in-waiting Madame Tchoglokov [Chogloкова] then informed Catherine that for the good of the State she should have sexual relations with either Sergius Soltikoff or Leon Narichkine.¹⁴ Herzen states quite definitely that "the father of the Emperor Paul is Sergius Soltikoff."¹⁵

In his introduction, he writes:

What renders the present publication [1859] of serious consequence to the imperial house of Russia is, that it proves not only that this house does not belong to the family of Romanoff, but that it does not even belong to that of Holstein Gottorp.¹⁶

Although Catherine's statement concerning Paul's legitimacy is greatly disputed by historians, there are two other significant statements in the *Memoirs* which seem to be almost universally accepted. Catherine recounts a conversation in which Madame Tchoglokov informed the Empress that although Catherine and Peter had been married since 1745, still they did not have marital relations.¹⁷ Thus, it is generally agreed that the two lived as brother and sister for at least the first seven years of their marriage. Secondly, although many historians dispute the fact that Paul was illegitimate, they accept the fact that Catherine gave birth to an illegitimate daughter, Anne, in December of 1757. In regard to this pregnancy, Peter stated before several people:

"God knows where my wife gets her pregnancies, I don't very well know whether this child is mine, and whether I ought to take the responsibility of it."¹⁸

Peter then refused to sign a statement saying he had not slept with his wife — but then, how many men would after thirteen years of marriage?

¹³) In addition to the works already cited, see E. A. Brayley Hodgett's *The Life of Catherine The Great of Russia* (New York, 1914).

¹⁴) Catherine II, *Memoirs Of The Empress Catherine II*, ed. Alexander Herzen (New York, 1859), p. 165.

¹⁵) Catherine II, Herzen, p. 14.

¹⁶) Catherine II, Herzen, p. 14.

¹⁷) Catherine II, Herzen, pp. 158-159.

¹⁸) Catherine II, Herzen, p. 255.

There are a number of scholars who have merely accepted Catherine's statement concerning Paul's illegitimacy and failed to do any further research on the subject. Such treatment is of little value. One example of this approach is a work entitled *The Romanovs* by William Gerhardt. The author states that "Peter III... almost certainly was not Paul's father",¹⁹ but then fails to examine the problem in any detail.

There are five sources dealing with the topic which are of significant value in any attempt to arrive at the truth. Gina Kaus in her book *Catherine: The Portrait of An Empress* states that:

All contemporary records, Catherine's own confessions, and his own admissions point to the fact that Peter was not the father of Paul...²⁰

She describes the situation as set forth by Catherine and adds that Peter never slept in Catherine's room again after Paul was born. This is apparently meant as supporting evidence that Peter did not consider himself the father of Paul. In support of her belief that Paul was illegitimate, she attempts to destroy the argument that they looked alike by stating that Paul was pretty until the age of ten, when he contracted a disease. More importantly, she gives several basic reasons for the fact that the actions of Peter and Paul were so strikingly similar and for the split between Catherine and Paul. She lists two reasons for the similarity between the two. First, Paul's early youth was repressed in the same way that Peter's had been. Secondly, she reveals that Paul was like Peter because he imitated Peter on purpose owing to his hatred of Catherine's morals. Sons are always the sternest judges of their mother's morals and Catherine's morals disgusted Paul. Concerning the split between Catherine and Paul, there had never been any pretense of a genuine and tender love between Catherine and her son, and secondly, Paul discovered at an early age how Peter III had met his death, and he witnessed the Orlovs at the Russian Court and his mother's passionate relationship with Gregory Orlov. In summary, Miss Kaus states: "Half wishing to resemble his idol, half wishing to annoy Catherine, half deliberately, half unconsciously, he [Paul] began to model himself on Peter, and in time became almost his double."²¹

Katharine Anthony in her book *Catherine The Great* states that "Paul... was not a Romanov but a Saltikov."²² She points out that Paul's ugly turned up nose was very similar to that possessed by Peter Saltykov, the brother of Serge.²³ In fact, a careful comparison

¹⁹ William Gerhardt, *The Romanovs* (New York, N.D.), p. 157.

²⁰ Gina Kaus, *Catherine: The Portrait Of An Empress* (New York, 1935), p. 301.

²¹ Gina Kaus, p. 303.

²² Katharine Anthony, *Catherine The Great* (New York, 1925), p. 121.

²³ Katharine Anthony, p. 122.

of the portraits of Serge Saltykov and Paul reveals close resemblance between the two.

There are in addition two books of great importance to any study of Paul's paternity, since they examine the problem in detail. Angelo Rappoport sets forth approximately ten points bearing on Paul's paternity. He points out that the problem of Paul's paternity is very vexed and can only be cleared up by mothers and midwives. Thus Catherine is the one best qualified to identify the father and she does so in her *Memoirs* — Serge Saltykov.

Her [Catherine's] words, however, have been discredited by historians, who believe that Catherine, who hated Paul because he really was the son of Peter, wrote these lines in order to disqualify him for the throne.²⁴

Rappoport points out that this makes little sense because with her statement she also disqualified her grandson Alexander, whom all are agreed she wished to see on the throne. In his second argument he quotes Bourrée de Corberon, *Un Diplomate Français* (Journal Intime, 1901), vol. I, p. 245, to show that "no one at the Court of St. Petersburg believed Paul to be the son of Peter, and Sergius Soltykov was always mentioned as the father of the heir apparent."²⁵ The author then quotes a contemporary, Count Fedor Golovkin, *La Cour de Paul I*, in regard to two rather curious incidents. When Paul was accused of conspiring against Catherine, Count Panin brutally told him that he was an illegitimate child.

You are the heir apparent only by the gracious will of your mother. You have hitherto been left in the belief that you are the son of Peter III, but it is now time that you should learn the truth. You are an illegitimate child, and the witnesses to this fact still exist.²⁶

Secondly, Golovkin relates that in 1796, the King of Poland, Stanislaus Poniatowski, informed him "that Paul, with tears in his eyes and kissing the king's hands, implored him to acknowledge himself as his father." Paul was visibly disappointed when Poniatowski denied it.²⁷ Rappoport says that in spite of Paul's filial love for his pretended father he never believed himself to be the son of Peter III of whom he often spoke as "a drunkard and an imbecile." His conduct was dictated by his hate for Catherine and Potemkin rather than his reverence for Peter III.²⁸ Equally important is

²⁴) Angelo Rappoport, *The Curse Of The Romanovs* (New York, 1907), p. 27. Rappoport must be used with caution since his views are obviously biased — as, indeed, are those of most writers on the topic.

²⁵) Rappoport, p. 28.

²⁶) Rappoport, p. 29.

²⁷) Rappoport, p. 29.

²⁸) Rappoport, p. 29.

Rappoport's presentation of the fact that Peter III "himself never considered the child as his own", and intended to exclude him from the dynasty. On her death bed, the Empress Elizabeth implored Peter III to cherish his son Paul because she was well aware of the fact that Peter III refused to recognize Paul as his own flesh and blood. Several days later, when Peter III ascended the throne, the name of Paul, as heir to the throne, was omitted from the form of the oath of allegiance taken by the subjects on the accession of Peter III.

The French Ambassador, M. de Breteuil, stated that "The Emperor has seen his son [Paul] only once since his accession. Should he get any male issue by his mistress, it is probable that he will marry the latter and appoint the boy as his successor."²⁹ Rappoport then recounts an event which may or may not be true. Peter III recalled Sergius Saltykov from Paris and treated him with marked kindness. The courtiers maintained that Peter was "searching for the father" of his son, and wished Saltykov to acknowledge himself as the real father of Paul.³⁰

Rappoport ends his discussion of the problem of Paul's paternity by apparently accurately describing the reason for the alienation between Catherine and Paul. Paul despised Catherine because for thirty-four years she denied him his lawful right to the Russian throne. Catherine hated and feared Paul because he represented a direct threat to her rule.

Probably the finest book to date in English on the life of Catherine II is the recently published *Catherine The Great* by Zoé Oldenbourg. Mme. Oldenbourg presents what appears to be the most rational and scholarly treatment of Paul's paternity presently available. She considers it absolutely certain that Empress Elizabeth instructed Madame Chogloкова to procure her an heir at all costs. The Empress held Peter III responsible for the sterility of the young couple. Catherine, having apparently lost her virginity to Saltykov a short time before this, was already pregnant by him. Peter III experienced his first *divertissement* during this same period through an arranged affair with a young widow, Madame Groot.

Mme. Oldenbourg's most important thesis is that while Peter was not impotent, he was "very probably sterile." She feels that this may have been caused by the many serious illnesses he suffered as a child. More importantly she points out that:

Peter had numerous mistresses, yet he has never been credited with being the father of natural children, while the woman who lived intimately with the Grand Duke for seven years [Elizabeth Vorontsov]... married after his death and at once produced a child.³¹

²⁹) Rappoport, p. 34.

³⁰) Rappoport, p. 34. Translated from the French.

³¹) Zoé Oldenbourg, *Catherine The Great* (New York, 1965), p. 155.

Although Peter succeeded in carrying on an affair with Madame Groot, she did not give birth to a child. Catherine, on the other hand, suffered a miscarriage in December, 1752, three or four months after her affair with Saltykov began. Following the miscarriage, Catherine was instructed by Madame Chogloкова to have an affair with either Serge Saltykov or Leon Naryshkin in order to provide an heir to the throne. This is the incident described by Catherine in her *Memoirs*. Three months later Catherine was again pregnant. It seems almost certain that the Empress knew of her niece's escapade from the beginning and knowingly encouraged it. Oldenbourg points out that the Empress was:

...quite intelligent enough to realize that her nephew, although the true grandson of Peter the Great, was in fact merely a symbolic heir. The succession could equally well be assured by a child who merely appeared to be legitimate...³²

Elizabeth was to have her wish denied a second time when on June 29, 1753, Catherine had a second miscarriage.

Not only Elizabeth, but also the Grand Duke, was aware of the affair. Peter informed his valet de chambre, Bressan, that "Sergei Saltykov and my wife are fooling Choglokov, making him an accessory to their desires and then mocking him."³³

Seven months after her second miscarriage, Catherine was again expecting, and this time the affair was crowned with success. On September 20, 1754, after nine years of marriage, Catherine gave birth to Paul, and the all important Romanov succession was assured. In conclusion, Oldenbourg strikes directly at the central problem.

The still open question of whether Paul was in fact the legitimate heir of the Romanov dynasty recurred time and time again. All the evidence suggests that he was not, and that he was known not to be, otherwise Catherine would surely not have dared to hint at it so broadly in her memoirs.³⁴

She then counters the argument that Paul possessed an undeniable resemblance to the Grand Duke Peter, physically as well as in character.

...Paul's face with its flat cheekbones, big slanting eyes, and small snub nose like a Pekinese is only very faintly reminiscent of the long, attenuated visage of his supposed father.³⁵

Anyone who has compared portraits of the two men must feel that Oldenbourg's statement "only very faintly reminiscent" is quite conservative. Thus, the argument for legitimacy based on similar physical appearance is of little value. Anyone doubting this should

³²) Oldenbourg, p. 158.

³³) Oldenbourg, p. 153.

³⁴) Oldenbourg, p. 170.

³⁵) Oldenbourg, pp. 170-171.

compare the available portraits of the two men. They fully support Oldenbourg's position.

We have already seen that the argument of similarity in character is equally weak. Oldenbourg states that:

The character resemblance, too, can just as well be explained by the similarity of the situations in which the two men found themselves, by Paul's desire to copy a father he idealized but never knew, and by the common ancestry of Peter and Catherine who were, after all, second cousins.³⁶

If Peter was the father of Paul, then a faint trace of Romanov blood continued down to Nicholas II, though the line is still not Russian but overwhelmingly German. If, on the other hand, Paul was fathered by Saltykov, which seems highly probable after a careful examination of the available evidence, then the line is non-Romanov and non-Russian.

I wish to conclude my treatment of the Romanov Dynasty by briefly tracing the heavy influx of German blood into the Romanov line during the period 1796-1918 when five of the last six Romanov rulers took German brides.

At the age of nineteen Paul married Wilhelmina, the daughter of the landgrave of Hesse. The grand duchess died in childbirth in April of 1776. Less than half a year later Paul married Sophie Dorothy, Princess of Württemberg. Frederick II of Prussia, an uncle of the princess, took a part in arranging the match, and it was a highly successful one resulting in four sons and six daughters. Two of the sons became Tzars and imitated their father by marrying German brides. When he was less than sixteen Alexander I married Elizabeth, formerly Princess Louise of Baden. Elizabeth gave birth to two daughters, both of whom died in infancy.

The Romanov line was perpetuated through a second son of Paul's, Nicholas I. In July of 1817 Nicholas married Princess Charlotte of Prussia, daughter of King Frederick William III and sister of the future King Frederick William IV. Charlotte had four sons and three daughters. Nicholas I was succeeded on the throne by his son Alexander II. Alexander's marriage in 1841 to Princess Wilhelmina Maria of Hesse-Darmstadt resulted in the birth of six sons and two daughters. One of the sons, Alexander III, who ruled Russia from 1881 to 1894, broke the German tradition by marrying, in 1866, Princess Sophia Frederica Dagmar of Denmark. She was the daughter of King Christian IX of Denmark and represents the only introduction of Danish blood into the Romanov line. This blood was passed on to her son, Nicholas II. Nicholas, who represents the end of the Romanov line married a German, Princess Alice of Hesse-Darmstadt. Although born in Germany, she was brought up in London by her grandmother,

³⁶) Oldenbourg, p. 171.

Queen Victoria. The Princess introduced hemophilia into the "Romanov" line. The disease apparently started with Queen Victoria and was passed on to Alexis, the only son of Nicholas II.

The so-called Romanov line came to an abrupt end on July 16, 1918, at Ekaterinburg, when Nicholas II and his entire family were murdered by the Bolsheviks.

Contrary to popular belief, the assassinated Tzar was not only non-Romanov but also non-Russian. If Serge Saltykov is the father of Paul, as seems probable, then Alexander III is approximately twelve percent Russian and eighty-eight percent German. Nicholas II was only six and one-fourth percent Russian. If Peter III is the father, Alexander III is one and one-fourth percent Russian, one and one-half percent Livonian, and about ninety-seven percent German. Nicholas II, in this case, had only five-eighths of one percent Russian blood. It might be mentioned that although Saltykov is considered to be completely Russian, it seems probable from his name that the family has Tartar blood in it.

We must now examine the reasons for the Romanov myth which has been widely spread in this country.

III

The Romanov myth was perpetrated by the ruling dynasty of Russia for basically three reasons. One, of no great importance, is that the Romanov name was preserved out of convenience. The easiest course was simply to continue with an already established name. Of much greater importance is the fact that the ruling family preserved the name Romanov for reasons of legitimacy. They kept the name because it was a great aid, in fact an indispensable aid, to a foreign dynasty in its rule of the Muscovite people and Empire. Russian history clearly reveals that the Muscovite people despised any form of foreign rule. When the King of Poland Sigismund III attempted, through negotiations, to become Tzar of Muscovy during the Time of Trouble he was violently rejected by the Muscovite people. During the reign of Peter the Great, the common people in Muscovy rejected his attempts at westernization and looked upon the Tzar as a "German" or an antichrist. It is common knowledge that the Russian people gladly accepted the rule of Elizabeth I because of their strong dislike of German influence during the reign of Anne (1730-40). Similarly, they later accepted the rule of Catherine II because of the German influence during Peter III's reign. Gogol (Hohol) voiced the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people when he summed up Germany as "nothing but a stinking belch of the coarsest tobaccos and the most disgusting beer." Zoé Oldenbourg points out that when Catherine the Great's brother Fritz died she took almost "no further interest in her family and

did her best to make people forget that she was a German."³⁷ There is much more evidence available on this subject but it would seem unnecessary to present it here.

Finally, and most importantly, the Romanov name was preserved for Panslavic reasons. A Russian Tzar is absolutely essential to the doctrine of Panslavism, for the Slavic peoples of the world cannot be united under the leadership of Moscow if Moscow is ruled by a German Tzar. Such a situation would reduce the doctrine of Panslavism to absurdity. The writings of such leading panslavists as M. P. Pogodin clearly reveal that they paid homage to the Tzar as their "Most August Father" and considered him to be their leader. In addition, Panslavism is in one respect anti-German. It would have been virtually impossible to oppose Germany under a German Tzar.

The Slavophiles who were partly the forerunners of the Panslavists were convinced that the Russians were the true divine people of modern times and that the twentieth century would be the century of Russian, or Slav leadership. They believed that in order to fulfil her providential mission, Russia must emphasize her own identity or Russian civilization. Russia could seemingly never fulfil this all-important mission if she was guided by a German dynasty. Finally, both Panslavs and Slavophiles placed heavy stress on the importance of Russian-Muscovite Orthodoxy. The Romanov dynasty possessed a close bond with Russian-Muscovite Orthodoxy as its establishment in 1613 was based upon the leadership of Patriarch Philaret, the father of Michael Romanov. A German Dynasty would have a much closer tie to Lutheranism than to Russian Orthodoxy.

American historians of Eastern Europe have made a mistake by blindly accepting Russian monarchist terminology. Under Tzarist rule historians in many cases were denied the right to publish historical truth. Under the present Soviet regime conditions are even more distressing. Americans must therefore accept Russian monarchist writings only with caution. As for the Romanov problem, Soviet historians have shown little interest in the problem, perhaps because Russian Panslavism has been replaced by Soviet Neo-Panslavism.

I propose that for the sake of historical accuracy the name "Romanov", after the time of Catherine II, be used only in quotation marks or, better, replaced by the term "Pseudo-Romanovs." And finally, whenever the Romanov line is discussed in American history books the strong foreign blood in the line should at least be mentioned.

³⁷) Oldenbourg, p. 369.

Evhen MALANIUK

(3)

To the Problem of Bolshevism

Let us look for a moment at the history of the Raskol in its relation to our own national culture. It is common knowledge that the Raskol and the movement which sprang from it were caused by the correction of the church books, undertaken on the initiative and by orders of the Patriarch of Moscow, Nikon. The grave errors which in the course of centuries had crept into the sacred books had long been obvious. The work of revision was at first assigned to a few Moscow churchmen but, owing to the ignorance and obscurantism prevailing in Moscow, their enterprise failed hopelessly. Nikon, who had previously been Archbishop of the newly annexed Novgorod and thus was used to a different climate in church life and culture, turned for help to the centre of that culture, to our Kiev. In 1649, the Kiev Academy sent a group of learned theologians (Epifaniy Slavynetsky, Arsen Satanovsky, Theodosiy Safanovych) to Moscow, who were to assist the "sister church" in its task. These were later joined by thirty scholars, translators and professors of the Greek language. They were shocked by what they found in the Moscow church books. Their criticism, although expressed in diplomatic terms, aroused a veritable storm of indignation and anger among the Moscow clergy, headed by the Bishop, who accused the revisers of "Latin heresy." It may be mentioned here that at an earlier stage the Greek scholar Arsen, who was the first to apply himself to the correction of the Moscow church books, had for that same "heresy" been banished to Solovetsky monastery and had only in 1656 been brought back by Nikon.

The rather belated attempt to adapt Moscow church life to the Ukrainian pattern did not achieve any positive results. After some time, it rather led to a terrible tragedy within the Moscow Church and finally to the complete subjection of the Church to the State. The official Church lost all influence and was reduced for ever to the role of just another government department in the civil administration of the Moscow State and, afterwards, of the Russian Empire. The attempt made during the Revolution of March 1917 to restore the Moscow Patriarchate, i.e. the autonomy of the Church, was quickly and radically suppressed by the Bolshevik regime and its traditionally Muscovite methods.

These facts show up once more the strong contrast and most essential difference between the Churches of Kiev and Moscow, both supposedly adhering to the same "Orthodox" faith.

In spite of all historical evidence, Bolsheviks as well as anti-Bolshevist Russians continue to cling to the phantom of the "unity of faith" between the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. The so-called Moscow Patriarchate, reconstituted under Bolshevik auspices after World War II, has made "the unity of the Orthodox faith" and its "militant mission" the basis of its church policy (designed, of course, to prop Soviet imperialism). Thus — to give only one example — it drove, with the help of Soviet security police, Ukrainian Catholicism in Galicia under ground.

But to return to Patriarch Nikon who was Patriarch of Moscow from 1652 to 1658. Like his predecessor of tragic fame, the Metropolitan Philip Kolychev, he was a remarkable man. In contrast to Philip who was a nobleman by birth, Nikon was of humble birth (like Pope Gregory VII). Hardened in his stormy youth, he showed an iron will and great, sometimes overwhelming ambition. It may well be that he tried to model himself on Gregory VII, for there were elements of papal caesarism in his church-reforming activity. It was he who declared that "the priest is above the tsar." He consented to becoming Patriarch only after the Tsar had long and humbly beseeched him and had gone on his knees before him (a humiliation for which Tsar Alexis apparently never forgave him). Before being enthroned, Nikon was able to persuade the Tsar to have the remains of the Metropolitan Philip murdered by Ivan the Terrible transported in state from Solovetskiy monastery to Moscow (1651). In short, the year 1652 was a Russian version of Canossa in the history of the Moscow Church. At a number of Councils, Nikon achieved the *de facto* autonomy of the Moscow Church and eventually even had his own archers, a military force not subordinate to the Tsar's authority. Nikon might very well have solved great historical and church problems if he had not stepped outside the ecclesiastical sphere and reached for political power, and if he had shown some understanding for the Raskol and its leaders.

It is an illustration of the chaotic conditions in Moscow at the time that the Patriarch and the Raskol movement should have become deadly enemies. The conflict was paradoxical, since both sides really pursued the same aim — i.e. spiritual emancipation and independence of Church from State — and had become divided only on purely superficial and unessential issues (the two-finger crossing, the double Hallelujah, etc.). In the course of centuries, these ceremonial customs had become a fossilized, sacrosanct church ritual, which took on the character of dogma and was defended with religious-nationalist fanaticism.

Nikon's radical measures in the matters of Church rite and his unrestrained lust for power eventually led to his ruin. In the meantime, the cunning Tsar Alexis bestowed on him the dubious gift of the title "Gosudar", or sovereign, which in name put him on a level with the Tsar. This caused a violent reaction not only from the

nationally oriented Church (the later Raskolniki), but also from national political circles, the Boyars, who saw in it an attempt to weaken the absolute power of the secular government. Tsar Alexis, who had for some time been aware of Nikon's real intentions, cleverly exploited these antagonisms. In the end, Patriarch Nikon was the loser in the unequal struggle, the Raskol crystallized into its final form, and the tsarist regime acquired its last polish in dealing with church affairs. From now on the tsarist system was able to formulate the principles of its church policy for centuries to come. In this connection Peter I, the son of Tsar Alexis, was to play a decisive role.

Peter's "reform" of the Moscow Church was, in the words of an expert on the subject, "outright blasphemy and mockery." "Peter succeeded in weakening the national forces of Orthodoxy and to deprive them of their sight" (G. P. Fedotov, "Novy Grad"). He "reconstructed" the official Church and added to it a new institution, the Holy Synod (Protestant in origin, but old-Muscovite in content). For the suppression of the Raskol Peter enlisted police and army forces; he imposed special taxes and even decreed special dress for the Raskolniki. During his reign, the watchwords of the Raskol were coined: "The Tsar is the servant of Antichrist" (Peter himself was simply called "Antichrist", or "Usurper", or "the Jew from the tribe of Dan", etc.); "the two-headed eagle is of demoniac ancestry, since only the devil has two heads"; the Synod was called "Jewish Sanhedrin", and the Senate — "Antichrist's Council."

The Pugachev rebellion of a later period (1773-1775) can in all probability be regarded as the armed rising of the Raskol against the "Antichrist's state", just as the earlier revolutionary activity of Razin was no mere coincidence. But it was already the swan-song of a movement, which had had its great chance at the time of its birth and growth around the middle of the 17th century, when Tsar and Patriarch were engaged in the struggle for supreme power. By virtue of its peculiarly Russian nationalist character, however, the Raskol itself was under the spell of "the nationalist conception of power." It is significant that both Razin and Pugachev were Don Cossacks by origin and officers of Cossack forces by profession.*

*) Note: The only study of the movements led by these men is by the Ukrainian historian M. Kostomarov (see his monograph on "The Revolt of Stenka Razin" and other writings). Western scholars have shown hardly any interest in the subject and seem to have accepted the official version of Russian historiographers, according to whom Razin and Pugachev were nothing more than agitators, unbridled and ignorant representatives of the mob. But, first of all, both Razin and Pugachev were officers, not "mob", and they commanded forces numbering tens of thousands. Their enthusiastic followers were the non-Russian Tartars, Mordvins, Kalmucks etc., as well as the population of the Cossack regions. Both men had their own political ideas and principles. These armed rebellions were only with great difficulty put down by the Moscow and Petersburg governments, who used every means from bribery, treason and "fifth columns" to terrorism, including the wholesale slaughter of populations and the burning down of towns and villages.

The Raskol proved unable to found its own anti-tsarist church, with its own teaching and its own hierarchy. It succumbed to the idea that the Tsar was the sole embodiment of national power. The Raskol as such ceased to exist; but the forces which produced it have kept alive.

Peculiarly transformed, the essential features of the Raskol appeared again in such groups as the Slavophiles and the Narodovoltzy (The Will of the People), as well as in the attacks on the life of tsars, in the Rasputin episode, and in the S.R.s (Socialist Revolutionary Party). It was to a large extent the elemental force of the Raskol which gave the first impetus to the early groping attempts of Bolshevism. And it was due to the passive attitude of the nation, which the repression of the Raskol had induced, that the "foreign" seed of Marxism found fertile and historically prepared soil. With a people deprived of its faith and of elementary human rights, condemned to slavery and divested even of the right to personal property, with the structure of society destroyed and reduced to an inorganic "collective" mass, Moscow Russia was indeed "the chosen one", as Khomyakov expressed it.

But chosen by whom and to what purpose?

V. TSARDOM

As the reader will by now have appreciated, the subject under discussion is so vast that it cannot be exhaustively treated even in a number of volumes, far less in one small book. The Polish scholar Jan Kucharzewski collected in the twenties and thirties an enormous amount of material, which he published in the seven volumes of his "From White to Red Tsarism." The author tends, however, to get lost in too many abstractions and theories. He never saw and experienced Russia and thus he is not really familiar with its mentality. For the sheer wealth of material brought together, the work is nevertheless most valuable.

The interest and reasonably well informed reader may justifiably point to serious omission in these pages. Circumstances did not permit to treat or go into detail about certain side issues or subordinate themes, such as Moscow's "German Suburb" in the 16th and 17th century, for instance. This was the district assigned to the merchants and diverse experts from Western Europe who had taken service with Moscow. Not a few of these settlers were adventurers and even criminals, a fact in which one can see certain analogies with the Moscow Comintern of the 1920's and 30's. Historical writing has not shed much light on the part played by the German Suburb, but there cannot be any doubt that it was an important one. Through these foreigners in her midst Moscow became acquainted with the technical achievements of Western civilization and — what is even more important — through them Moscow was able to advance her foreign policies and spread her political myths.

Our account has had to omit such important events in the history of Moscow as the appearance of the pseudo-Tsar Dmitry I in 1605-1606. (There was to be a second false Dmitry as well). Although external forces were quite obviously at work (i.e. Poland, the Vatican, Ukrainian magnates headed by Prince Constantine Ostrozhsky, and the Cossacks of Ukraine), the persistent appearance of Pretenders at that period must primarily be seen as a natural reaction of the Moscow-Russian people to the preceding terrorist regime of Ivan the Terrible. Even the Ukrainian Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, had another Pretender "in reserve" (Timoshka Akundinov) in case he might be needed. Seen in historical perspective, the championing of Pretenders appears to us now as the first and, to that extent, perhaps the only effort made by Russian society to free itself from its Mongolian past and to join the ranks of Western society and civilization.* For the lack of success the blame does not lie with the Pretender Dmitry I. To judge from the scant information available, he was a remarkable personality, an able statesman and ruler, who fully grasped the problems which confronted him in Moscow. The reasons for the collapse of this westernising attempt at the beginning of the 17th century are to be found in the carelessness of the outside instigators, in their inability to carry through an enterprise of historical importance at that vital time, in their ignorance about the psychology of the Russian people and its religious and national orthodoxy. A further factor responsible for the failure was the attitude of the Boyars at home. They even murdered Dmitry, who had become the idol of the Moscow populace.

On this, as on so many other occasions, the obstacle to change arose out of that obscure psycho-historical complex of Tsardom and Orthodoxy, which defies all attempts at rational analysis. It crystallized in Tartar times and has held the Russian soul in chains which can apparently never be shaken off.

The leaders of the revolutionary attempts that followed — the Don Cossacks Stenka Razin and Yemelyan Pugachev — were, as we have seen, by no means as primitive as official Russian history makes them out. (The most valuable contribution on the subject of these two men was made by M. Kostomarov, who also wrote about the

*) Note: That "tsardom" in its political aspects was of Mongolian origin — a modification, in fact, of the Tartar khanate — is beyond question. The distinct culture, which the Tartars bequeathed to Moscow, has been clearly outlined by G. Fedotov in his "Novy Grad": "The Tartar element penetrated the body of Moscow and took hold of its soul. This spiritual conquest occurred at a time when the political power of the Horde was on the wane. In the 15th century, thousands of baptised and unbaptised Tartars entered the service of the Moscow Princes, filling up the ranks of the service-gentry, i.e. the future nobility... It was not so much under the 200 years of the Tartar yoke, but *after* it, that Moscow lost its freedom."

Many public figures of the later Petersburg empire were of Tartar descent, e.g. Derzhavin, Aksakov, the extreme Westerniser Chaadayev, and others. Even Turgenev and L. Tolstoy had Tartar blood.

"Samozvantsy", the Pretenders.) Both Razin and Pugachev were men of character and experience, the latter having travelled abroad. Both built their strategy on the strong moral basis of the Raskol. It was in their tactics that they made mistakes. Razin, who had a vast army and whose command extended from the Caspian to the White Sea, was ingenuous enough to declare: "I do not wish to be Tsar." And, yet more naïve, he acted accordingly when the revolutionary struggle was at its peak. Pugachev drew a lesson from Razin's experience and from the start claimed to be Tsar Peter III (who had recently been murdered by the lover of his wife, Catherine II). However, he could not keep up the pretence for long. One of the reasons for this was that the "europeanised" administration of Catherine II functioned more efficiently than that under Tsar Alexis, when there were *de facto* two Orthodox Churches, when the preacher Avvakum made his passionate appeals and the tsarist regime was shaken in its foundations by the storms of the religious controversy.

Pugachev lost his moral influence when the people began to suspect that he was not Peter III, and the talents of General Suvorov helped to bring about his military defeat. By the use of terror and bribery (a reward of 10,000 roubles was on Pugachev's head), the rebellion was crushed. It was to be the last of the revolutionary attempts of this kind in the history of Russia. In the succeeding centuries the spiritually "for ever pacified" Russian nation could do no more than either "remain in silence", to use Pushkin's words, or to lend itself as a blind, soul-less tool to Petersburg and Soviet tsarism.

Another subject for which there is no room in these pages is the peculiar phenomenon of the Russian "Intelligentsia." As Russian-Bolshevist legend and influence spread in the West, this uniquely Russian concept has found its way into the vocabulary of European nations, although it is hard to see why Western social psychology should have burdened itself with an additional concept that never was an element of organic culture.

Let us here only briefly state that the Intelligentsia of the Petersburg empire must not be regarded as identical with what is commonly meant by the term "intellectuals", i.e. members of the learned professions. They did not belong to any distinct national or professional categories, but formed an enclave, an enlarged "German Suburb" as it were, within the society of the empire. They were people of diverse origin, background and education, who had gravitated from the various subject nations into the service of the government, which needed their cooperation as, for instance, primary school teachers, journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers and university professors. These people, who had been uprooted from their native soil, their society and their national culture, were entirely lacking in national consciousness; they were anational. Their official "Russian nationality" was a meaningless formality. This explains the renegade mentality, conscious or unconscious, which resulted in stunted minds

and creative impotence. While the lower orders of the Intelligentsia served in the capacity of administrators as tools for the imperial policy of Russification, the upper strata — consisting predominantly of scientists and writers, but also artists — were responsible for creating various myths and, particularly, for perpetuating and elaborating, not without success, the lost legend of the empire. The very existence of the Intelligentsia was taken as “visible” proof of the correctness of the doctrine of the indivisibility of the empire. The same school of thought prevails today among the majority of Russian emigrants, who propagate these ideas outside the borders of the USSR.

The fate of the “All-Russian Intelligentsia” under Bolshevism was a tragic one. After it had found its political expression in the Kerensky government and had played the role of midwife at the birth of Bolshevism, it was destroyed, even physically, by the same Bolshevism it had helped to bring into the world. There were various more or less logical reasons for this turn of events. For one, it is obvious that, with few exceptions, the members of the Intelligentsia, accustomed to the europeanised atmosphere of the Petersburg empire, were incapable of fulfilling any function in the mediaeval and national Muscovy that was reborn during 1917-1920.

Since the late 1920's, however, the Bolshevik regime can clearly be seen to aim at the creation of a new Intelligentsia, this time calling it “Sovietskaya”, which is to play the traditional role of supporting the imperial idea.

There is a considerable amount of literature on the Russian Intelligentsia, yet we would refer our readers to the concise, but weighty, contribution made on the subject by G. Fedotov in his “Novy Grad.”

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No historical event of any significance should ever be regarded as a *deus ex machina*. Every occurrence is explained by historical development. The phenomenon of Bolshevism has more than proved this axiom: It exposed to the eyes of the world the inner workings of the Moscow state machine and clearly demonstrated the spirit of traditional tsarism. Let us now look at a few details. The fact that most of those who went abroad never returned to Russia is nothing new. When Tsar Boris Godunov (a Tartar, successor to Ivan the Terrible) sent eighteen youths to study in Western Europe, not one of them came back. “Once one has breathed the air of spiritual freedom one is not likely to return to prison”, comments G. Fedotov on the matter.

Neither the sovkhos nor the kolkhoz is a result of Communism or Marxism, nor are they inventions of the Bolsheviks. Up to 1861, all landed properties in the Moscow and Petersburg empire were state farms, i.e. “sovkhoses”; and every village on ethnographically Russian territory always has been a “kolkhoz.” When Ukraine was conquered

by the force of arms, there, too, collective farms in the shape of "military colonies" were established by the dictatorial Arakcheyev, the minion of Alexander I. Bolshevism merely continued and intensified traditional policies in agriculture and followed in the steps of Peter I in its methods of "industrialisation."

Among the apostles of the Muscovite "obshchina" (communal ownership) were, besides the reactionary tsarist politicians, such radicals and progressives as Alexander Hertzen, Chernyshevsky (the "dishevelled seminarist", as Shevchenko called him), N. Mikhaylovsky — one of Lenin's mentors — and Karl Marx himself. Around the year 1880, the inventor of "scientific" socialism accepted and confirmed the Chernyshevsky-Mikhaylovsky theory, according to which the Russian communist obshchina provided the basis for direct transition to Marxist communist socialism, bypassing "the terribly long road" (Chernyshevsky) taken by "Roman-feudalistic, bourgeois-industrialised Europe" (Hertzen).

All these men, together with the declared reactionaries like Leontyev, Pobedonostsev and others, and even Leo Tolstoy (as philosopher), were unanimous in their hatred of the humanist civilisation of Europe.

There is nothing in the history of modern "Russia" that does not have its roots in the past. Neither the open aggressiveness of Moscow nor the carefully hidden inner causes of that aggressiveness are anything new. The whole history of "Russia", of that "military empire", is the history of incessant, rapacious, cynical imperialism.

In the reign of Ivan IV, at a time which did not appear to be particularly favourable for expansionist activity, the biggest and for the history of Moscow most characteristic conquests were made, both in the West and in the East: the Western republics of Novgorod and Pskov, and the Tartar khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan. Moreover, in that same period Siberia was conquered by the Cossacks of the so-called "fringe nations", i.e. elements generally incompatible with Moscow. A paradox? No, rather a clever move of the interior imperial policy of Moscow. It achieved thereby the diversion of potentially revolutionary forces, which spent themselves in raids on foreign countries. How often, from Tsars to Soviet, the "political wisdom" of Moscow had recourse to this traditional device! Was not the war with Japan a desperate — and for the Petersburg regime tragic — attempt to evade the 1905 revolution?

In the hope that we have been able in the preceding pages to sketch the rough outline of our topic, let us now leave methaphysics aside and proceed to an examination of the more technical political aspects of the subject. Let us pass from bygone centuries to a period much closer to us, with which contemporaries are familiar either from personal experience or from first-hand description by the older generation.

The names of two eminent statesmen of the last phase of the Petersburg empire, Witte and Stolypin, will not be unknown to our readers. The careers of these two, by now historical figures — at which we shall be looking more closely in a moment — are strikingly symbolic of the perennial problem, which might be called the political doctrine of every kind of "Russia."

Summarizing what has been said before, this political doctrine can be variously formulated: beginning with the "God in Heaven, Tsar on Earth" dictum of Old Muscovy, through the "Orthodoxy and Autocracy" of Nicholas I, to the "Workers of the World, Unite" slogan of the present. What is most essential and characteristic in this doctrine can be expressed in a few rational, though necessarily somewhat simplified, statements:

"Russia", no matter what her political form may be, can never tolerate within her dominion any kind of freedom, neither the freedom of the individual, nor that of the family, nor that of the race and, least of all, national freedom, not even that of the ruling nation (under Nicholas I the word "nation" was considered "revolutionary" and was prohibited). There can be no freedom for body or mind. Thus even the Church can be no more than a department of the Ministry of the Interior. "Russia" has at all times been based on the extinction of all individuality and hence, on the abolition among her people of private property, as this would provide a basis for personal freedom. "Russia" is therefore either the private domain of an autocrat or the "socialist" property of the formless, impersonal, soulless collective, i.e. ultimately it is part of a centralised state bureaucracy.

Owing to the numerous internal frontiers between nations, races and cultures, that have no spiritual connection of any kind with Russia, the government of the "Russian" empire — whether it is autocratic or "democratic" (and there even was once a democratic Russia) — has to maintain an extensive police apparatus with huge forces, dedicated to repressive action inside the country. (In the present USSR the police force is not much smaller than the standing army.) This state of affairs arises logically from the internal political situation, and no "Kerensky" could get away from the inner law of the "Russian" political structure. Outsiders may have failed to detect it in the reign of the Tsars, but the Bolsheviks have disclosed all the secrets of the basic political "law" to the whole world. The foundations on which the political structure of "Russia" rests can thus be seen as 1) total extinction of individuality, 2) prohibition of private property, and 3) systematic and all-pervading terror, modified and applied as circumstances require. And this, in essence, is "Russia's" political doctrine. Its logical consequences are obvious: military aggressiveness; the building up, by diplomacy, of "neutral zones" and moveable "iron curtains", behind which numerous agents in the shape of "communist parties", "fifth columns" and a host of "experts"

are in action. (The latter, who know the defence secrets of their respective countries, often are ostensibly engaged in harmless theoretical "Sanskrit studies" or in practical homosexuality.)

We have seen then that Russia, in its imperialist role, must perforce disseminate the political and cultural ideas of mediaeval Muscovy throughout the countries, peoples and cultures it has conquered ("re-united"). Since this cannot be done without force, "Russia" must always be a militaristic empire and pursue a course of aggression and, to use non-diplomatic language, of robbery and destruction.

Two renowned statesmen of the Petersburg empire had gained a deep insight into the civilization of Western Europe and noted with concern how that civilization steadily pervaded the western parts of the empire. Both had the courage to pursue policies which might well be called revolutionary. But, alas, unknown to themselves they played the roles of tragic heroes. They engaged in a fight against the historical *moira* (to use a classical term) of Russia itself and the outcome could be no other than that of every tragedy.

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Sergei Witte (who on his dismissal was made a Count) was the son of Julius Witte, probably a German settler from the Baltic area or, more likely still, from the region of Odessa. His brilliant civil service career, which sounds almost like a fairy tale — from station-master at Fastov to Prime Minister of the Empire, began with a chance meeting with Tsar Alexander III. Shortly after the railway disaster near Birky in Ukraine, in which the imperial train was involved, Alexander happened to overhear from the window the conversation between the train commandant and some unknown official. The latter said in a raised voice: "The life of my Emperor is more important to me than your regulations. I cannot permit the train to travel at such a speed, because I know the profile of the track on my line." The Tsar had the official called to his carriage and asked him his name. It was Sergei Witte, master of a section on the South-Western Railway. Soon afterwards Witte was appointed Minister of Transport. His rise led in Witte to a peculiar Hamlet mentality: although a democrat of Western type and almost a republican by conviction, he was dazzled by the boundless opportunities with which the absolutist tsarist regime presented a man of his ability and energy and by the vast field of activity which seemed to stretch before him. Witte was also an excellent mathematician (Odessa University had held out to him an academic career) and his versatility and creative energy made him an outstanding personality. His monetary reform, which immensely strengthened the empire's economic position, and his brilliant negotiation of the Portsmouth peace treaty with Japan after what looked like a fatal defeat for Russia — these are examples of Witte's extraordinary

talents. He was past master in handling the empire's administration, which he wanted, if not to reform, at least to perfect, and he clearly did so with some success. The later course of his career, however, demonstrated how tragically utopian his plans were.

Witte was fully aware of the peculiar political structure of the empire and saw all the shortcomings in its administration, which to him, a progressive of the 19th century, appeared historically out-dated. He perceived clearly the frontiers of nationalities and cultures which cut across the geographical "unity" of the empire, a unity which could only be maintained by the secret police and large forces of constabulary and gendarmes. As a man of Western background with a mathematician's mind, Witte knew only too well that this "unity" was a function of unknown qualities and could not be relied on. He intended, cautiously and without taking anyone into his confidence, to bring about by evolutionary processes the transformation of the inorganic and internally incoherent "Russian" empire into a centralised-monarchistic, but organic federal state after the German pattern. To achieve his aim, he proposed to enlist — and herein lies the tragic paradox — the help of autocratic and omnipotent tsarism itself. (When Witte was asked one day how he envisaged the future "Russia", he promptly replied: "Like the United States of America." This was presumably during the conference at Portsmouth, N.H., when he came into personal contact with the USA.)

One can hardly assume that Witte was ignorant of the history of Russia or the nature of the Muscovite nation, or that he did not see the significance of certain typically Russian phenomena (he perceptively described, for instance, the established religion as "orthodox paganism"). But there can be no doubt that he was prevented by his German antecedents and European education, as well as by his positivist and rationalist mode of thinking, from comprehending the spirit of historical Muscovite tsarism that lay behind the façade of "emperors" and the German Romanov-Holstein-Gottorp dynasty. His knowledge of the past must have been based on the distorted version of traditional teaching, otherwise he would not have failed to see how over the centuries Moscow had developed the tsarist principle, how it had created an ideology and built a whole system around it. In short, when Witte embarked on his venture he was not aware of the tremendous difficulties ahead of him, nor did he realise that the first and most formidable obstacle barring his way would be the very institution — historical tsarism, his arch-enemy — which he, from his rationalist and European point of view, had naïvely regarded as an ally or at least the Archimedean lever for his reforms.

Witte wanted to overcome tsarism with the help of tsarism — this was the tragic paradox in his undertaking. Never a favourite with the last of the Tsars, Nicholas II (a belated romanticist of orthodox tsardom, who was already under the influence of Rasputin), Witte was called upon to govern only in moments of obvious crisis. ("Jack

of all trades" was his own ironic description of himself.) He saved the dynasty and the empire when he quenched the fires of the 1905 revolution by causing the Tsar to issue the Manifesto of 17th October 1905. It was a vague and anaemic document, promising a pseudo-constitution. (It is quite possible, and would be rather like him, that Witte himself genuinely believed in the sincerity of Nicholas II, whose disaster he had averted.)

After the introduction of the gold standard and the Treaty of Portsmouth, this was the third political battle Witte had won. Unfortunately he seemed to be one of those who win every battle but lose the war. The monetary reform and the Portsmouth treaty did not interfere with the essence of tsarism, they rather helped to strengthen it. But the October Manifesto, weak though it was, with which Witte had averted the immediate threat to the tsarist regime, was a different matter. When Witte in his simplicity tried to insist on the fulfilment of the promises made in the Manifesto, he, who was a statesman and devoted servant of the empire, was dismissed by the Tsar like a lackey whose services were no longer required.

Witte's idealistic plans, which he cherished and for which he was prepared to suffer — he often was snubbed by the flunkeys at court, who looked at him as an upstart, — were thus wrecked overnight. They had come into collision with the basic concept of "Russia", with the principle of the inviolate and indivisible historical tsarism which, with the help of "Orthodoxy", had over the centuries been built up into a dogma and become a taboo.

Witte, Count of the "All-Russian" empire, the giant among the nonentities of a degenerate court, whom tsarism had overthrown, died forgotten and dishonoured on the eve of another outbreak of the Revolution whose tide he had stemmed in 1905. As on previous occasions in the history of the Moscow State and of Russia, this revolution was once more to be a "pitiless and senseless rebellion" (to use Pushkin's phrase) — the rebellion of a people whom tsarism had turned into slaves and who, as we now know, fought their battles on tsarist terms.

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The task which another protagonist in the last act of the Petersburg tragedy had set himself appeared far more modest and less revolutionary — at least at first sight.

Peter Stolypin came from a noble Russian family and was certainly one of the best representatives of the nation that ruled the empire. He owned an estate in Lithuania and was for some time Governor of that Western colony. He was thus in a good position to compare the conditions of the Lithuanian peasantry, who owned the land they worked, with those of the Moscow peasants, who had never even known the right to property. He came to the conclusion that if the peasantry of his mother country was to be a support for the monarchy

and the tottering empire it had to be put on a sound basis, and that the only way to achieve this was to introduce legislation which made the peasant the owner of the land he cultivated.*

Shortly after Witte's dismissal, Stolypin was appointed Minister of the Interior and subsequently Prime Minister. With great persistence and energy he worked on the land question and finally persuaded the Tsar, still alarmed by the 1905 revolution, to issue the edict which made it possible for a peasant to claim his holdings as personal property (9 Nov., 1906). This would have eventually transformed the peasant from his traditional status of "kolkhoz-member" of his village community into a free farmer on his own land.

It would seem that Stolypin's plan was perfectly logical and natural and no more than a necessary modicum of reform, but subsequent events were to show that even his moderate aims were revolutionary and, alas, utopian.

In the autumn of 1911, while attending a gala performance at Kiev with the Tsar and the Court, Stolypin was assassinated. The murderer, Bogrov, was able to get into the well-guarded opera house because he was himself an assistant of the Secret Police who were responsible for the security of the building. At the same time he was supposed to have been a member of a revolutionary terrorist group. (If so, one might have expected that he would have assassinated the Tsar himself, the main target of terrorist activity...)

In the history of the Russian revolutionary movement collaboration between revolutionaries (or rather the terrorists among them) and the imperial secret police was not without precedent (Azev, Father Gapon, and others). It is now difficult to analyse the exact circumstances of Stolypin's murder, particularly since the authorities at the time dealt with the matter very rapidly and without leaving any documents or accounts. The circumstances of the Prime Minister's death were certainly strange and will no doubt remain for ever a secret.

There was no secret whatever about the attitude to Stolypin's agrarian reform of the revolutionary movement on the one hand (which contained the seed of the future Bolshevik government) and of the highest nobility close to the throne, on the other. The

*) What is generally known in the history of Russia as the Emancipation of the Serfs amounted to freeing the peasant from personal slavery and from unpaid labour on the estate of the landowner. The land, which had previously been the *de jure* property of the State and had been apportioned, together with the serfs, to various individuals in remuneration of their services, was now the property of the gentry. The peasant himself was not granted the right of ownership of his holding and was burdened with excessive redemption payments. The 1861 Act consequently created a huge agricultural proletariat. Foreseeing unfortunate effects, the more judicious had warned Alexander II of "these half-measures" of reform, as they called them. In the Russian colonies — Ukraine, Poland, the Baltic provinces, etc. — where Roman law of property prevailed for centuries, the agrarian situation developed on somewhat different lines.

revolutionaries saw in a strong land-owning peasantry ("kulaks") a danger for their plans, since a prosperous peasant class would not provide a motive force of revolution. But how is one to explain the opposition against the land reform, and the hatred for the man who launched it, on the part of those who were his equals in rank, wealth and cultural background? What caused the pronounced displeasure of the Tsar with a man whose antecedents were unimpeachable, whose loyalty to the monarchy and whose personal qualities — benevolent intention, sincerity, courage — were beyond question (in contrast to Witte's case)? What was the reason for the fact, reported by contemporaries, that Stolypin's death — allegedly by the hand of a revolutionary — made the Tsar and the top members of the court and of the bureaucracy heave "a sigh of relief"?

There is only one possible answer to these questions: As Witte before him, Stolypin and his land reform had come into serious conflict with the dogmatic basis of the concept of "Russia." They violated the principle which made the State the owner of the depersonalized slave — the subject, who must be held captive in the traditional village commune, and who must not be allowed to have any property of his own, since that would provide a material basis for individuality and personal freedom. In the permanently tsarist Russian system there is no room for individuals. The efforts of both Witte and Stolypin were after all along lines which would inevitably lead to the natural disintegration of "Russia", i.e. the dissolution of the empire. All those anxious to preserve the traditional concept of "Russia" — the Tsar and the monarchists, the "Revolutionaries" and the Socialists, even the Liberals under Milyukov — could not but feel themselves threatened by a genuine revolution which Stolypin's measures had initiated. As a result, Peter Stolypin, faithful supporter of tsarist rule and monarchist by conviction, member of a noble Russian family, was murdered by an agent of both tsarism and "revolution", and with him died the national spirit of his own people.

It is noteworthy that in the Duma of 1906 the liberal democrats, with Milyukov at their head, who were supposed to be extremely "Western" in their outlook, came out against Stolypin's reform and in favour of maintaining the old collective ownership of land by the village community. Even to these "europeanised" circles the "commune" was taboo. Their arguments were pretty confused; Stolypin's plan, it was said, was governed by the policy of the nobles, the landed gentry would be replaced by the kulaks, and it was tantamount to "destroying" the historically evolved "commune"...

The Leftists demanded that the allotments should remain the property of the village community as a whole and should not be allowed to be sold to individual peasants. They called for increased production by intensive farming, mechanisation and cooperative methods (P. Milyukov, *Memoirs*, Vol. 2). So we see that as early as

1906 the Left had kolkhozes, sovkhoses and MTS (i.e. machine and tractor stations) in mind.

It is significant that the death of Stolypin was sincerely deplored only in Ukraine. The villagers were grateful to him for making their economic emancipation from the empire easier, and the "Little Russian" nobility saw in him a man who could have brought about a healthy reorganisation of the empire and thus rendered it viable (at least for a time). The only monument erected to the memory of Stolypin in the whole of the empire therefore stood — until 1917 — in Kiev, in front of the town hall of the Ukrainian metropolis.

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D. DONZOW

WHY WAS PETLURA MURDERED?

Forty years have elapsed since that May of 1926. It was the year which brought dishonour to the wretched murderer of Symon Petlura, as well as to those who commissioned him to carry out the murder and to those who made a national "hero" of the murderer. Likewise, the jury, which attempted to justify that evil deed and declared its solidarity with the agent of the international murderers' clique in the Kremlin, fell into dishonour and disgrace.

Forty years! Long enough — one should think — to give a clear answer to the question: **Why was Petlura really murdered?** Unfortunately, however, so far no one has attempted to answer this question. In most cases, efforts were made to protect Petlura from the false and slanderous reproaches of his murderer and his admirers ("the pogroms!"). Hence, the impression was created that it was not the murderer who was on trial, but Petlura, together with the Ukrainian government, the Ukrainian army, i.e. the entire nation!

The verdict of the court, which justified Schwarzbart, followed by a cynical demonstration of the hysterical mob of his admirers, proved only too clearly that an innocent man had been murdered, that he had been innocently murdered by a degenerate creature, who was condemned as an ordinary thief by a Viennese court, and was a Communist agitator, who counted among his friends the Bolshevik agent, Volodin. As could be established only recently, the Kremlin had commissioned him to carry out this base deed. Regarding his elevation to "national hero" and "idealist", who acted from noble motives, O. Shulhyn, on the occasion of the trial, put the case quite clearly: "...Criminals are not generally idealists." But neither he, nor the "witnesses", who were quickly summoned in his defence, were able to give evidence of Petlura's "guilt" regarding the "pogroms", which were said to be inspired by the latter.

If this was the case, and it was so indeed, as is proved, among others, by A. Desroches in his book **Le problème ukrainien et S. Petlura**, why then and for what purpose was Petlura murdered? Why did Schwarzbart's friends and Moscow rejoice so enthusiastically over this outright murder? If it was to revenge the pogroms, why then did they not liquidate pogromists like Denikin or Budyonny (cf. Desroches)? Why did this so-called idealism suddenly die out when Moscow, and not Ukraine, was involved? Another question which seems to be even more important: Why did the "idealists" of the Schwarzbart camp never protest against the pogroms, which (as is also recounted in the above-mentioned book by Desroches) were organised by Trotsky-Bronstein or Rakovsky, and in which entire Ukrainian villages were massacred? Why didn't they protest against the big and little Khrushchovs and Kaganovichs, who artificially created famine conditions in which millions of Ukrainian farmers met their death? Hence, it becomes clear that the fact of Petlura's murder can be explained neither by Schwarzbart's "idealism", nor by Petlura's "anti-semitism."

"Idealism", "revenge for injustices", all these phrases, in the mouth of Schwarzbart's disciples, were nothing but an attempt to cover up the true motives of the murder; whereas the accusation of "anti-semitism" was nothing but a contrived pretence to hide the true purpose of this murder. In this connection we must also recall the slanderous and lying campaign against Petlura and the Ukrainian army. The purpose of this was to raise a hellish noise of the trumpets of Jericho and to drag our entire nation into dirt — our nation, which once again, by making heroic efforts, was about to tear itself from Moscow's strangling clasp. From the moment on, when the gang, led by the ideological leader of the Communist Party, Ulyanov-Lenin, and by the organiser of the Bolshevik army, Bronstein-Trotsky, began to rule in the Winter Palace on the Neva, an armed crowd of rabble, consisting of thousands of men, was dispatched to murder, to pillage and to enslave our nation anew, to destroy our culture, our venerable traditions, our religion and our church, and in this way to make a colony of Ukraine, a **ulus**, not of the "Golden Horde" this time, but of the "Red Horde" from Moscow. These "Bastards of Catherine" spread like a "locust plague" over our native soil. They were spiritual and consanguineous descendants, first and foremost, of Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchov, and their helpmates, Trotsky, Kaganovich etc., of these miserable **apparatchiks** of a Party dictatorship. To this very day, they are all, be it in the USSR or abroad, boiling with hatred against Ukraine, against her aspirations to liberate herself from the colonial yoke and to found an independent nation and a free state. Men like Schwarzbart on the one hand, and like Valyukh — who murdered Evhen Konovalets — on the other, were always to be found among them... **Here then lies the source of that disgusting crime in May of 1926 in the Rue de Racine in Paris.**

As far as Ukraine is concerned, her enemies have ever been unbending and ruthless in pursuing their goals. Peter I was guilty of kidnapping when he had Voynarovsky abducted abroad, a deed, in which he succeeded; whereas, after the Battle of Poltava, he failed to effect the extradition of Mazepa, in spite of his insistent demand... Catherine II had the pretender to the Ukrainian Hetmanate, Princess Tarakanova, the daughter of Rozumovsky and Elizabeth, kidnapped... Then came the various Valyukhs and Schwarzbarts, and simultaneous attempts to dishonour and slander our entire nation, her martyrs and heroes. For some — among them the “freedom-loving” Pushkin — Mazepa was a Judas, a traitor, whilst Tsar Peter I — the hangman of Ukraine — was “a great reformer.” In the eyes of the tsaristic Reds, the nationalists were “Mazepa’s pack.” It was for this reason that Yaroslav Stetzko was abused by the Bolsheviks and their representatives abroad, but, above all, by the head of the USSR, Khrushchov, for his attempt to revitalise Mazepa’s immortal idea in front of the sarcophagus of Charles XII. Ukraine and her leaders had to be soiled by those who consider Ukraine as their “promised land”, in which it was their privilege — they, a foreign and insignificant minority — to rule.

If Mazepa was a Judas to some, Hetman Bohdan was a bandit to others. In a Canadian school book, called **Life and Adventure**, edited by F. Penner and Edda Baxter, a story by Sholom Aleykhem tells of the terrible “Haman” (instead of Hetman) Bohdan Khmelnytsky who was a Ukrainian and who “rebelled against Polish rule”, who “plundered the people, and hid the plundered treasures in the ground.” “This Khmelnytsky plundered the gentlemen and numerous Jews” (who, by the way, supported the ruthless Polish magnate Jarema Wisniowiecki). This above-mentioned booklet already has gone through 36 impressions... (cf. **Novyy Shlyakh** of April 8, 1966). The circulation of this booklet, however, does not by any means want to sow hatred, God forbid! Quite the contrary! It only wants to stigmatise that disgusting “Haman” (just as a Petlura or a Bandera at the present time). If, however, some foreign “Haman” should come to our Ukraine and should rob, not the “gentlemen and numerous Jews”, but the poor peasants, then naturally the latter are the bandits and the foreign invaders (“Hamans”) are the “idealists” and the “fighters for freedom.” Not the modern “Hamans” are cursed, but men like Petlura and Bandera who want to liberate their nation from these “Hamans.”

Our entire past and our heroic history are slandered by the descendants of Lenin, Trotsky, Valyukh, the KGB, and of Schwarzbart. And, in their words, our freedom-fighters are Hitlerites and bandits. Our past must by all means be tarnished and soiled. Of course, this is necessary in order to settle down on our soil as a “locust swarm” and in order to maintain the rule of these new

"bastards."! Just as in Shevchenko's time (**The Hajdamaky**) today, in their eyes, the Ukrainians are "sons of Ham" as long as they "bend their backs" humbly and serve the foreign minority. Woe to them, however, when they, like Yarema, rise up for "holy justice and freedom", then naturally they are branded "robbers and bandits." It was always like that and is still so today. For this reason the Muscovites tortured men like Kalnyshevsky and Shevchenko to death, cursed Mazepa, sent out agents to murder Petlura, Konovalts and Bandera, labelled them "bandits", "pogromists" and "fascists" — but men like Schwarzbart "idealists."

This anti-Ukrainian power, which hides itself behind different masks and uses various catch-words, is brutal and ruthless toward Ukraine. One may wonder why? Solely, because here a fight between two forces, which are mutually antagonistic to one another, takes place. We must not forget "who we are, whose sons, who our fathers were, by whom and why we are put into chains"; we must not deny our ancestors and their mission. We must raise our banner, the banner of the old Kyiv, whose mission it is to fight the servants of Satan, and we must strengthen our belief and not be defeated by doubts.

On account of this mystic faith, without which, the politics of the word-juggling "experts" is illusory, the contemporary "blind, crippled and hunchbacked" organ-grinders of our time, hurl their attacks against us. For example in **Our Fatherland (Nasha Batkivshchyna)** of March 10, 1966 Jaroslav Stetzko is attacked because he "lives in a land of illusions", because he makes use of "a legendary mysticism about Kyiv", because he thinks in "metaphysical categories" and places all his hopes for the liberation of Kyiv in the "heavenly hosts." I myself am attacked for the same reasons: J. Stetzko and D. Donzow "live totally in the realm of their own political illusions"; they "disorientate" the masses and thereby substantially "damage our emigré society." It is alleged that their views are an "illusion", a delusion, "self-deceit, a subjective conception of men, who firmly believe in some creed, in a certain goal, a goal, which is their guiding star to the realization of their dreams and desires... At times their belief becomes fanatical and then their illusions are a dangerous weapon in the hands of fanatical illusionists..." This "sober and objective" author considers my firm conviction that "Communism is on its way out", that it stands on feet of clay, and "if not today, then tomorrow will tumble and break into a thousand pieces", for "its days are numbered", as my "chief delusion." In the eyes of this "introspective author", these "diagnoses and predictions with respect to the USSR" are a "complete bluff", just as my other predictions, and they claim that there is "nothing worse and more dangerous than to play the role of the false prophet: in ancient times such people were stoned"... It is obvious that our

"sagacious" word-twister is raving here, for in ancient times the stupid mob did not kill the "false prophets", but the real ones, and precisely because they saw what the deceived and blind mass of the "sober ones" was not capable of seeing; they were stoned because they disturbed the drowsy self-satisfaction and shattered the dreams that things will not be so bad in the coming Armageddon. And the stones were thrown, as was beautifully depicted by L. Ukraïнка in her **Cassandra**, at the heads of those, who were abruptly torn out of their idyllic dreams. Apart from the poetess, the coming Armageddon was seen also by Shevchenko, Franko and the poets of the twenties and thirties, who were grouped around the periodical **Visnyk** (The Herald), and who called those who were "blissfully asleep" to get ready to the inevitable reckoning with the forces of evil... I was by no means so terribly wrong in my "prophecies", when, for example, before World War I, I predicted that the hour of fight was close at hand: a fight not for the "Ukrainian schools", but for the separation from Russia. For this prediction, my "sagacious" fellow-countrymen, who firmly believed in Russia's power, threw stones at my head... although the Russians themselves (for example Lenin or Milyukov) had warned their people against my separatist "illusions." And I was also right in my attempt to smash the erroneous belief that Russian democracy and Bolshevism had feelings of brotherly love and sympathy for Ukraine. As is known, at that time I did not shrink from tearing the mask off the unchanging barbaric face of this Asiatic despotism with my "bluffs" and "delusions"... It was just those "sober thinkers" who indulged in errors or "delusions", for — as a result of their blindness and the lack of "illusions" and faith they led Ukraine to terrible disasters.

The dark forces which are bringing death to Ukraine, have their mysticism also, and they, too, believe in their mission, which they have to carry out as the "chosen" people (but chosen by whom?), i.e. to rule the world and, first and foremost, Ukraine. We have to meet their "delusion" with our "delusion", which means we have to confront it with our unshakable belief in the historical destiny of Kyïv. A belief, which in the words of Jesus Christ gives us the strength to pursue our course, to move mountains on our path and throw them into the sea and to walk over the lashed up waves of the sea, as if on solid ground, as was done by St. Peter, as long as his heart was not gnawed by doubts. This faith, this "delusion", was bequeathed to us by Shevchenko, with his resurrected "master-less Cossack", with his **Velykyy Lyokh (The Great Vault)**. The very same faith and the same "delusion" were given to us also by Franko in his **Moses** and by Lesya Ukraïнка: they instilled us with the faith in the "testament of the Spirit" which was given to our forefathers, and which will furnish us with the strength to force those nations who are bent on our annihilation to step out of our way like "base jackals." This faith was also given to us by the poets of **Visnyk**.

The Bolsheviks fear this faith of "Mazepa's pack." And the Communists constantly attack our mystic belief, together with our "realists", as was done, for example, by Yuriy Kosach. He writes that "Donzow's doctrine of an integral nationalism", of "mysticism as the source of politics", was a true gift of Providence to the enemies of Russia for "dozens of schemes and recipes could now be integrated in one single panacea... Everything is now covered with national mysticism... the Cross against the Devil... the ever-replenishing source of eternal Kyiv... Mazepa." (Yu. Kosach, "Vid feodalizmu do neofashyzmu" (From feudalism to neo-fascism). In this kind of "delusion" then, the servants of hostile forces see the greater danger.

Those who find this faith, this "illusion" fantastic cannot believe in the USSR's fall; and the "realists" rebuke those who "represent the Soviet Union as a terrible cannibal"; they rebuke the right-wingers because of whom "our activity, especially in the United States, as regards the political aspect, does not enjoy a good reputation, owing to its political profile — namely, the existence of extreme rightist groups" (anti-Soviet and anti-Russian). These "realists" declare, that the idea of an uncompromising fight against Russia is nothing more than "old phrases which belonged to an anti-democratic past." Hence, they advise us to "entertain all possible human contacts with our fellow-countrymen in Ukraine" — that is to say, with people like Korotych and Kolosova, "cultural" emissaries of the KGB... Among the "opponents" of the "delusion" and of the mysticism of the old Kyiv, we also find some "contemporaries" who, according to the directions of their friends, advise us to give up the idea of Kyiv as a capital (with its Lavra, its "mysticism" and other "delusions"), and to turn our face to the "East", that is, to Moscow, and to those who advise us to do so.

It is precisely owing to this spirit of an eternal Ukraine, its historical mission, its mystical power and readiness to meet the Devil with the Cross: this spirit which was embodied in Khmelnytsky, in Bayda Vyshnevetsky, in Mazepa, Kalnyshovsky, Petlura, Konovalets, Bandera, the monks of the Lavra, the Cossacks, who were resurrected in 1917, in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — it is precisely owing to this spirit that Ukraine is hated by all the sinister forces, with which it has to carry out a spiritual and physical struggle for life or death. The vision of the last act of this struggle is conceived by Shevchenko in the poem **The Great Vault**. As is written in the mystery of **The Great Vault**, this struggle will be fought not only against the hostile forces, which are assisted by the "hellish forces of evil", but also between twin brothers, between two Ivans, of whom one will "hang the hangmen", while the other will "help the hangmen."

This will be a fatal hour, not, however, for those who carry within themselves the mysticism and the "delusions", but for the others, —

those, who, after having lost all faith, rejected the mysticism to look for a "compromise with the Devil." The boot-licking greed for favour with the modern Pilates, Herods, Caiaphas, or the Pharisees, does not lead anywhere. Let us recall the warning of the great poetess Lesya Ukraïнка, who said: "the way to Golgotha demonstrates heroic greatness only if the man (or the nation!) knows consciously where he (or she) is going" — not, however, if, in a confused search for salvation, "without courage and struggle errs onto a wrong path leading to disaster, and shedding bitter tears allows itself be hurt by the thorns." It is fortunate for the Ukrainians that the number of those who become clearly conscious of their goal is increasing from year to year: people who are well aware of why Mazepa, whose memory will live forever, had to perish, why Petlura was destroyed, and why he lives in the minds of the new generation.

People like Kochubey, Halahan, Rozumovsky and Vynnychenko were living corpses while alive — in the minds of their descendants, they will remain dead. The above-mentioned "fanatics", on the other hand — these new followers of Mazepa and such prophets like Shevchenko, Franko, Lesya Ukraïнка — rise like a terrible nightmare before the eyes of the conquerors, and their names become symbols, which ever again animate the freedom-will of new generations with an indestructible faith that knows no doubts and inflame the hearts of new columns of martyrs and fighters for Justice and the great mission of Kyïv.

ARRESTS OF UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS

Kiev

The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of April 2 reported from Kiev the arrest of Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba, prominent Ukrainian literary scholars and critics known for their independent thinking. They were detained at the time of Sinyavsky's and Daniel's arrest (September-October 1965). Altogether some 12 intellectuals and students were reported to have been arrested in Kiev and Lvov. Dziuba, suffering from acute TB, was apparently released. Another reliable report mentions 16 or 17 arrests in the Ukraine, while other sources mention arrests also in Odessa and Kharkov and give the names of eleven other detainees, among them another two literary scholars, Michael Kosiv and Michael Osadchy, Bohdan Horyn, an art critic, and Ihor Kalynets, a very promising young poet. On April 7, *The Times* and *The New York Times* carried similar news about Svitlychny and Dziuba, concurring with the N.Z.Z. report that they had been accused of smuggling out the late Vasyl Symonenko's diary and poems, described as "anti-Soviet" or "nationalistic." The first official admission of Svitlychny's arrest came in an interview given on April 21 to a *Daily Telegraph* correspondent by officers of the Writers' Union of the Ukraine, including the vice-chairman, Yuri Zbanatsky. They confirmed that the investigation of Svitlychny, arrested by the security police, was continuing (the earlier reports believed him to have been deported), and that he would soon stand a Sinyavsky-type trial.

Five weeks later came unexpected news from Moscow in *Le Monde* (May 29) of Svitlychny's release without having been formally charged or tried, although he had been accused of "having spread 'subversive' literature and having been in contact with anti-Soviet organisations abroad." *The N.Y. Times* of June 2 quotes sources in Kiev saying that Svitlychny "confessed to assisting western Ukrainian nationalist groups and arranging for the publication of anti-Soviet literature in European émigré journals. One of his literary colleagues said he had been released with a warning against continuing his anti-Soviet activities." His release seems incongruous in view of the reported allegations, which apparently correspond to the charges in the Western press in April of the smuggling to the West of Symonenko's works that were unpublishable at home. In the Soviet press, however, right up to the June issue of the Writers' Union

monthly *Vitchyzna*, this poet has been invariably extolled by writers, critics and Party officials (including Zbanatsky himself in *Literaturna Ukrayina* of March 4) as a faithful Communist poet whose ardent love for the Party was unquestionable. Therefore, naturally, the smuggling of the works of a writer thus esteemed could not — barring his radical re-appraisal — provide a basis for a formal charge, and therefore the prisoner was released (apparently after nine months — the longest legally admissible detention without charge). It is noteworthy, moreover, that although the deceased poet's mother denounced (*Radyans'ka Ukrayina* of April 15, 1965) Svitlychny as being one of those who had taken her son's manuscripts, some reports name another person — not a Soviet citizen — who carried them abroad, where they have since been broadcast and published.

It remains to be seen whether the "informal" accusations and warnings will not effectively debar Svitlychny from academic activity, and his work from being published. As regards all the others reported as arrested, their fate is still unknown.

(Reprinted from "Chronicle" of *Censorship*, a quarterly report on censorship of ideas and the arts published on behalf of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, No. 7, Summer 1966, pp. 48-49.)

PROMINENT WESTERN INTELLECTUALS PROTEST AGAINST PERSECUTION OF SVITLYCHNY AND DZIUBA

In the Free World the number of prominent individuals who are concerned with Soviet Russian persecution of literary figures in Ukraine is increasing. More and more prominent personalities are speaking out in condemnation of totalitarian persecutions and the colonialist policies of the Russian Communist empire.

Personally and as President of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the well-known American scholar of Ukraine and East European history, John A. Armstrong, expressed the desire to be fully informed about the persecution of Dziuba and Svitlychny, with the intent to take the proper action to increase the intellectual freedom and personal rights of Ukrainian artists.

The prominent Swedish personality, Prof. Dr. Birger Nerman, associated himself with the proposal to organize a mass campaign to collect signatures for a petition on behalf of defending Dziuba and Svitlychny. This petition is to be sent to international institutions concerned with human and national rights.

From Denmark it is reported that a special article prepared by Jens Nielsen has been distributed to all Danish dailies as well as to some Norwegian newspapers. The Danish P.E.N. Club and the Danish Writers' Union are considering ways of protesting against persecutions in Ukraine by the occupation regime. Press items and articles about the demonstration at the Shevchenko monument at Kyïv, which was called "demonstration of Ukrainian nationalism", appeared in various Danish newspapers.

The noted British historian H. Seton-Watson associated himself with expressions of protest against Soviet persecution of Ukrainian literary critics. Professor Seton-Watson is of the opinion that the new wave of suppression of Ukrainian intellectuals should receive publicity in the West.

From Asia it is reported that the Republic of China condemned the persecution of Ukrainian literary critics. A strong protest was published in the periodical *Asian Outlook*, and the Chinese Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) expressed its deepest sympathy with the oppressed Ukrainians.

In Italy, indignation against the persecution of Dziuba and Svitlychny was expressed by such prominent persons as Minister Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Hon. Paolo Rossi, Vice-President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies and former Minister of Education, and Prof. Leo Magnino of the International Institute for Studies of Ethnic and Minority Problems (Rome). Prof. Leo Magnino made it clear that Russian imperialism was responsible for the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals.

In Sweden, the circles friendly to the Ukrainian liberation struggle are strong and popular. While mobilising public support for the persecuted Ukrainian literary critics, a campaign to revive historical memories of the glorious Ukrainian-Swedish alliances has been initiated. In this connection the Royal Ordnance Chamber approved a proposal to engage the noted Ukrainian sculptor, Hryhoriy Kruk, to erect a monument commemorating Hetman Ivan Mazepa, and thereby immortalise and strengthen Swedish-Ukrainian friendship. This will certainly be a noble act of sympathy with the enslaved, but freedom-fighting Ukrainian nation. There are clear indications that in the Scandinavian countries the periodic expressions of goodwill towards the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism may soon lead to the establishment of a permanent organisation to supply information and offer supporting activity.

It must also be noted that a pro-Ukrainian group is being formed in Portugal. Interest in the Soviet Russian persecution of intellectuals, churches, and arts in Ukraine is growing in Portugal and is receiving wide-spread support. An article by Hon. Jaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, entitled "Principles of Rebirth of Humanity", will soon be published in Lisbon. Such well-known personalities as the acting Foreign Minister, Gonçalves de Proença, Dr. Lino Netto, a prominent intellectual, and others have become interested in the Ukrainian liberation struggle. Slowly but steadily the Ukrainian national liberation struggle is receiving favourable hearing in the Free World.

A. W. B.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL P.E.N. CONGRESS

The recent wave of arrests among Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals was brought to the notice of the Thirty-Fourth International P.E.N. Congress which met in New York from 12th till 18th June this year. The theme of the Congress was "The Writer as Independent Spirit", and the Congress called for re-affirmation of the principle in its Charter which pledges opposition to restriction of freedom of expression. This action followed a report by David Carver, general secretary of International P.E.N., on his recent visit to Moscow where, six months after P.E.N.'s first protest against the Soviet Government's persecution of Andrey Sinyavsky and Yuliy Daniel, he presented P.E.N.'s plea for clemency in favour of these writers. The Congress also "endorsed condemnation by the P.E.N. Writers-in-Prison Committee of repressive acts against authors by the Turkish, Ukrainian Soviet, and Peking China governments, and the fines totalling \$45,000 (£16,000) levied by the Spanish government against Catalan writers centered in Barcelona."

The Moscow paper *Literaturnaya gazeta* reacted to the P.E.N. Congress on 28th July in an editorial article. It contains a particularly interesting remark that the Congress, among other things, heard "slandorous declarations by Ukrainian and Estonian nationalists." This remark is of greater significance than may seem at first sight. On the one hand, it implies that the editor is familiar with the content of Ukrainian exiles' declarations bringing to the notice of the Congress the arrests by the Soviet authorities of Ukrainian writers and intellectuals M. Kosiv, M. Osadchy, B. Horyn, I. Kalynets; on the other hand, it implies that the editor believes these declarations to be slanderous, i.e. untrue; this, in turn, implies that he either knows or believes that these intellectuals are at liberty. If this is so, it would be very reassuring if the editor of *Literaturnaya gazeta* stated explicitly in one of the future issues of his paper that these people are free, and that their names may be expected to re-appear in print soon. Any such statement will be gladly reprinted in this journal.

Editors' Note.

In our previous issue (No. 2, p. 47) it was said that since June 1962 "nothing more has been heard of the two critics Svitlychny and Dziuba." In fact, Dziuba was re-admitted into print in the middle of 1964, while Svitlychny had at least one article published also in 1963. It seems, however, that nothing by these two critics has appeared since June 1965, and all mention of Svitlychny's name has been removed from Soviet publications since September 1965.

OPEN LETTER TO THE BOARD AND MEMBERS OF THE DANISH WRITERS' UNION

In 1931 the Ukrainian Writers' Union had a total of 246 members. By 1941 11 had disappeared without a trace, 17 were murdered by the communists, 4 had committed suicide, 1 had escaped abroad, 171 were in concentration camps of Siberia. 34 members only survived.

As late as 1948-50 Russian police and military killed more than 1 million Ukrainians, fighting the Ukrainian liberation movement. The so-called liberalisation of the Soviet Union has not caused any fundamental change for the Ukrainian people. Trials against Ukrainian intellectuals and writers is a regular occurrence. In one of these trials a few months ago the 42 year old critic Professor Ivan Svitlychny was sentenced to penal servitude, whereas the 31 year old writer Ivan Dziuba was released after illegal arrest because he had caught an incurable tuberculosis in prison.

I. Svitlychny was sentenced for having smuggled manuscripts of Vasyl Symonenko to the West. Symonenko died suddenly in December 1963 at the age of 29 years only. His poems are a protest against forced collectivization, the camps, Stalinism and the foreign Russian rule in Ukraine. Especially he protests violently against the forced Russification of the Ukrainian people. In one of his poems he says that in the eyes of Holy Mother Ukraine he sees the fire of revolution.

Protests against Russification (as we likewise hear from the Baltic countries) are numerous not only in the free world but also in the Soviet Union. On 7th April this year the Ukrainian Mykola Didyk committed suicide as a live burning torch in front of the ill-famed Lubyanka prison in Moscow.

On May 22nd hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals demonstrated in Kyiv before the monument of the Ukrainian liberation poet Taras Shevchenko.

The sentence against Svitlychny continues the line of sentences against Daniel and Sinyavsky etc. and this is all an expression of the hostile attitude of the so-called Soviet power against all free intellectual workers and the hostile attitude of the Russian Kremlin against the Ukrainian Nation. Therefore, the Board of the nation-wide organisation 'Demokratisk Alliance' appeals to all members and the board of the Danish Writers' Union to protest to the Soviet Writers' Union out of humanitarian and comradely considerations and thus add to the many protests inside and outside the Soviet Union against the sentence of Svitlychny, against the suppression of the free word, the free cultural exchange among nations and against the attempt to deprive the Ukrainian Nation of the right to express itself in its own language.

We appeal to all Danish authors and their Union to launch this protest to the Soviet Writers' Union to clearly demonstrate to the whole world that in this country — where KAJ MUNK sacrificed his life for freedom under German occupation — we shall not stand by in passivity while a great power tries to silence another nation and deprive the intellectual workers of the Ukrainian nation of their freedom.

July 26th, 1966

DEMOKRATISK ALLIANCE

For the Board:

Henning Jensen
(Chairman)

Valter Loll
(Secretary)

IVAN DZIUBA ON HRYHORY SKOVORODA

Biographical Data

Ivan Dziuba was born in 1931 in the village of Mykolayivka in the Donetsk region, Donbas. He completed his undergraduate studies at the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute and obtained a higher degree at the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. He then worked as a member of the editorial staff of the journal "Vitchyzna."

When, in the latter half of the fifties the writers of the so-called "Sixties" group began to appear on the pages of the literary press, Dziuba turned to literary criticism. Besides a considerable number of reviews in newspapers and periodicals, he published a collection of critical articles under the title "An Ordinary Man or a Philistine" (Kiev, 1959).

Ivan Dziuba on Hryhory Skovoroda

(Translation of an essay, published 4 Dec. 1962 in "Literaturna Ukraina")

The life of Hryhory Varsava Skovoroda was a strange one, and strange is the fame he achieved after his death. Just as in his lifetime he had had more admirers than disciples, so after his death there were many who were fascinated by his personality and would honour his memory, but few who showed an interest in his works and became absorbed in his ideas. At least it is true that the average intellectual and the youth of our day are inclined to utter the name of Hryhory Skovoroda with reverence, but they are unlikely to become enthusiastic about his sayings or to turn to him for advice in matters of the heart and mind. Yet it was to Skovoroda that the best sons of the Ukrainian nation used to turn in times of suffering and of decision, at critical moments in history. We need only recall Kotlyarevsky and Shevchenko, Tychyna and his "Karmelyuk and Skovoroda", or think of V. Bulayenko. From a different aspect, the names of our own contemporaries, M. Vinhranovsky and I. Dratch, might be mentioned here.

Skovoroda was first and foremost a philosopher. Even as a poet he was at his best in his philosophical-theological works. Yet he is a philosopher of a singular kind, who is important not so much for working out generally valid systems and concepts, but for his poetic-psychological comprehension of the human soul, although he by no means neglected questions of a universal nature. Much has been written about his philosophy, and many different conjectures and comparisons have been made. He was hailed as the Ukrainian Socrates, the Ukrainian Plato; he was compared to Descartes and Spinoza, to Solovyev and Tolstoy. He was called a deist, a pantheist, a spiritualist, a psychological monist, a sensualist, the harbinger of

intuitionism or even of energetics, and one almost regarded him as the predecessor of Ostwald. The subject was most frequently discussed towards the end of the last and at the beginning of this century, when there was a sudden blaze of interest in Skovoroda's philosophy and when it was generally realized that Hryhory Skovoroda was no provincial philosophizing eccentric, but a profound and original thinker, a new and bold pioneer of human thought. The occupation with Skovoroda's work in those days did much to secure for him the place he deserved in the history of philosophic thought and to bring his ideas into relation with other philosophical concepts of the world. This has helped to elucidate the real stature of the Ukrainian philosopher. Of course, a lot remains to be done in that respect. We still lack a thorough analysis of Skovoroda's ideas in the context of all philosophy up to his time, in order to find out where he rose above the level that had been reached before him or, perhaps, did not come up to it. Another aspect, of extreme interest to us, is as yet unexplored. Up to the end of the 19th century Skovoroda was little known in the West and only therefore exercised no influence on European philosophy. Meanwhile, European thought in the 18th and early 19th century battled with the very same "confounded problems" that troubled Skovoroda's mind, and sometimes both sides came to analogous views. It would be interesting to discover how roughly similar and synchronous ideas developed in divergent ways and took on different meanings, dependent upon the problems raised by societies of a different nature and upon the subjectivity of the thinkers. It is, after all, the variety in expressing sometimes similar ideas, the diversity of the apparently similar, or of that which could be reduced to similarity, which contribute so much to the richness and attraction of the intellectual life of mankind. An interesting exercise is to compare Skovoroda's favourite themes with the ideology of early English puritanism, with "The Pilgrim's Progress" by John Bunyan, or with American transcendentalism (Ralph Emerson, Henry Thoreau, etc.) and its theory of "moral autonomy" and confidence in oneself and the search in oneself for a higher moral law. What matters in this comparison is not merely the agreement — though very striking at times — between individual themes and metaphors, but the fact that here we have the different, but sometimes edifyingly similar reactions to dissimilar but often tragically alike socio-historical processes, to the brutal attack by a base epoch upon the individual, the attack by vanity upon the conscience, the attack by false upon true values.

On the other side one ought to compare the anthropological element in Skovoroda's theology with the later and entirely anthropological concept of Feuerbach, or draw a comparison between Skovoroda and Dostoyevsky. Frequently Skovoroda and Tolstoy have been classed together, but this analogy is based on superficial traits. A deeper inner relationship exists, in my opinion, between Skovoroda and

Dostoyevsky, particularly with regard to the concept of God and the passionate search after religious truth, as well as in respect of the tense inner dialogue and the tragic conscience, though Skovoroda appears to be more lucid.

There is, however, one writer who is most closely related to Skovoroda, and that is Shevchenko. What the two have in common is the truly Ukrainian conception of truth and conscience as immutable human principles. These principles are echoed in the popular philosophy of Ukraine, in Ukrainian folklore: inner stubbornness and rebellious attitude, protest against the flouting of human dignity, disdain for the trivial and superficial, and, finally, the hard struggle of the soul in pursuit of the genuine and the hidden.

Now we come to a problem which has not been investigated so far and not even properly stated, namely Skovoroda as a specifically Ukrainian philosopher. He cannot, in fact, be understood outside that historical succession of national figures and personalities like Ivan Vyshensky, the controversialists of the 17th century, Melchisedek Znachko-Yavorsky, the Cossack chroniclers, the Haydamaks, the fighters against the policy of the empresses Elisabeth and Catherine and of tsar Peter I, a policy which sought to destroy the distinctness of Ukraine ("...so that there be no dissimilarity").

Did not this Ukrainian "otherness" appear with tremendous force in the shape of Skovoroda, that historical phenomenon so incomprehensible to many of his contemporaries? Is not his stubborn opposition to officious benefactions and political wisdom to be understood as an individual expression of the strong national resistance against being made "happy" by force, against social and national oppression, as evidence of the elemental power of that Ukrainian "otherness"? Only in this context and in the context of Ukrainian national philosophy and psychology can Skovoroda be grasped. For a full understanding of his work it is equally necessary to keep in mind the many important analogous examples in history of how the human mind and human conscience have withstood the pressures of a treacherous epoch.

Yet another problem needs to be explored, and that is the relationship between the intelligentsia and the people, and in particular between the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the people. Here we must keep before our eyes all that Skovoroda has said about the duties of "the educated and learned man" towards the people, as well as all he himself chose to do in a period when the foundations of Ukrainian life were under attack, when the Ukrainian intelligentsia morally decayed and tragically lost touch with the people, when an only recently revitalized civilization was dying down, and when only a very few had the wisdom and the courage to go to the common people, the Ukrainian peasants, and speak to them as Skovoroda did:

"The quibblings of the gentlemen, who maintains that the simple folk are vulgar and plebeian, seem to me ridiculous... They are splitting hairs: The common people are asleep... Let them, let them sleep the deep sleep of the heroes! Those who sleep are not dead, are not lifeless corpses. And from every sleep there is an awakening."

One final question: By whom, when and how were the young dissuaded from reading Skovoroda, especially his philosophical works? There is, surely, much to be gained from his books. His lively, angry and wonderful thoughts lead us straight into the wide and exciting world of the eternal aspirations of the human mind, his powerful and versatile imagination paints magnificent and strong poetic pictures, and in an irresistible succession of waves everything is impressed upon the reader's memory... It is said that the somewhat unwieldy and rather artificial language of Skovoroda makes it hard to read his works. Up to a point this may be so. But it is quite easy to get accustomed to his language. One must appreciate the difficulty of his task, since he had first to coin new words for a philosophical vocabulary in Ukrainian. Nevertheless, and despite the use of an uncommon vocabulary, Skovoroda's language is — in its structure, rhythm, spirit and intonation, not to mention its imagery — the language of Ukraine, deeply rooted in the national soil.

Many words from Old-Slavonic, words common to all Slav languages, as well as Russian words, lose, as it were, their specific meaning and acquire in Skovoroda's writing a somewhat different, Ukrainian significance. It would be interesting to make a study of these aberrations and to compare them with a language of a special kind, namely, the language of the peasant-philosophers who can still today be found living in the eastern parts of left-bank Ukraine, in the so-called Slobozhanshchyna and in the Donbas.

However, this is not the chief point. More important is the fact that our schools and establishments of higher education present to us far too little of the content and beauty of our literary heritage. In the days of the personality cult no effort was spared to make men live by dogma alone, to prevent them from thinking and to deprive them of the pleasure of drinking from the life-giving fountain of the human spirit. Our scholars, writers and teachers will still have a lot to do to make "our leading spirit", Hryhory Varsava Skovoroda, a daily necessity for every thinking boy and girl, to whom they can turn for nourishment of mind and conscience, and who will help them to find their way among the complex problems of the present and in its moral atmosphere. The name of Skovoroda must become to every one of us as meaningful as it was to Taras Shevchenko who first comprehended the full significance of Skovoroda.

A. W. BEDRIY

THE COLD WAR EDUCATIONAL GAP

With this slogan, 55 educational institutions and major organizations have established the Freedom Studies Center, located in the United States. It is a private "West Point" of psycho-political warfare. Its purposes are: 1) to train Cold War leadership for all segments of society in the Free World; 2) to study Communist strategies and tactics and 3) to develop and recommend programs for defending and extending the sphere of freedom. The above information is taken from a pamphlet issued by the Centre.

There are several quotations, intended to show the educational gap about the nature of present-day world conflict as existing in the United States: "The great majority of our citizens, I believe, want to understand the form and fashion of the challenge posed for us by Communism." (President Lyndon B. Johnson); "...many Americans have never fully understood the tragic harvest of human suffering Communism has reaped around the world, and the methods it uses..." (General Dwight D. Eisenhower); "The Communists have scored so many cold war victories since the close of World War II, because in the field of political warfare they have been professionals opposed by only amateurs" (Senator Thomas J. Dodd); "The Communists are winning the Cold War because most Americans neither understand nor know how to fight this kind of war" (Dr. Walter H. Judd).

In a sense, all these statements are true: the majority of the politically active Americans are ignorant of the nature of their real enemy. They do not know very much about the Russian messianists, who are the actual promoters of Communism and constitute the real power behind the so-called international Communist movement. Americans do not know or do not want to know that this "Communism" is a very brutal, but highly disguised colonial system of exploitation and genocide. They do not know very much about the terrible yoke under which scores of nations are pining — a yoke which is much worse than the known historical colonialism of Western nations.

On the other hand, one cannot help but doubt that the organizers of the Freedom Studies Center want to teach and to reveal to the American people **the whole truth** about Communism, about Russian imperialism, about all the nations enslaved within the Soviet Union, and about the national anti-colonial liberation struggle of these enslaved nations. Two reasons prompt this doubt. First, it is not at all mentioned in the pamphlet that Communism, in actual practice, has

a national power basis: in the USSR, Communism is the tool of Russian national power; in China, Communism is the tool of Chinese-Communist national power, etc. The Freedom Studies Center has fallen into the trap of its own educational gap by regarding Communism as an anational international movement. Furthermore, it carefully avoids mentioning the fact that under "Communism", scores of nations are colonially enslaved. The Russians have built and presently maintain the largest 20th century empire. To teach about Communism, without knowing anything about its imperialistic-colonialist foundations, means to teach inadequately, to maintain an educational gap. It is strange and at the same time frightening, that the Freedom Studies Center did not point out the necessity to teach about the liberation struggle of the peoples enslaved by this "Communism." Indeed, in the absence of such knowledge and in the absence of the necessity to support such a liberation struggle there is the greatest educational gap in the West. In short, the Freedom Studies Center fails to stress the necessity to teach the **three main** factors which constitute the problem of "Communism." The lack of knowledge of these three factors (Russian imperialism, enslaved nations, and liberation struggle) precisely constitutes the real educational gap.

Another reason which suggests that the newly established "freedom school" might not fulfil its purpose is the composition of the participating institutions. The organizers were right in basing the membership on a broad international scale. But it is difficult to account for the fact that they overlooked many important anti-Communist groups, especially those from countries within the Soviet Union. While inviting groups which do not oppose the coexistence policy and which do not strive to destroy Communism, they intentionally ignored the groups which belong to and support the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. These groups fight to destroy imperialistic and Communist regimes and to establish independent national states for all the subjugated peoples. The Freedom Studies Center is evidently not interested in learning and teaching about the knowledge, experience and ideas of the ABN forces. This is an **a priori** exclusion of some vital truths concerning the problem of "Communism" and anti-Communist policies.

We will attempt to find out the reasons why the Freedom Studies Center was not willing to invite ABN to join its membership. One reason might be that ABN includes, among others, national independence movements, such as that of Turkestan, the Caucasian nations, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Croatia, Cossackia, that is to say, some of the nations which suffered most under "Communism." The truth about genocide policies against these peoples evidently does not interest the "Freedom Center."

Another reason is probably ABN's idea that national revolutions are the best means of destroying the Communist-Russian slave

empire. Evidently, the Freedom Studies Center does not like or does not wish to include this idea in its program. Persons composing the leadership of the Freedom Studies Center have the right to disagree with ABN ideas, but if there is to be a school claiming objective, all-round study of the problem of "Communism", it should study all aspects of this problem, and not merely those which fall into line with current US State Department policy.

Surely another reason for refusing to invite ABN is the fact that ABN proclaims that Russian imperialism is the chief enemy of mankind, and Communism is its tool. The Freedom Studies Center omits any mention of this fact. Hence, its program is one-sided and subjective, for the existence of Russian imperialism and colonialism is a fact.

The fourth reason is surely the clear identification of the idea of national independence, as the most powerful idea opposing "Communism", which however is not pointed out by the Freedom Studies Center. Acknowledgment of this idea requires acknowledgment of the necessity to dismember the Russian empire. It appears that the Freedom Studies Center is not yet ready to acknowledge, that the ultimate solution to the problem of "Communism" is the liquidation of the Russian empire.

There might be another reason why this Center is not willing to cooperate with ABN, namely, its unwillingness to join forces with ABN's leaders, especially the former Prime-Minister of the independent Ukrainian Government, Jaroslav Stetzko, as well as prominent Bulgarian, Slovakian, Byelorussian, Croatian, Turkestanian personalities, and many other persons, who never agree to any cooperation or coexistence with imperialists and Communists. On the other hand, it appears that the Center has admitted to its ranks propagators of coexistence with Communist regimes and tolerance of the Russian empire.

Summarizing, it is doubtful that the enslaved but freedom-loving nations can expect much from this Freedom Studies Center, although they expected that it would fill in the gap about "Communism." In the pamphlet of this Center it is clearly stated that its purpose is "to train Cold War leadership for all segments of society in the Free World", but not for all freedom-loving peoples, including those within the "Communist" domain. This Center appears not to be very much interested in the betterment of the chances of the enslaved peoples to liberate themselves from the yoke of "Communism." It is rather oriented in terms of the preservation of the division of the world into Free World and Communist world. It appears that the deficiencies of the educational gap will remain unchanged. It is hard to imagine how this Center can "develop and recommend programs for extending the sphere of freedom", as it professes, if it *a priori* excludes the ingredients required for successful advance of freedom.

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WASHINGTON—PEKING—MOSCOW

The pages of the world's press are still reporting the possibilities of bringing about peace talks between Washington and Hanoi — attempts which up to now have not brought about the desired results. One attempt to bring about peace talks was made by the Italian minister of foreign affairs, but apparently he did not go about it as he should have and, as reported, the affair ended in Fanfani's resignation.

Nevertheless, the problem does not lie in whether or not the former mayor of Florence, Professor La Pira, repeated Ho Chi Minh's words truthfully or whether or not Fanfani conscientiously tried to bring the warring countries to some kind of understanding. The problem lies in the fact that Washington went to the wrong address in this affair; the U.S. should have gone to Peking, not Hanoi.

No matter how unbelievable it may seem, America is waging a war, not with North Vietnam or the Viet-Cong, but with Red China, the only difference being that America has not, as yet, bombed Chinese soil. However, Americans are dying daily in Vietnamese jungles, in addition to spending eighteen million dollars a day to wage war, while the Chinese, not having formally sent their own soldiers into Vietnam, are fighting in another manner: namely, by applying political pressure. As was revealed in an interview between La Pira and Ho Chi Minh it is no secret that as soon as Hanoi tries to use its own political initiative, Peking replies by increasing its pressure on Hanoi and Hanoi is forced to retreat.

The Vietnamese War is no ordinary war. This is evidence by the fact that up to this point, American diplomats have not yet succeeded in establishing contact with Hanoi so that peace talks may begin. In fact, this war is between two different ideologies and the outcome will determine the fate of Asia and possibly of the rest of the world. This fact was emphasized in December at the yearly conference of NATO when Defence Secretary MacNamara warned of the Chinese threat which is endangering Europe and called upon the European members of NATO to take an active part in the Vietnamese conflict.

On the other hand, on September 29, 1965 the Chinese defence minister stated that China is not only waiting for but hoping for an attack from America and that, furthermore, the Chinese nation is prepared for such an attack. This would mean a Third World War; in other words, the end of western civilization. The truth is, that although China cannot carry on an atomic war and cannot compare to American war technique, nevertheless, the masses of people in China, who now outnumber the total white population of the world, cannot be overlooked. In addition, it should be remembered, as MacNamara also stated at the aforementioned NATO conference, that in two years, China may have a reputable nuclear capability, including submarines, and that in ten years they will be able to launch intercontinental missiles and without doubt, endanger the entire world!

However, as long as China does not possess a nuclear capability as is the case for the time being, the key to the dilemma is found in Moscow. The world situation is very similar to the one in 1939. As Hitler then subscribed to the new world order, Mao now subscribes to the Marxist philosophy of world

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conquest. As in 1939, the key to war or peace lies now in the hands of the Kremlin, but with a major difference in 1966. In 1939, Stalin agreed to the Molotov-Ribentrop pact (August 23) and thus brought about the Second World War, calculating that as a third power he, Stalin, could, by the end of the war, gain Europe or even the world. Today, neither Brezhnev nor Kosygin can afford such a plan.

Let us recall, that in 1949, when Mao gained power in China, it seemed that a strong, unbreakable communist front was formed, posing a deadly threat to the free world. Fortunately, after the death of Stalin (1953), ideological and political differences between Peking and Moscow slowly came to light. The two friends became deadly enemies. It was thought that when Krushchev was ousted, the Soviet Union and Red China would reach an agreement, and in 1964 Chou En-lai, himself, came to Moscow to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution. Although both sides moved to reach agreement, nonetheless, they could not settle any of the primary issues. Chou En-lai demanded that Moscow recognize Peking as the centre of world communism and made it understood that China was awaiting the return of one-half million square kilometres of Siberian territory which Tsarist Russia had seized from China in 1689. Moscow could not accept the first demand, not to mention the second, and the gulf between Moscow and Peking widened further.

It is clear that, as the situation now stands, Moscow, the "brother" of China, would not help support Mao in a war with America and moreover, would not help China. This has already been exemplified in the Chinese-Indian conflict, during which Moscow clearly took sides with India, already supported by the U.S.

While the Soviet press does not condone American intervention in Vietnam, and although Moscow sends outdated armaments to Vietnam (for the shipment of which China demands dollars), it does not mean that Moscow wants war. The recent visit of Shelepin to Hanoi, as the press points out, does not necessarily mean that he went there to encourage Ho Chi Minh to escalate the war or to promise him assistance in the war. It is a likely possibility that, as Kosygin used his influence to restore peace between Pakistan and India in Tashkent (January 10, 1966), so too, Shelepin may have tried to persuade Ho Chi Minh to enter into talks with Washington.

However, only the future will tell, but at the present time, Red China's aggression must not be encouraged in Southeast Asia. Therefore, the United States cannot afford to retreat or give up South Vietnam without an honourable solution.

A.W.B. (USA)

PROBLEMS OF ACQUISITION OF MATERIALS ON UKRAINE IN THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

There are various problems which might be encountered and should be taken into consideration by librarians endeavouring to acquire Ukrainian materials. These problems apply to books, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, and other library materials, that were a) written in Ukrainian or in other languages by Ukrainians and b) were published by Ukrainians. The scope of problems will be limited to materials in humanities and social sciences.

Libraries serving scholars and students who are interested in the areas enumerated below should be acquainted with acquisition problems of such works. These areas are: 1) Ukraine, 2) the whole subject complex of the Soviet Union, 3) aspects of Russian policies and activities in respect to Ukraine, 4) the territory between Turkey and Scandinavia, and between Germany and the Ural Mountains, and 5) the so-called Slavic area.

There are many reasons for the acquisition of Ukrainian materials: 1) Ukraine's colonial status was one of the causes of the downfall of the Russian tsarist empire, 2) The problem of Ukraine's conquest by Russia was one of the major reasons for the creation of the political structure known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. 3) "War Communism", NEP, the two big artificial famines of the 1920's and 1930's resulted from policy of the Soviet-Russian government towards Ukraine. 4) Russian-tsarist policy toward the Austro-Hungarian empire was thoroughly permeated by the conflict over domination of Ukraine. 5) Polish eastern history cannot be understood without a knowledge of the Ukrainian history. 6) One of the major reasons of the collapse of the Soviet-Russian front in 1941 was lack of willingness by millions of Ukrainians and other non-Russian soldiers in the Red Army to fight for the preservation of the Russian empire. 7) One of the major causes of German defeat in the east was the hostility of Ukraine and other peoples toward German desires to make out of them a German slave empire.

The material under consideration cannot be substituted by any other material for the following reasons: 1) There are relatively few translations of Ukrainian works into other languages. 2) Works by many writers are so voluminous that even in Ukrainian there are not yet sufficient bibliographical, analytical, and evaluative works about them. It will suffice to mention works of Ivan Franko (novelist), Lesia Ukraïнка (poetess), Mykhailo Hrushevskiy (historian), Vadym Shcherbakivskiy (anthropologist), Volodymyr Sichynskiy (arts historian), Dmytro Dontsov (philosopher and editor), Viacheslav Lypynskiy (historian and political theoretician), and others. 3) There are very few studies by non-Ukrainians of those many important areas which are treated in Ukrainian writings, for example, Ukrainian historiography, Ukrainian periodical literature, Ukrainian political philosophers, Ukrainian nationalism, Ukrainian political movements, schools and education in Ukraine, Ukrainian anthropology and culture, church history and religious life in Ukraine, any aspect of Carpatho-Ukraine, Ukrainian-Polish relations, Ukrainian jurisprudence, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Ukrainians in Russian (tsarist and Soviet) concentration camps, the famines in Ukraine during 1920's and 1930's, Ukrainian prose literature, Russian colonial discrimination in Ukraine, Russian prisons in Ukraine, history of Ukrainian armed forces. 4) Many important works were and are being published in periodicals, almanacs, calendars, and in series. Thus, if collections are not sufficiently comprehensive, these materials cannot be studied satisfactorily.

The problems of acquiring Ukrainian materials are the following:

1. Many books are rare, because they were published in small editions and are encountered in widely scattered places, whose existence is known only to a few well-informed specialists.

2. Nowhere in Ukraine today, in the legally existing libraries, will there be found even a substantial percentage of publications which are not Communist or are anti-Russian in content. Most such publications were systematically destroyed by the Russian occupation authorities. Their holdings by private persons in Ukraine is severely punishable by law. There is a strict censorship on publications of every kind which prohibits appearance of a most innocent national literature which does not comply with current Russian colonial policies. There are probably a few exemplars of each Ukrainian publication in special governmental libraries outside Ukraine (in Russia), access to which is permitted to trusted functionaries only. The present foreign-colonial regime in Ukraine will therefore hinder acquisition of materials which in its view are illegal and anti-governmental. In order to acquire these materials it is necessary to turn to Ukrainian libraries abroad or to foreign libraries. Ukrainian libraries abroad should be considered, therefore, not only as collections of writings of Ukrainian emigrés, but, more important, as depositories of all Ukrainian publications which are not kept in libraries in contemporary Ukraine.

3. A very substantial percentage of Ukrainian publications appeared and is constantly appearing outside Ukraine, particularly in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Canada, Italy, the United States, France, England, Rumania, Argentina, Hungary, and others. Emigré publications should be distinguished from publications of authors who were living in Ukraine but sent their works to be published abroad because various obstacles prohibited their publications at home.

4. Another problem is created by changes in statehood of various Ukrainian territories. For example, an author living in a part of Ukraine, say under Russian occupation, sent his work for publication to another area occupied by a different power, say Poland. Many works of scholars from Kyiv published their writings during the period between 1850 and the First World War in Lviv (then under Austria), or in Vienna, or even in Switzerland and France. The problem consists of bibliographic verification and where to find such works. An excellent instance is produced by current attempts of the Columbia University Libraries' Acquisition Department to order several volumes as replacements of a series published during the 1930's in Warsaw (Poland). When ordering the replacements it has not been considered that the present Polish Communist regime does not permit free public sale of Ukrainian books published before the Second World War. Besides, the institute which published the series does not exist any more. Exemplars of this series, can however be found abroad.

5. Bibliographies published in Ukraine under Soviet-Russian rule omit systematically to mention the majority of Ukrainian publications which were published abroad. This fact should not be interpreted that the exile publications are of poor quality. It happens because of political discrimination by editors of Soviet bibliographies. It is a proven fact that in some instances publications of exiles, who dispose of meagre resources, are more numerous and even more valuable than comparative works issued in contemporary Ukraine, whose "government" supposedly has at its disposal great resources of the whole state. Good proofs are the currently published Ukrainian encyclopedias, histories of Ukrainian churches, its armed forces, and arts, but also the quantity and quality of periodicals issued in exile and in Ukraine.

6. Because Ukraine during various historical periods was divided among foreign states, her boundaries were changing and therefore some publications are listed in bibliographies of different nations. For example, a book published before the First World War in Western Ukraine might be listed in a then Austrian bibliography, in the bibliography of the Ukrainian independent state of 1918-1920, in a Polish bibliography of the inter-war period, in a German bibliography of 1941-43, or in a bibliography of the Soviet Union of the post-World War II period.

7. In many instances imprint information was falsified in order to mislead occupation powers. For example, many publications of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (1900-1905) have publishing place somewhere in Ukraine under the then Russian tsarist occupation, but were actually printed somewhere in the Austro-Hungarian empire. Similarly, some Ukrainian publications which appeared during the period between the first and second World Wars with publishing place on Ukrainian territory under Polish rule were actually published outside the Polish state (in Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Italy, or Germany).

8. A very substantial percentage of Ukrainian publications during the 20th century was printed "illegally", in the underground, and thus the problem of acquiring such works is complicated, because they usually do not indicate publishing place and will not be listed in legal bibliographies of the time, but only in bibliographies published much later and most surely in bibliographies published abroad. This fact enhances the value of exile bibliographies.

9. Anonymous and pseudonymous works create another problem. There is a much higher percentage of such works among Ukrainian publications than

among Western, perhaps as high as 20 per cent. This phenomenon is explained by the colonial status of Ukraine. Occupation powers persecuted Ukrainian writers, tried to discourage them, intimidated them, imprisoned, exiled, or executed them. To acquire anonymous or pseudonymous works requires knowledge of authorship and/or good subject knowledge.

10. Among Ukrainians the periodical has traditionally a much more important role as medium of publishing than in the West, because conditions of enslavement in Ukraine made it very difficult to publish big voluminous books. So, many important treatises are contained in periodicals in the form of series of articles or chapters. In the West, periodical literature is considered usually supplementary to big book treatises. Therefore, more consideration should be given to acquire Ukrainian periodicals. Often more important materials are published in periodicals than in separate books.

11. A serious obstacle in acquiring good Ukrainian collections by foreign libraries is a lack of regular chairs or departments of Ukrainian studies at the big universities in the West, which would have systematic acquisitions on Ukrainian materials. Usually Ukrainian materials are treated as appendages to foreign works, when scholars and students are interested in obtaining such Ukrainian works, whose views correspond to theirs. If, for example, someone specializes in Russian affairs he might use such Ukrainian works, which directly touch the studied Russian problem, but rarely he will try to contrast the Russian view and situation with the Ukrainian view and treatment. If there were a special Ukrainian acquisition plan, its staff would obtain experience in solving the various problems, which cannot be done by accidental ordering.

12. Because of peculiar conditions, majority of Ukrainian works were and are published by various associations, institutions, or private persons, but not by professional publishing houses. Therefore, acquisition libraries should have in mind that often good literary or scholarly publications have the imprint of Ukrainian political groups, pedagogical-educational treatises and books on art are published by youth associations, while economic institutions may sometimes publish valuable books on culture, almanacs, and belle lettres. On the other hand, Ukrainian private publishers sometimes initiate publications of big scholarly and scientific treatises. In short, evaluation of books by their publishers should be different in respect to Ukrainian works than those appearing in Western nations. Very often, a well-known scholar may publish his works through the media of an institution, which has no direct relation whatsoever with his subject of work.

13. There is the problem of language. Among Ukrainian writers it happens more often than among Western writers that the original work is published in languages other than Ukrainian. Then, such work might or might not be translated into Ukrainian. Ukrainian bibliographies might list only the Ukrainian-language editions, or vice-versa, non-Ukrainian bibliographies might list only those Ukrainian works which appeared in their respective national languages. Thus we have the problem of completeness of bibliographies and the problem of originality. Often translations are edited to suit specific objectives of the translated edition.

14. Finally, more Ukrainian out-of-print publications are found in private collections than in public or institutional libraries. If necessity arises for a specific book, the best method to acquire it is to consult Ukrainian authorities in the field or various Ukrainian institutions which have their own libraries, rather than bookstores, publishers, non-Ukrainian libraries, or present-day libraries in Ukraine.

This outline of problems does not exhaust probably all of them which are connected with the acquisition of Ukrainian publications.

THE AMERICAN CHAMPION OF RUSSIA'S INDIVISIBILITY: GEORGE F. KENNAN

The Russian imperialists have seldom found such a stubborn champion of the indivisibility of the Russian prison of nations as the American professor and diplomat, George F. Kennan. We were of the opinion that Mr. Kennan had in the course of time learnt something from the experiences undergone in their struggle by the non-Russian peoples enslaved by Moscow. This opinion however was deceptive, for Kennan has remained the same: obstinate and seething with hatred towards all the non-Russian nations in the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is proved to us by his latest publication "On Dealing with the Communist World."

Mr. Kennan enlightens us as to how we have to behave towards the Russian Communists and even utters threats with respect to American politicians whom he finds unpleasant.

First of all Kennan believes that he can argue it out with those American politicians who had the law on the "Captive Nations Week" passed by the American Congress. Mr. Kennan believes that these politicians know nothing at all about these affairs and asks why do they interfere in affairs of which, he thinks, they have almost no idea at all. Still further, the fact that they want to see the traditional (sic!) Russian empire destroyed by the USA conjures up for him unheard of catastrophe for America. For the Russian imperium is ostensibly invincible. According to Kennan the nations quoted in the resolution on the Captive Nations have mostly never existed.

As for the Ukrainians, Kennan writes on page 24, *inter alia*, as follows:

"We have often been told that the Ukrainians demand without exception a full separation of Ukraine from the Russian state. Perhaps this is true! But who can know such a thing?"

Kennan goes on to quote that no test in the last 45 years has existed. Here Mr. Kennan is tremendously

wrong, for the countless victims of the best sons of Ukraine on the battlefields against the attackers of the young Ukrainian state, the State Acts of 22nd January, 1918 in Kyiv by which the Ukrainian State was called into existence, and of 1st November, 1918, in Lviv, when West Ukrainian Republic was set up as well as the Act of Unification of all Ukrainian lands into one indivisible Ukrainian State proclaimed on 22nd January, 1919, in Kyiv, represent an irreproachable plebiscite by the Ukrainian nation, showing that it wants to live independent life, in peace and freedom. Unfortunately the French leaders, and in part also the Americans, (in particular Colonel House, who used to give wrong advice to President Wilson), did not support the Ukrainians in their struggle for freedom (indeed even opposed it), as the former British Prime Minister and leader of the British delegation to the peace conference of Versailles, David Lloyd George, excellently expressed himself on this subject in his memoirs (*Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, New Haven, 1939). After the ending of the First World War, it was in reality not at all the spirit of resurrection of the enslaved peoples, but the law of the jungle which prevailed, a thing which caused extraordinary anger to President Woodrow Wilson. The unjust arrangements among the individual states which came into being after the First World War were able to claim for themselves merely about 20 years of existence.

Now Mr. Kennan wants to summon up further Russian wickedness in Eastern and Central Europe, but he will not succeed in this. For history teaches us that many seemingly invincible empires have fallen in the past centuries. Before this implacable march of world history the Russian colossus with feet of clay will not be able to preserve itself either.

W. Luzhansky

Ukrainian Chronicle

TERROR IN UKRAINE

Fresh reports are constantly received from Ukraine that, owing to growing Ukrainian national feeling and growing resistance, the occupation regime is so alarmed that it feels itself compelled to re-introduce terror.

In September 1965, some 50 intellectuals were arrested and charged with being Ukrainian nationalists and having contact with Ukrainian nationalist centres in the Free World. These young men were spending their holidays in the south of Ukraine. Unfortunately, they assumed that they were "in their own company", spoke openly about the exploitation of Ukraine by the Russians, about the intensification of the Russification process and similar matters. A traitor was among them, however, and their conversation was reported to the KGB. Such arrests take place in all parts of Ukraine; sometimes the arrested are charged with being involved in anti-Soviet activity and smuggling information abroad. Many are condemned and shot. Some young Ukrainian writers are also put under duress; this was the case with Svitylchyn and Dziuba, for instance. Only recently, more than a dozen writers, whose names are not yet known, were arrested.

In addition, there have been many trials involving former insurgents from the last war, more specifically, against people who have been charged with cooperation with the Germans. In Ivano-Frankivske (formerly Stanislav), on the 6th of November, 1965, Mykola Matsevych (Kozhushenko) from the district of Perehinsko was sentenced to death because, it was alleged, he had fought in the ranks of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) against the Bolshevik-Russians. For alleged cooperation with the Germans in World War II, the following men were recently sentenced: Andreas Entze of Yasnopillia, Bere-

zivka district, was sentenced to be shot by a firing squad by a court in Odessa in March of this year; also in March, eight men were sentenced to be shot by a firing squad and three men were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by a court in Mykolayiv (Nikolayev) on the Boh. On February 13, 1966, a court in Mineralni Vody in Stavropol province in the Caucasus sentenced five men to death: Matviy Hal, Yevhen Zavadsky, Kuzma Nahunenko, Yuriy Bozhko and Tymofiy Tarasov for alleged collaboration with Germans and participation in the liquidation of the Soviet Communist soldiers and young men. Petro Hrytsan was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and confiscation of all possessions.

THE SOVIET PRESS ON OUN AND UPA

The Russian occupiers in Ukraine are well aware of the fact that the greater danger to their dictatorship in Ukraine is the inspiring force of the ideology and the political militancy of the OUN and the UPA, for they constitute the foundation of the newly-organised expression of the dissatisfaction and passive resistance of the people, which is being reshaped into an active anti-Russian power. The Russians know that the heaviest blow to their empire can come from this quarter. Hence a severe campaign against the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and against the UPA is being carried out in the Soviet Press and in Soviet books.

In the January 1966 issue of the journal *Zhovten'* (October), there appeared an article entitled "The last error of Buy-Tur." Buy-Tur was the *nom-de-guerre* of Roman Shchepansky, a young teacher and well-known leading member of the OUN in the Lviv area and leader of a UPA unit, who was betrayed into the hands of

the Bolsheviks by the student Bohdan Stashynsky in the early 1950's. Later, under orders received from the KGB chief, A. Shelepin, B. Stashynsky murdered Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet. In the above-mentioned article, Buy-Tur is characterised as a leader of bandits and Bandera followers are accused of brutal mass murders against the Ukrainian population; whereas, the truth of the matter is that Buy-Tur and the followers of Bandera are respected and admired as the defenders of the Ukrainian population against the Bolshevik KGB hangmen and murderers.

In the January 4, 1966 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina*, it was reported that a book by Oles' Lupiy entitled *Mylava* was published by *Molod'* Publishing House. The growth and spread of Ukrainian nationalism is depicted in this book. Among other things, it states that Ukrainian Nationalists maintain contact with "foreign centres" and that "These inhuman nationalists dream of a great Ukraine, but at the same time they think it nothing to murder and shoot large number of innocent Ukrainians." The OUN, the UPA and the Bandera followers are never described as anything but bandits and cruel enemies of the Ukrainian people.

RETURN TO STALINIST METHODS

At the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow, it was formally declared that there would not be a return to Stalinism, but that Stalin's methods (which led to a one-man dictatorship and terror) are to be sanctioned. The former Stalinist titles were re-introduced into the nomenclature of the Party: Politbureau instead of Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Secretary-General instead of First Secretary. The Congress condemned every attempt to introduce and develop new ideas and expressions in literature and art as inadmissible. Brezhnev made it clear that artists and writers must follow the Party line: "The Soviet people cannot tolerate the shameful activity of those people who disparage the Party and the Soviet Union."

Brezhnev did not attack Peking in his speech, but spoke instead of the equal rights of all Communist Parties, and called for the preservation of unity in the Communist world. Only representatives of Communist parties from satellite countries — Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland — spoke out against Peking. The representative of the Vietcong was received with a storm of applause, and the delegates were informed that large groups of volunteers from the USSR were signing up for military service in Vietnam.

Minister of Defence, R. Malinovsky threatened to employ the most modern weapons against anyone and everyone who would dare to attack the USSR. Gromyko, on the other hand, took advantage of the de Gaulle-NATO conflict to demand that Europe be left to itself. He suggested that an international European Conference be convened to discuss disarmament and European cooperation.

Also in the press and television, the name of Stalin and his unsavoury co-workers are mentioned more and more frequently. In the February 16, 1966 issue of *Izvestia*, the brutal Stalinist hangman, Zhdanov, is extolled as a "faithful son of the fatherland." In actual fact Zhdanov always demanded complete Party and government control over literature and art. He was a bitter enemy of every free ideal; moreover, he had incarcerated and maltreated many outstanding people in GPU prisons and concentration camps, and caused the cruellest possible murders to be committed upon writers and intellectuals in concentration camps.

Khrushchov, to be sure, declared to the world that justice and "social equality" prevailed in the USSR and that concentration camps had been liquidated. In the meantime, however, new concentration camps have been erected. Highly-charged barbed wire encloses these concentration camps, in which hundreds of thousands of Soviet-regime opponents are languishing. Others, on the other hand, are declared mentally sick and imprisoned in mental institutions. The writer Tarsis who escaped to the West reported that he had spoken with many

young people who protested against being confined in mental institutions, for they were perfectly healthy, both physically and mentally. They had been told: "How can you be mentally healthy, when you are not happy to be able to live in the Soviet Union."

Notwithstanding intensive and widespread propaganda, the number of Christians is growing and the churches are being largely attended by older as well as young people. This was especially to be noted during the last Easter celebration.

EROSION CAUSED BY FALSE AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES

In the No. 10/1966 issue of *Literaturna Ukraina*, an article entitled "The Gardens of the Semiramis", was published. This article was written by Serhiy Skoryna, the director of the agricultural department of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Agriculture. Skoryna describes how the greatest treasure of Ukraine, its rich black soil, is being destroyed by the barbaric agricultural methods imposed on Ukraine by the Russian occupiers. This productive black soil constitutes more than 60% of the Ukrainian land-area. According to the estimation of experts, as a result of false agrotechniques, almost 5000 hectares of agricultural area, especially slopes and hills, are being washed into gullies every year; whereby erosion results. This rich black soil, which is due partially to the work of nature and partially to the expert cultivation techniques of the Ukrainian farmers, could be lost forever in a few years, if it is neglected or inexpertly cultivated. Primarily this results from the cutting down of the trees of the forests located on the mountainous slopes or from not using crop rotation. Owing to the above-mentioned reasons, the area of partial erosion is said to have spread over about 10 million hectares. To this must be added more than 350,000 hectares, which have been lost forever owing to complete erosion. Large areas of fertile black soil have also been flooded to create artificial lakes when hydro-power stations were built on the river Dnipro at Moscow's orders.

NO SOLUTION TO THE CONTRADICTION OF COLLECTIVISM

More than 30 years ago the Russian Communist Party imposed collectivism in the USSR. In the course of this imposition, the Ukrainians, who were resolutely and bitterly opposed to the collective system, lost more than 6 million victims. For more than 30 years the Communist Party has been racking its brains and making all kinds of experiments to make this system of agriculture work — but in vain and to no avail.

Cruel means were used to uproot the natural attachment and love of the farmer for his own farm and his fatherland. In place of this natural attachment and love, the Russians tried to set up a Socialist fatherland and to place the earth under a common, that is to say, all-Russian command. The endeavour was made to turn the free farmer, lovingly cultivating his own plot of earth, into a blindly obedient, will-less robot. Through an anti-social collectivism, the Russians thought to create, not a human society, but a human mass, or more specifically, a human horde. The agricultural robot was to become a state possession, a Party slave, and was to work for the Party and for the Communist state for a wage less than sufficient to keep body and soul together.

The results of all these experiments with human lives have been catastrophic. For instance, the grain harvest in the USA is three times that of the USSR, the turnip and sweet turnip harvest twice that of the USSR, the potato harvest two and a half times that of the USSR; and the productivity of cattle raising in the USSR is not at all comparable to that of the USA.

The Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Ukraine boasts that 420,000 Communists and 620,000 Komsomol members are employed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Ukraine, "mostly in the most important production areas." To be sure — they direct, supervise, inspect and drive the actual workers in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, of whom there are about 11 million in Ukraine.

And the harvests: In 1964, in the U.S.S.R. as a whole 68.2 million tons of grain were delivered to the state; 82.8 million tons remained for the needs of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The harvest figures for 1965 were not released, but, working with the harvest figures of the individual republics, experts calculated that the state received c. 53 million tons of grain and that c. 67 tons went to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In some kolkhozes, after the distribution of small and insufficient quantities of grain to the kolkhoz farmers, there was not enough grain left over to be used as seeds, as a result of which they had to ask the state to sell them grain for seed purposes. In 1965, the kolkhozes requested 2 million tons of grain from the state for seeding.

At a plenum session, the Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, Pavlov, stated that "in many kolkhozes the average age of the worker was over 50." He did not mention, however, that many kolkhoz and sovkhoz farmers, especially those of the young generation, fled from the farms, because they were opposed to collectivism. In many areas the number of kolkhoz farmhands was reduced by half.

In this crisis the Party is seeking a solution, but it never occurs to them to get rid of the collective system itself. Instead, they are convening a third Kokhoz Congress from all parts of the USSR, which "is to determine the concrete tasks of the kolkhozes in the building of Communism and help to organise a highly lucrative production system based on scientific methods." The Congress is to draft new regulations for kolkhozes, which are to be worked out by a government-appointed commission. This commission consists of 149 members, two-thirds of whom are leading Party members. According to the February 27, 1966 issue of *Pravda*, this commission, by working out new regulations, is to pave the way for the strengthening of the kolkhoz system, for this system constitutes "one of the greatest accomplishments of the Communist Party and the Soviet people." According to the new five-year-plan, agricultural production is to be increased 23% by 1970.

THE SLOGAN "FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES" IS TO SERVE AS A CAMOUFLAGE FOR THE RUSSIFICATION OF UKRAINE

As is evident from the press in the USSR, in addition to a centralisation in the agricultural field, the ruling clique in the Kremlin has also set itself the task of stepping-up the Russification and de-nationalisation of the subjugated peoples. Articles praising "the eternal and indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR", appear more and more frequently in the Soviet press.

In the January 27, 1966 issue of *Radyanska Ukraina*, for instance, F. Shevchenko, Doctor of History, published an article entitled "The Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR is Eternal and Indestructible." In this article Dr. Shevchenko sets forth the following thesis: "The mutual friendship between the two great peoples, the Russians and the Ukrainians, exists from time immemorial. These two peoples are related to one another by language, by their customs, as well as by their character and their history. Over the centuries the ties of friendship between these two peoples have grown stronger and more binding." Contrary to the actual facts, this author maintains that the most important Ukrainian poets and intellectual giants, such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka, approved of Ukraine's absorption by the Russian empire and "in the name of progress called for unity and mutual action." In support of the contention that Ukrainians are for the preservation of the indivisible Russian empire, the author states: "The view of all progressive forces in Ukraine was expressed by the well-known publicist and scholar, M. Drahomanov, when he wrote that the Ukrainians could not separate themselves from the Russians, unless there was a world catastrophe." This is written at a time in which the remains of colonialism are being liquidated throughout the world. The USSR, to be sure, is taking an active part in this liquidation process. However, only outside of the USSR!

In this article, the USSR is described as "the voluntary union of peoples having equal rights in one state." This is lauded as "the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and as the most important accomplishment of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." It is stated, moreover, that in terms of industry, Ukraine had surpassed in a very short period a number of large capitalistic countries. There was no mention of the fact, however, that within the scope of the centralised economy imposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Ukraine and the other Soviet Republics were denied the possibility of developing their own initiative and ingenuity to satisfy the specific needs of their own peoples. The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union are forced to work and produce exclusively for the state and the ruling people, namely, the Russians.

Even as far as culture and science are concerned, Ukraine and the other non-Russian Republics are under Moscow's command, whose aim is to Russify these republics as soon as possible. A report on a scientific conference whose purpose was "To bind the socialist nations closer together and to strengthen the international character of the education of the workers in the present stage of Communism", was published in the January 25, 1966 issue of *Molod' Ukrainy*. In other words — to step up the Russification process.

CHANGES IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE

The names and positions of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the so-called alternate members and the members of the auditing commission, all of whom were elected at the 23rd Party Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, appeared in the Soviet newspapers of March, 1966. It is to be noted that the First Secretary of the Party, Shelest, carried out a thorough purge in the ranks of those closest to him, as well as among the candidates for membership of the Central Committee and members of the control commission. Of the 16

members of the presidium, only 5 old members remained: Shelest, Korotchenko, Kalchenko, Skyba and Klymenko. Of the 127 members of the Central Committee from 1961, nearly 50% were gone and 62 new members were added. Of the 75 old alternate members, 56 were gone. Among these "unreliables" are the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Palamarchuk and Bilodid. Unexpectedly, Dmytro S. Bilokolos, who until now was practically unknown in political circles, was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs; he was also elected a candidate for membership of the Central Committee. All the key positions in the Central Committee of the Party were taken over by the clique-members, who had long associations with the present Party bosses.

AGAINST WHOM IS THE FIGHTING CAPACITY BEING STRENGTHENED?

According to the Soviet Ukrainian news agency RATAU, two Party conferences of the army troops of Ukraine took place at the end of January, 1966: one in Kyiv at the Kyiv army headquarters and the other in Lviv at the Carpathians army headquarters. The purpose of these conferences was to develop the fighting capacity and to improve the ideological-political education of the military personnel. In Lviv there was an additional purpose: "In the critical evaluation of the results of the accomplished work, the delegates devoted their attention primarily to unsolved problems and to the removal of the deficiencies which are still to be found in Party political work." The main speech in Lviv was held by the Commandant of the Carpathian army headquarters, Colonel-General P. M. Lashchenko. The Minister for Defence of the USSR, Malinovsky, who came to Lviv specially to attend this conference, also held a speech.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR, EXPLOITATION OF UKRAINE BY RUSSIA

It is well known that the USSR is a state in which all important matters

are determined by the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. According to *Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik*, the Great Russians constituted 62.7% of this Central Committee in 1959 and the non-Russians taken together constituted the remaining 37.3%. In other words, the great Russians hold the absolute majority in the Central Committee. It must also be kept in mind, moreover, that the above-mentioned non-Russian members of the Central Committee are elected by the Russian majority; which means that only those men who have totally adapted themselves to the Russians and are servile

to the Kremlin bosses are selected. Hence, at one and the same time, Russian predominance is secured in the USSR and the deception is created that the Party has an international make up.

The centralisation of all power in the hands of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union plays an especially important part in the discrimination of the Central Committee against Ukraine. This is best illustrated by the index figures which are based on the official Soviet publication, *Political Economy of the USSR*, from 1960 and 1963.

	Great Russians	Ukrainians	Ukrainians in % to Great Russians
Population according to the census of 1959, in thousands	114,114	37,253	32.6
Technical secondary school students in 1963/64, in thousands	1,909	463	24.2
University students in 1963/64, in thousands	1,987	476	24
Scientific workers, end of 1963, no. of persons	373,498	59,221	15.9
No. of books published in 1963 in the language of both peoples	58,158	3,325	5.6

With reference to this last figure, it must be pointed out that one third of the books published in Ukraine are translations from the Russian. All of this is planned, authorised and directed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Even the allotment of paper for printing purposes is determined by Moscow. Little paper is allotted to the Ukrainians and the number of copies of some books printed are strictly limited.

Ukraine also contributes far more to the common treasury of the USSR than it receives. After the fiscal expenses of Ukraine are covered — including the defence expenditures of the USSR for Ukraine and the support of the Union government — the sum of almost 6,000 million rubles remains in the hands of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. This sum is not reimbursed for the needs of the Ukrainian population. This is

about 36% of all revenues, which is produced by the agricultural labour of the Ukrainian people — a clear colonial percentage!

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that according to official USSR figures released on January 1, 1966, Ukraine produced (in million of tons) last year: pig iron — over 32, steel — 37, sheet metal — 30, iron-ore — 84, coal — 195, grain — 32 (of which 15 million tons was wheat), sugar — almost 7. Ukraine produces more pig iron, steel and rolled metal than the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain or France. It is no secret that iron and steel are the bases of wealth of a modern state.

Notwithstanding all this, the Ukrainian people are mercilessly exploited by the Russian Communist occupiers, must contribute their full energy to their oppressors, while they themselves scrape along without many essentials.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE USSR

Officially, the Soviet government declares that freedom of religious belief exists in the USSR; in actual fact, however, the government carries out a ruthless and barbaric fight against the churches, religion and religious people.

From Moscow, it was reported that shortly before Easter of 1966, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet published an edict on a new anti-religion action, according to which the following new methods of religious persecution were to be employed:

It is strictly prohibited to have rallies of any kind for church and religious purposes. The distribution of religious brochures, pictures, crosses and similar materials will be punished with long terms of imprisonment and internment in concentration camps. Any kind of religious procession or open church services are also prohibited, because, apparently, they are a "disturbance of the peace." Religious education for minors is also strictly prohibited. It is also prohibited to miss a day of work or school for religious reasons. Until now, "violation of the law concerning the separation of state and church", was punished with up to 6 months arrest, according to paragraph 142 of the criminal code. Now, however, violation of this law will be punished with up to 3 years forced labour in a concentration camp.

Interestingly enough, the Soviet Union signed the convention of the United Nations regarding discrimination in the field of education, in which it is stated: "The parents must be guaranteed the freedom to bring up their children according to their own religious and moral convictions." And in the Soviet newspaper, *Science and Religion*, no. 6/1966, p. 36, it is admitted that: "There are millions of religious people in our state." Their interests, however, are not safeguarded and protected by the state.

In the *Militant Atheist*, no. 1/62, p. 14, we read: "If we cannot succeed in re-educating the religious parents, then it is best to take their children away and put them in a boarding-school." In *Science and Religion*,

no. 4/1965, p. 16, we read: "In Stavropol, the students Androsova, Podhaskaya and Ivleva were excluded from the institute because they professed religious beliefs." In the *Agitator*, no. 16/1960, p. 58, it was reported: "In 1960, 500 orthodox churches were closed in Ukraine." To explain this action, it is shamefully maintained that "the workers demanded it."

In 1964, 70 anti-religious films were shown in various cinemas and 300 anti-religious books — more than 6 million copies — were published by national Soviet publishing houses.

RESISTANCE TO RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS AND GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS FAITH

A long letter by a Mrs. Kuchkin from Lithuania entitled "An almost incredible story", was printed in the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of January 18, 1966. In her letter Mrs. Kuchkin tells about the sect, the *Pentecostals*, which has a wide-spread following in the USSR, especially in Lithuania and in the Smolensk, Kaluga, Leningrad, Riga and Bratsk areas, and includes among its members not only older people, but also middle-aged and young people.

The letter describes a court trial against members of this sect and reports the following incident: "When the verdict was read, one of the condemned young men declared in a loud voice, 'I give myself in God's hands! I thank you with my whole heart, Lord, that you have given me the grace and dignity to suffer for religious faith.'" Whereupon, as if upon a given signal, all those who had been condemned, fell on their knees and began to cry out, to moan and to pray.

They had been condemned for having engaged in an active fight against the regime and partially for having distributed leaflets summoning the people to rise up against the Communist dictators.

In her letter Mrs. Kuchkina quotes from one of the leaflets: "O sufferers, patriots of Christ's Army! You have no fatherland here on earth! You have nothing to defend here!... And

when you see the Lord's great army advancing from the West in a decisive battle against Satan's war-mongers, then take up your weapon to help smash the head of the Red dragon, which has been choking almost the whole of Europe for half a century."

Similar trials were held in various other cities of the USSR. A police informer who entered the sect to spy on it and who even succeeded in becoming a priest in the course of time, was called upon as a witness at the trial and betrayed everything. Subsequently, he was shot twice; the second time he was critically injured. The culprit voluntarily gave himself up to the police and declared: "I was the author of this act!" The job of a police informer or traitor has become dangerous in the USSR.

TARSIS CONFIRMS UPRISINGS AMONG THE UKRAINIANS AND OTHER SUBJUGATED PEOPLES

In his press releases the well-known Soviet writer, Valeriy Tarsis, who has defected to the West, confirmed the fact that there is active resistance on the part of the Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples. He wrote:

"It appears to me that the main evil today is the fact that the Western democracies overestimate the power of the Communists. The majority of the population in the Soviet Union hate Communism; a revolutionary consciousness is also growing, especially among the youth. We will never be able to forget that Hungary and Poland would already be free from the Communist yoke, if the great states of the West had not demonstrated an inexcusable indifference so often. Have not the revolutions in Indonesia and Ghana been instructive enough? When the developing peoples of Asia and Africa are capable of breaking the chains of tyranny, then we Europeans should certainly be able to mobilise all our forces to shake off the hated yoke.

"I know from personal experience that all the peoples of the Soviet Union — Ukrainians and Russians, Latvians and Lithuanians, Georgians and Azerbaijanians — hate, more and more, the Bolshevik villains who have assumed power in our unfortunate

country by the use of violence. I've also had the opportunity of speaking with Poles, Hungarians and Czechs — they are thinking solely of liberation. In the so-called socialist camp there are many underground organisations. There have been many uprisings and strikes in the Soviet Union during the past years. In Novocherkassk, Tbilisi, Donbas and Odessa, these uprisings were especially strong. I am convinced that if all the insurgent forces would join together, the Communist culprits, on whose account the entire human species is threatened with annihilation, could be delivered a death blow.

"Every mature person, every people should fight for his natural, fundamental rights, and not to sell these rights for a bowl of soup of false Communist happiness."

LEAFLETS AGAINST THE REGIME

In its February 18, 1966 issue, *Pravda Vostoka*, the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, reports on the condemnation of a kolkhoz farmer by the name of Yuldash Melikov who was sentenced to three years imprisonment for distributing leaflets protesting against kolkhoz abuses and the arbitrary procedures of the Party leaders. Over a four year period, Melikov had sent these leaflets to district centres, the administrative centres in Karshi, Tashkent and Moscow and to various other addresses. In all, he had sent out 1500 leaflets during this time. By his initiative he brought about many revisions in the kolkhoz system and a restriction in the arbitrariness of the local kolkhoz bosses — all of which led to an improvement in the living conditions of the kolkhoz farmers.

There are many other cases of leaflet distribution in the USSR; leaflets having a political anti-regime content are also addressed to various authorities and editorial offices. The Soviet press seeks to conceal these cases, or writes about them only when they have become generally known. The author of the leaflets is then described as "a slanderer" but the people know the truth of the case well enough.

THE ROLE OF SUBSIDIARY FARMS IN UKRAINE

Approximately 5.7% of the total farmland, comprising the so-called private subsidiary farms, are privately cultivated by the farmers, workers and employees in Ukraine. Notwithstanding the fact that these are very small plots of land — about an acre in area on an average — and are cultivated manually without the aid of any machinery, they account for a substantial percentage of the total farm produce of the Ukrainian Republic. For instance, in 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1964, they accounted for: potatoes 74%, 76%, 65%, 61%; vegetables: 46%, 34%, 32%, 30%; fruit produce: 71%, 62%, 75%, 59%. In 1940, they produced 4.6 million tons of grain, and in 1964, 1.1 million tons (which is 4% of the total harvest). In 1941, 1957, 1961 and 1965, respectively 84%, 77%, 43% and 38% of the country's cows were privately owned; pigs: 63%, 42%, 33% and 28%; fowl: 79% in 1961 and 85.5% in 1965. The decline in production is accounted for by the fact that Krushchov forced a reduction in privately-owned farms as an act of retaliation. The present rulers are returning to the pre-Krushchovian private possession quota.

EXPENSIVE COAL INDUSTRY

On January 27, 1966, a conference of the Party scientists took place in the Donets Basin to discuss the improvement of coal extraction and the improvement of the quality of coal. In comparison to petroleum and gas, coal constitutes 72% of the total fuel balance of Ukraine. In the conference report it was pointed out that "more than half of the collieries in the Ukrainian Republic had not reduced the cost prices which had been called for in the plan, as a result of which state expenditure rose considerably."

THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND

The Polish trade union newspaper *Głos Pracy* brought a report on those

areas in the West Carpathians, which had been inhabited for thousands of years by Ukrainians, but from which they had been expelled by the Polish authorities after World War II. The newspaper states that these areas have remained since almost desolate and unsettled until now. The Polish government is actively trying to induce Poles to settle in these areas, which contain 30,000 hectares of good soil. The Polish colonists are guaranteed great relief measures, for instance, relief from taxation, long-term loans, etc., but the Polish farmers are not interested and do not want to settle in these areas which are historically and lawfully Ukrainian, as a consequence of which they remain desolate.

Among other places the Ukrainians who have been expelled from these areas have been forced to resettle in the areas of East Prussia which are now attached to Poland. At present there are about 60,000 Ukrainians living in that part of East Prussia. The German newspaper *Das Ostpreussenblatt* of March 12, 1966 reported that the Ukrainians in East Prussia do not feel at home, and yearn for their native country, notwithstanding the fact that their existence in East Prussia is not at all bad. They want to return to their native land. Formerly the Polish government did not allow this, but now, allegedly, it does. Quite apart from this, the Ukrainians in East Prussia have a good reputation as industrious and thrifty people who hold together. The relationship between the Ukrainians and the Poles, while at first strained, is said to have improved now.

A SOVIET ECONOMIST ON THE STATE OF ECONOMY IN THE USSR

The Soviet economist and director of the Department of Economy of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk, Prof. Aganbegian, sent a memorandum on the present state of economy in the USSR to the Soviet Prime Minister, Kosygin. In his memorandum, Prof. Aganbegian stated:

The rate of growth of the Soviet economy has declined by two thirds within the last 6 years in agriculture, by nine tenths (from 8% to 0.8%). In the heavy engineering industry, only half of the machines are operating — the other half are unusable, or are in repair. As a result of poor and negligent production, unusable and incompletely finished wares and products are piling up in the warehouses of the USSR, running into 3 billion rubles. No one wants to make use of or buy these products.

Unemployment is growing in the USSR and runs as high as 8% in the large cities and 25-30% in the middle-sized and smaller cities. The one-sided promotion of the armament industry has a negative effect on the USSR economy. The Soviet expenditures for armament are about the same as those of the USA, though it is to be noted that the economic potential of the US is double that of the USSR. 30 to 40 million workers are employed in the Soviet armament industry who could be better employed elsewhere.

Soviet export trade is also in a poor state, because the USSR exports primarily raw materials. Finished Soviet products find hardly any market because of their poor quality. In the agriculture sector, the state collects half of all revenues, 11,000 million rubles, in taxes and price machinations. The other half is not sufficient to cover the most pressing expenditures of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as a consequence of which the situation becomes worse from year to year.

Most of all Agenbegian criticised the system of Soviet planning, which, among other deficiencies, is based on false, highly exaggerated index figures.

A PREMIUM FOR CALUMNIES

The most dangerous forces within Ukrainian society of which Russian imperialists are afraid are the revolutionary nationalism and the Christian religion. This fact can be again ascertained from a recent book of a Soviet propagandist, Dmytro Tsmokalenko, entitled *Tayemnytsi dalekykh berehiv* (*Secrets of Far-away Shores*),

published in Kyiv, 1966. It is a collection of articles, based on author's impressions from a tour of Canada.

The main purpose of this book consists of the intention to demoralize and to weaken the nationalist and religious attitudes of the Ukrainian emigrés and to urge them to recognize the "inevitability" of Ukraine's dependence upon Russia and the "hopelessness" of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle.

The author endeavours to achieve his purpose by dividing Ukrainians into "progressives" and nationalists. "Progressives" in his view are those who recognize the Russian domination over Ukraine and the Soviet-Communist regime. Nationalists are "traitors" of the Ukrainian people, who are in service of foreign imperialists. Among the most dangerous people to the Soviet government in Ukraine there are such persons, as Metropolitan Ilarion of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Jaroslav Stetzko — President of the A.B.N. and a leader of the O.U.N. To denigrate them, Tsmokalenko throws all scruples to the winds, does not shrink away from using false statements, employing vulgar and slanderous expressions, typical, of course, of Russian Communist political phraseology.

It is characteristic, that although upon direct orders of Alexander Shelepin — one of the chief leaders of present-day Russian elite, the Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Stepan Bandera — was assassinated and the end of the Ukrainian underground nationalist movement was proclaimed by Moscow many years ago, the attention given by Moscow to the activities of Ukrainian freedom-fighters is increasing constantly. This proves, that the Ukrainian national liberation movement, popularly named after Bandera, has new outstanding leaders, particularly in the person of Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The assassin of Stepan Bandera was rewarded with an Order of the Red Banner. Similarly, the hireling Dmytro Tsmokalenko received a Yaroslav Galan prize for his worthless "assassinating" exercises.

FREEDOM DAY BANQUET IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Washington, D.C. — The Ukrainian Freedom Day Committee and the Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front sponsored a banquet observing the 25th Anniversary of June 30th Declaration of the Ukrainian Independence, June 30, 1966 at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

On June 30, 1941 in the City of Lviv, Ukraine, at 8.00 p.m. the Hon. Jaroslav Stetzko, newly appointed Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Provisional Government, proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian Republic to the people of Ukraine, an act which clashed with Nazi-German plans for Eastern Europe at that time. The Hitlerites brought another occupation for the people of Ukraine.

Now 25 years later the Ukrainian people celebrated with their friends the anniversary of a day they hold dear in their hearts. The banquet honouring this historic day and the spirit of freedom among the Ukrainians all over the world was opened with the American National Anthem. Invocation was given by the Rev. Theodore J. Danusiar of Holy Family Ukrainian Catholic Church, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Zenon R. Wynnytsky, master of ceremonies, welcomed more than 250 guests on the occasion of the Ukrainian Freedom Day. He gave a brief exposition of that Ukrainian Independence Day which was followed by a dreadful occupation of Ukraine by Nazi-Germans and later by the Red Russians. Dr. Walter D. Jacobs, professor of political science, Maryland University, and chairman of the AF-ABN in Washington, D.C., presented an excellent, academic review of the struggle of Ukrainian people for freedom while the Western powers watched it and eventually ignored their fight. Another after-dinner speech was delivered by His Excellency, Dr. Chow Shu-kai, Ambassador of the Republic of China. He emphasized the similarities between the fate of

his country and Ukraine. In the after speech comment the master of ceremonies called for an everlasting friendship between American and Chinese peoples, as well as between China and Ukraine in the near future, after the threat of the communist world domination is finally abolished. The Chinese ambassador stated that... "peace without freedom and justice is a fraud." His speech was warmly applauded.

The Ambassador of the Republic of Vietnam, His Excellency Dr. Vu Van Thai, who attended the banquet with his beautiful French-speaking wife told us in an unprecedented manner of all the sufferings of Vietnamese people dedicated to the cause of freedom and to the fight against the aggression of Moscow and Peking communists. He highly appreciated the efforts of Ukrainian-Americans to secure the victory of freedom loving people of South Vietnam in their military conflict with communist aggressor. The next speaker was a guest from Europe and distinguished leader of the Organization of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in Western Europe, Mr. Osyp Tiushka who spoke in Ukrainian.

The Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski, Member of U.S. Congress, was the principal speaker of the evening. He said that 25 years ago "Ukrainians naturally looked to the Western powers for support in their resistance against Russian and Nazi subjugation alike. Unfortunately, the Western allies did not understand the Ukrainian people's fight for liberation then. *It is our task — our responsibility — that they understand it now.*" He went on to say, "the great devotion to human freedom is not irrelevant to our times." Preceding that statement he gave an example of the June 26, 1954 massacre of 500 Ukrainian women in the Soviet concentration camp of Kingir who facing a death underneath the Red Army tanks sang the Ukrainian National Anthem, "The Ukraine is still not dead..." One could have seen unashamed tears on the

cheeks of women and men of the audience. He ended by saying "...the next opportunity which may come soon is one we must not miss."

Dr. Lew Dobriansky, National President of UCCA, delivered a splendid extemporaneous allocution. Dr. Nestor Procyk, National Chairman of the Ukrainian Freedom Day Committee, presented the concluding remarks and a resolution in support of President Johnson's Vietnam policy and an American global commitment against the communist wars of aggression, which was spontaneously adopted by the audience.

Other guests of honour receiving public recognition were the Hon. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio with his wife and son William, the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois, Mr. K. H. Chang, first secretary of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea, Dr. Arnold Spekke, diplomatic representative of the Republic of Latvia in Washington, Dr. S. A. Baskis, representative of Lithuanian Legation in Washington, Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, Col. Philip J. Corso, and Mr. David Burger, representative of the National Press Club. All of them were cordially welcomed by Mr. Wolodymyr J. Majewsky, secretary of the United Committee of the Washington Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front.

Messages were read from the Most Rev. Archbishop Ambrose Senyshyn, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Ecclesiastic Province of Philadelphia; the Hon. Jaroslav Stetzko; the Hon. Everett Dirksen, U.S. Senator, and several other members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives including those from Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania and Hon. Edna F. Kelly of New York City.

The famous Ukrainian mezzo-soprano, Alicia Andreadis of the Great Theatre Colon in Buenos Aires, Argentina, performed then a few works of Ukrainian and Italian composers with piano accompaniment by Madame Maria Tsukanova. A benediction was said by the Rev. George Huley of the St. Andrews Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Washington, D.C. The program was ended with the

Ukrainian National Anthem. This event was covered by the "Washington Evening Star" of July 1, 1966.

MR. STETZKO'S MESSAGE TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE BANQUET

Munich, June 28, 1966

Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
Very Reverend Fathers,
Honourable Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends and Co-Fighters,

The essence of June 30, 1941, the day of the proclamation of the re-establishment of Ukrainian independence in the darkest period of World War II, when the two strongest military powers, the Germany and Russia, clashed together — clashed, as a matter of fact, on Ukrainian soil, — the essence of the meaning of this day lies in the fact that the Ukrainian people, by proclaiming their will to independence, demonstrated the courage to take a war on two fronts upon themselves: a war for a new, just order in the world, founded upon national independence. The dissolution of the imperium and the re-establishment, or, to put it another way, the achievement, of national sovereign states for all peoples, is that which June 30, 1941, stands for.

This act of the Ukrainian nation, at a time when practically all the states of the European continent — Petain's France included — had capitulated before the overwhelming power of the Nazi-Germany, confirmed the uncompromising will of the Ukrainian nation to fight for a just world order, for national independence, personal freedom and human dignity, for God and country. This act took on world-wide importance, and has become the model of world development.

At that time our watchword was: A common front consisting of freedom-loving peoples together with the peoples subjugated by Nazi-Germany and Russia, against *both* tyrannies — and not an alliance with the Beelzebub Stalin against the Devil Hitler.

When I, as the Prime Minister of Ukraine at that time, rejected Hitler's government's ultimatum to dissolve the government and to annul the proclamation of the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state, and chose instead of capitulation imprisonment in a Nazi Concentration Camp, I gave expression, not only to my personal conviction, but to the will of my people.

Is not the West repeating the mistake of more than 25 years ago? Even today it aligns itself with one tyranny in the delusive hope of being able to put down the other. Today it is more than just a question of transitory, earthly values. It is a question of the victory of absolute truth, justice, freedom and human dignity. It is a question of the victory of the idea of national independence and a divine order: of the victory of Christ over the anti-Christ.

In this sense I extend my greetings to you, friends and co-fighters, as he who proclaimed the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state against tyranny of any kind and against godlessness. This is not solely the public property of Ukraine, but of all subjugated peoples and of all forces which affirm God, Nation and Man in the world.

Ex Oriente lux — but from the underground of the East, from the catacombs of the martyred churches, from the heroic peoples and their freedom-fighters, from suffering Christianity comes a stronger influence on the world than from triumphant Christianity.

For God and Country!
For the Freedom of Peoples and Man!

Yours Faithfully,

(*Yaroslav Stetzko*)
Former Prime Minister
of Ukraine

FREE UKRAINIAN VOICE IN INDIA

It is indisputable that through the services of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations the Ukrainian national liberation effort is slowly but steadily gaining new friends in the world.

One such recent achievement is the establishment of active cooperation with the Indian Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League under the leadership of Honourable Rama Swarup of New Delhi.

Mr. Swarup recognized that Russian imperialism is the enemy and threat to India. This imperialism has already enslaved many nations, including Ukraine, Caucasian peoples, Turkestanians, and many others. His enthusiasm for the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples Mr. Swarup manifested by joining the ABN-Delegation at two recent Conferences of APACL and by accepting the position of Representative of ABN in India.

The Indian Chapter of APACL is an active group, publishing a periodical, various pamphlets, participating in international meetings, delivering lectures, etc.

In its January and February issues, "The Free News & Feature Service" (official weekly bulletin) Mr. Swarup published two articles on Ukraine. The first was about the Ukrainian Independence Day (January 22, 1918), stressing the fact that the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic was a sovereign and really national Ukrainian state, which later was invaded by Red Russian armies and made into a slave colony. Several quotations are produced of Lenin, Piatakov, Karl Radek, and Stalin, which reveal that the invasion was a Russian imperialistic war against Ukraine.

The second article is about a publication of the U.S. Senate on Soviet Russian terror activities directed against freedom-fighters and especially against Ukrainian nationalists. Upon orders of the Soviet Russian government there were brutally murdered Symon Petlura (President of Independent Ukraine),

Col. Evhen Konovalts and Stepan Bandera (both were successive Heads of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), and planned to murder Hon. Jaroslav Stetzko (former Prime Minister of Ukraine).

The Indian Chapter of APACL informs about its plan to publish soon a whole series of articles on Ukraine and Russian colonialism. It would gladly establish contacts and cooperation with Ukrainian institutions in the free world. Various Ukrainian institutions are encouraged to use this wonderful opportunity to establish close friendship with prominent Indians and to contribute collections of literature on Ukraine to Indian scholarly centres.

The Liberation movement of the enslaved 45-million Ukrainian nation desires heartily to form common political front directed against Communism and Russian imperialism with all nations of Asia!

A. W. B.

RUSSIAN GENOCIDE AND SUBJUGATION OF UKRAINE PUBLICLY DENOUNCED IN CANADA

On the occasion of the debate in the Canadian parliament on so-called hate literature and agitation against people because of their race, nationality or religion, the Canadian Member of Parliament, Hon. John Yaremko, who is also Ontario Province Secretary and Citizenship Minister, held a speech in which he called to mind Moscow's artificial and intentionally caused famine in Ukraine in the Thirties, in which 7 million Ukrainians died of hunger. In 1941, hundreds of thousands of Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians were cruelly deported to Siberia by the Russians. They have never returned.

In commemoration of the Ukrainian declaration of independence, the Canadian Senator Hon. Paul Yuzyk, held a speech in Ottawa in which he stated that Canada should seize the initiative on an international plane to renew Ukraine's declaration of independence of January 22, 1918. Senator Yuzyk went on to say that a

demand must be made upon Moscow before the UN, in which Moscow must acknowledge and respect the right to freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples, of Ukraine, as well.

WASHINGTON HONOURS THE MEMORY OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO

On March 10, 1966, a festive ceremony took place at the memorial of the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko in Washington, at which the members of the US Congress, M. A. Feighan and B. O'Hara, together with ABN President, Y. Stetzko, placed a wreath of blue and yellow flowers at the foot of the memorial. The ceremony was opened by the Chairman of the Washington Branch of the Organisation for the Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, W. Mayevsky, followed by a prayer by Prof. M. Voynar. Mr. Stetzko then held a speech in Ukrainian. Mr. M. A. Feighan, the present Chairman of the Immigration Commission of the US Congress, also made an inspiring address. In conclusion, the Member of Congress, B. O'Hara also spoke.

IVAN FRANKO QUINQUAGENARY CELEBRATIONS IN LONDON 1966

To commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of Ivan Franko the second most important poet of Ukraine, a Reading in the English Language was given at 49, Linden Gardens, London, W.2., the Headquarters of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Limited, on Sunday, May 8th, at 4 p.m. The translations were by Vera Rich — well known in Ukrainian circles for her translation from Taras Shevchenko — and read by distinguished members of the Poetry World and the Stage.

With Volodymyr Bohdaniuk in the Chair, the large and appreciative audience, which soon had the 'house-full' notice up, so to speak, settled down to an afternoon of sheer enjoyment starting with the Chairman's address of welcome and explanation followed by Vera Rich's delightful

exposition of Franko himself, his place in the poetry of Ukraine and in the general European Literary scene.

In selecting the items of the programme Vera Rich had not so much arranged the poems in their chronological order as selected them to illustrate the poet's life and works and, at the same time, symbolise the progress of Ukrainian national renaissance. This was a felicitous arrangement since it made abundantly clear to even the most casual listener not only the life of the poet but the Ukrainian Cause as well. Thus the programme commenced with *The Spring Song* (*Vzhe sonechko znov po luhakh*) with its ironic contrasting of the abundance of spring with the poor life of the Ukrainian farmer, the joy of awakening nature with the 'bowling along' of the tax collector on his way from village to village to exort the crippling levies. This was sensitively and admirably interpreted by Miss Diana Ollsson, famous actress of Radio and Television.

From *Out of the exam room* (*Z ispytovoyi kimnaty*), we were given a glimpse of the corrupt foreign educational system in which Franko and indeed all West Ukrainian intelligentsia found themselves involved. Mr. Ted Hazleton, Poetry Society Gold Medallist and Examiner, made the most of this situation clearly interpreting every facet of the words.

The Idyll (*Idyliya*) symbolising the upward path of the new generation of Ukraine 'towards the golden sun', was read with feeling and deep understanding by Robert Armstrong, General Secretary and Treasurer of The Poetry Society, then followed a selection from *Prison Sonnets* (*Tyuremni sonety*), read excellently by John Nicholson, with Diana Ollsson giving us *The Legend of Pilate* (*Legenda pro Pylata*) to symbolise the final overthrow of injustice.

To follow, as a relief from this somewhat profound theme, a selection

of some of the most famous love lyrics from *Withered Leaves* (*Ziv'yale lystya*) was read by the gentleman readers, then came the prologue and the parable of the trees from the great narrative poem *Moses* (*Moysey*), the prologue read by John Nicholson and the parable by Diana Ollsson. The last item was the deeply moving Easter sequence from *The Lord's Jest*s (*Pans'ki Zharty*) read by Elizabeth Anne Harvey.

To sum up, both readers and audience found this poetry in translation an exciting new experience, an insight into the way of life of a friendly, kindly people, and something to think upon, if the conversations extant during the excellent tea provided by the Ukrainian Women's Association was anything to go by. More and more of these occasions from both the English and the Ukrainian side should be arranged so that poets and poetry lovers of both countries could meet and talk and listen to the poetic tradition of the other. After the hospitality of this evening one hopes that in the not too far distant future our own Poetry Society will be hosts to the Ukrainians when we shall once again be permitted to hear the works of the great writers of this most talented people and perhaps to hear passages from the works of our own Shakespeare, Tennyson, Byron, Moore, Hood, Shelley to name but a few which Franko and others have rendered into Ukrainian.

*

The second celebration in London in honour of this anniversary took the form of a concert at The St. Pancras Town Hall on Sunday September 25th at 4 p.m. After the initial address by Professor W. Shayan, there followed an afternoon of sheer delight when Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian alike could enjoy not only the undying poetry of Ivan Franko, but the music of his compatriot composers to accompany his words.

Sung by M. Skala-Starycky of the Brussels Opera and two charmingly attractive young singers, Ulyana Chaykivska and Odarka Andriyishyn, we heard that fine Prologue from *Moses (Moysey)* set to the music of O. Bobykevych, and *Flow With The Wind (Rozvivaysya z vitrom)*, *Your Eyes (Tvoyi ochi)*, *O Earth of Mine (Zemle moye)*, *Unfold Thy Leaves O Willow Tree (Rozvyvaysya, lozo, borzo)*, *When Thou Hearest In The Night (Yak pochuyesh vnoch)*, and *O my Song (Pisne moye)*. A duet between the two sopranos was charming, then the three singers, with the Boyan Mixed Choir, gave us the unforgettable, *O Ruler of Earth and Heavens (Vladyko neba i zemli)* from *Cossack Beyond the Danube*, truly appropriate for a people exiled from their homeland. The Choir also gave us *The Eternal Revolutionary*, their harmony a revelation for those making a first visit to a Ukrainian concert.

Oksana Hutsul, an engaging young reciter, gave us *Moses and the Children (Moysey i dity)*, and young Olya Andrusyshyn, The Easter Sunday sequence from *The Lord's Jest* (*Pans'ki zharty*), and Miss Rosamund

Greenwood, famous actress of English stage, screen and television, *The Idyll (Idyliya)*, beautifully rendered in the English translation of Vera Rich. The Conductor was M. Solomka, the accompanist Miss Grace Shearer. The stage was tastefully arranged by Professor R. Lisovsky.

It was an afternoon that might well be termed a festival of poetry and music with professional artistes giving of their best for the love of the cause in the way the Stage always has and always will so generously give. To those new to Ukrainian circles it was a revealing insight into the serious culture of a talented people known mostly for their folk-lore and exciting folk-dancing. Here we saw and heard something of their more serious moments and their more serious music, an afternoon I would like to see repeated over and over again and perhaps one day, a full-scale staging of one of their operas, for if *Cossack Beyond the Danube* is a typical example, such a staging would be an event for the opera-loving public of Covent Garden and Glyndebourne.

Elizabeth Anne Harvey

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by the Ukrainian Youth Association, Assembled in Paris on May 28-29, 1966

The delegations of the Ukrainian Youth Association in exile, assembled in Paris during Pentecost in order to commemorate the President of the independent Ukrainian State, Symon Petlura, assassinated in Paris by an agent working for Moscow, on May 25, 1926, pay tribute to the memory of the illustrious statesman and to all the heroes fallen in battle for the freedom of Ukraine.

— On this occasion, the Ukrainian Youth sends its filial salutations to the Hierarchies of both Ukrainian Churches, Orthodox and Catholic. It greets its valiant people in Ukraine and in exile, and especially sends its warm greeting to the patriotic youth of Ukraine, worthy guardian of the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian cultural treasure.

— Inclined before the tomb of Symon Petlura, the Ukrainian Youth, by its representatives, assures its people and the Ukrainian spiritual and political institutions that it will remain faithful to the message of liberty, fraternity and justice relayed to us by T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, E. Konovalets, Taras

Chuprynka-Shukhevych and by all the illustrious Ukrainian personalities who have dedicated their lives for their people.

— Examining the life and work of the youth in Ukraine, we state that it is deprived of all the most elementary conditions which would permit the full blooming of its creative powers and its natural rights. It does not enjoy the freedom of opinion, of creed and confession, of expression and free association. Evidence: the interdiction to publish the works of young authors like Vasyl Symonenko whose themes are not within the framework prescribed by socialistic realism; the imprisonment of the literary critics Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba; the arrests of students accused of "antigovernmental nationalism" because they placed a wreath at the monument of T. Shevchenko (in Kiev), or because they expressed their desire to erect a monument to I. Franko (in Vorochta).

As a result of the above mentioned, we declare that:

— The puppet Government of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine does not represent the will of the Ukrainian people. It is only the instrument of Moscow, whose aim is the Russification of Ukraine and the other republics of the Soviet Union in order to subdue them to Russian imperialistic design.

— The Ukrainians are targets of constant and systematic national discrimination. To be Russian and to love the Russian people, is, according to the general line of the regime, a natural and positive sentiment. To be Ukrainian and to openly manifest Ukrainian patriotism, is branded as "bourgeois nationalism", and condemned to total destruction. As a result, there occur massive arrests, deportations to Siberia and crimes of genocide.

In view of these facts, the Ukrainian Youth assembled in Paris:

— vigorously protests against the international murders, perpetrated in the name of the Bolshevik regime, of eminent Ukrainians such as Symon Petlura (1926), Eugene Konovalets (1938), T. Chuprynka-Shukhevych (1950), Lev Rebet (1957), Stepan Bandera (1959) and so many others;

— demands the intervention of the International Court of Justice in order to condemn the guilty;

— condemns the regime in Soviet Ukraine for its subservience to Moscow, considers it responsible for the Russification of Ukraine, for the interdiction of non-communist literary works, for the arrests and secret trials of young Ukrainian intellectuals and their practical elimination, such as I. Svitlychny and I. Dziuba;

— accuses the regime of locking up into psychiatric institutions those who are hostile to it and of persecuting all the persons who respect and honour the national poets and defenders of Ukraine's freedom;

— appeals to the public opinion of the free world and particularly to its youth in order that they show their solidarity with the exiled Ukrainians for the reestablishment of the fundamental freedom in Ukraine;

— declares that the cultural exchanges between the peoples must promote a better international understanding. However, they must be carried out in a universal manner and on the basis of sincere and loyal reciprocity, in accord with Human Rights;

— demands the intervention of UNESCO in order that this Organization institutes proceedings for the liberation of imprisoned or deported Ukrainian writers and critics;

— deems necessary a permanent action in the sense of a united Europe into which would enter Ukraine, and this, on the basis of the principles of liberty of the persons and the nation, of equality before the law, of spirit of collaboration and of respect toward the national cultures of each country;

— demands free elections in Ukraine in order to restore democratic order, conforming to the universal principles of the right of people to govern themselves.

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Eighty-Ninth Congress, First Session,
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UKRAINE AND THE UNITY OF EUROPE

What is Europe?

Before we begin to discuss the unity of Europe, we must answer the question: What is Europe? Europe is not only a geographical concept; it embraces a whole complex of concepts. The geographical concept of Europe developed from Hellas towards the North and West, until it embraced present-day Europe. For the Greeks, Europe was the Balkan Peninsula.

For us, it is cultural Europe that is important, and this means, more than anything else, the heritage of Hellenism and Romanism. It was never the case that cultural Europe was identical with Western Europe. Many West Europeans have committed the error of making this assumption. For the French, for example, the Rhine was once the eastern boundary of Europe; for Kaiser Germany everything east of Prussia was Asia, and the countries professing Roman Catholicism, like Poland and Hungary, regarded themselves as the European bulwark against Asia.

In reality, all the countries whose culture is founded on Græco-Roman heritage belong to Europe, or to put it more specifically, they constitute Europe. Nowadays, the concept Europe is simplified and, to all intents and purposes, only the remnants of Europe are considered Europe. If this false point of view is maintained and the trend of this development is continued, the result could be that tomorrow perhaps Central Germany, including Saxony and Thuringia, as well as East Prussia, will no longer be looked upon as part of Europe. Or: if we can conceive of the Russians pushing forward to the Rhine some day, then, in conjunction with what we have said above, Europe would perhaps merely consist of England and France. Hence, it becomes clear that the concept Europe must be based on an

intellectual and cultural standard, and not be opportunistically determined by the boundaries of Russian occupation. It would be absurd to let ourselves be guided by Russian manœuvrings, and thereby have the boundaries of Europe determined by Russia. Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland and Slovakia are just as much Europe as Germany or England.

What is called Europe today is merely that part of the total unity that has been left over from Russian-Bolshevik malignancy.

In short, it is false to regard only the countries of West Europe as Europe, for the same reason that it would be absurd to regard only the countries professing Catholicism and the Roman rite as European. Europe is based on the heritage of Hellenism and Romanism; but Byzantium, in other words East Rome, which prolonged Romanism, is for some curious reason looked upon as something oriental. It must be kept in mind, however, that throughout the Middle Ages, Byzantium was the most European. If Byzantium had not preserved classical antiquity, it would not have been possible to realise the cultural Europe of our time.

Hence, Europe is not only a geographical concept, but, over and above this, a cultural, and ethical concept — founded on Greek, Roman, Germanic and Slavic heritage, which has always included the peoples of East Europe, who, by repulsing the assaults of the Mongolians and the Tatars, helped to preserve the Christian heritage of Europe, with its intrinsic elements of human dignity, the freedom of man, voluntary social solidarity, its strongly developed feeling of honour, and a heroic attitude towards life under the mutually-binding law of divine will. Europe is where European cultural values have validity, including Kyïv, the Don region, Tbilisi and Minsk.

Ukraine — an Integral Part of Europe

Not only Byzantium, from which Ukraine derived its Christianity, impressed the seal of its culture upon Kyïv, but also the West, to which Kyïv felt itself connected through important economic relations and partly through dynastic connections, which were so numerous and imposing that the Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise was called "the father-in-law of all Europe." Kyïv was a centre for European political refugees: kings, missionaries, queens and princesses, including their entourage and servants, with musical instruments, literary works, etc., came from Western Europe.

When the centre of the Kyïv Ruś empire was shifted to the Galician-Volynian territory following the Tatar invasions in the 13th century, the Western orientation became even stronger. Ukraine maintained active relations with Poland, Lithuania and the Teutonic Order. The municipal Magdeburg administration of justice was

introduced into Ukrainian cities (Syanok, 1339). Roman style predominated in architecture and the cultural language was Latin, which was generally used in Western Europe at that time. Following the unification of a part of the Church with the Roman Catholic Church in 1596, not only the new Ukrainian Catholic Church came into being, but the East Ukrainian Orthodox Church underwent a change. This Church survived the Reformation and unified its threatened existence with Western methods. By this, the Western character of the Ukrainian Church and religious development in general became more pronounced. In the field of education, reformatory tendencies were clearly to be noted: in the Kyïv College, which later became the Mohyla Academy, and in other universities and schools, where West European culture and the Latin language, in addition to the Greek language, served as the basis of scholarship.

As a matter of fact, natural factors, such as geographical position, trade routes, etc., formed the basis of Ukraine's connections to her neighbours. Even at the time of the Cossack statehood, these connections were maintained. But the greater part of Ukraine has been under Russian domination since the middle of the 18th century. For instance, parliamentary institutions in the West can be compared to the Cossack Council. It cannot be doubted that the cultural life of Ukraine underwent the same development as Western Europe, as a matter of fact, together with it. Ukraine was also influenced by the Renaissance and the Reformation; she went through an age of enlightenment and an age of rationalism, and the Ukrainian soul found its most congenial expression in the Baroque. Together with Western Europe Ukraine experienced romanticism and realism in literature and art. In the second half of the 19th century, natural sciences and the mathematic disciplines also became more and more popular in Ukraine, and towards the end of the century, the people were awakened to the idea of socialism and parliamentarianism.

Are Ukraine's Riches to Strengthen Russia's War Potential?

Most people would find it difficult to imagine a united Europe without France, but there are people who can easily imagine a united Europe without Ukraine. But it would be more than unjust and short-sighted to want to exclude Ukraine as a member of a united Europe. It should be in the interest of all European peoples to be able to include Ukraine, this large and rich country, in its ranks.

Ukraine is a country of 45 million people; numerically the third largest country of Europe. Ukraine is second only to the USA in the production of iron-ore; it extracts more ore than France. The blast furnaces of Ukraine smelt more pig-iron than Britain or Germany and twice as much as France. They are out-produced only by the USA. Before World War I, Ukraine was known as the bread basket

of Europe; she was famous for her grain and her livestock. Only Germany produced more potatoes than Ukraine. Ukraine is also the largest producer of sugar-beet in the world. In addition, Ukraine possesses enormous deposits of manganese ore.

When one takes into consideration that Ukraine is the second largest Republic in the Soviet Union, then it is easy to imagine that she is forced to make large contributions to the enormous war potential of the USSR. If for no other reason than to check the Russian war-threat and to curtail the Russian-Bolshevik empire, it should be to the interest of West and Central Europe to liberate Ukraine from the Russian stranglehold and to place her riches in the service of the free world.

Prerequisite of European Unification

The desire for an internally united and organically amalgamated Europe was given expression already between the two World Wars, namely, from the time that Count Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1938) raised the question of a Pan-Europe. However, national peculiarities and divergent economic interests seemed to offer an almost insurmountable mountain of difficulties. Now, however, that it has become a matter of the utmost importance for Europe to prevent itself from being crushed between two millstones, it is absolutely imperative to work towards a positive solution of this problem, methodically and resolutely.

Notwithstanding the "détente" and "peaceful coexistence", and the dissension with China, the Soviet Russians are pursuing their old goal. Difficulties in Asia and South America could force the USA to withdraw from Western Europe. Should this be the case, then it does not require any effort of imagination to see that the Soviet Russians will strive even more tenaciously to encompass West Europe in their sphere of power. For this reason also, the unity of Europe has become a more pressing issue than is generally recognised. Moreover, it must be taken into account that a powerless Europe can have only slight value to the USA as an ally. The basic prerequisite for European unity, on a regional as well as universal plane, is the complete independence and sovereignty of each nation. The cardinal mistake of every regional integration is the forming of an alliance against some other nation, with the danger of international complications; while universal integration on the basis of equal rights and independence of all states within the framework of the United Nations is the guarantee for peace. The prerequisite for this integration, however, must be the abolition of the veto right, which in each individual case has proven itself to be a convenient instrument of Bolshevik subversive policies, peace-destroying sabotage and intrigues.

The aim of unification tendencies is the avoidance of wars, the cooperation of peoples and their harmony. It is not the independence of peoples that is the cause of war in the world; it is the imperialists who constantly ignite the fires of national destruction. Hence, it is not the restricting of the right to self-determination that we must concern ourselves with, but the elimination of imperialism. To make European unity a fact, therefore, today's most pressing common interests must be singled out. And, it goes without saying, that these interests cannot lie in the restriction of the right to sovereignty, but in the development of common goals which bind peoples more closely. The problem should be so formulated: what are the common interests of the peoples, and what benefits do they derive from mutual cooperation? The full cooperation of the East European peoples, for instance, can be vouchsafed only on condition that their robbed freedom of action is restored to them. Apart from this, it is a *contradictio in adjecto* to speak, as is often done nowadays, of the restriction of sovereignty and of the advantages of sovereignty in one and the same breath; for if anything constructive and useful is to be achieved for all concerned — including the subjugated peoples — then the sovereignty right of all partners must be an indispensable prerequisite.

With this, we have reached the crux of the whole complex of questions; also the absolute obstacle to an all-European cooperation.

In its greedy clutch, the vampire of Russian imperialism holds the valuable forces for the construction and preservation of that which is called Europe. In an age which witnesses the liberation of peoples, the disappearance of empires, in an age of enormous political and social progress and accomplishments, it is alone the Russian vampire that clutches countries and peoples with iron claws, and keeps them from fulfilling their European mission, makes them suffocate, spiritually and mentally, behind the prison walls of a notorious prison of nations. In this, all Russians are agreed — on this and that side, all disciples of Russian imperialism — to preserve this permanent condition of slavery, with the conscious intent of preventing the subjugated nations from being acknowledged as Europeans and from participating in the vital tasks which are just as important for them as for Europe.

Demand for Freedom of Decision for all Peoples

Hence it is clear that there can be no European integration without first dissolving the Russian empire and reestablishing national, independent states within their ethnographic boundaries. Furthermore, the elected parliaments of these peoples must be guaranteed the right of free decision. The champions of the European idea must first help to liberate the enslaved peoples in order to create the same precondition for these nations, i.e., independent power of decision.

In any case no decision from abroad may or must be imposed upon these peoples. Freedom and reestablishment of all their sovereign rights are an inalienable necessity; otherwise, how could these nations, which have been stripped of their most vital rights, resolve to renounce even a part of their natural claims in the interest of some supernational constructions?! Moreover, the idea of every confederation and union in East Europe is completely compromised. The "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" is so horrifying that the peoples no longer want to hear this term, which the Russians have abused and exploited to make colonies out of Ukraine and the other countries.

If the West wants to lose its battle with Russia, then it is sufficient to carry the glad tidings of confederation to the East. Even in the last world war, European unity was spoken of by Hitler, and in the name of this unity, peoples and countries were raped. Napoleon wanted to "unify" Europe in the somewhat similar way. Fichte, however, very thoroughly unmasked this hypocritical pretence. The present-day thought of a united Europe must be rid of all past negativity to win the East European peoples for European unification by taking their national state-political desires and needs into consideration.

The best guarantee for peace and security of all peoples is membership in the United Nations on the basis of full equal rights, in which no powerful state will be able to forcefully amalgamate other states in the course of time, and to exploit regional conditions for purposes of aggression, as is to be feared in the case of every regional construction.

Before future problems can be seriously discussed, however, the inevitability of the dissolution of the Russian empire must be accepted. All European and non-European peoples must strive together to accomplish this end.

In this way all the other obstacles to the Pan-European idea, which were still in the way at the time of Coudenhove-Kalergi, will be removed of their own accord.

Prof. D. NYTCHENKO

EXTINCTION OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE AND ARTS UNDER THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION

Since the first Ukrainian books were written and the first literary treasures were created which have been preserved until our time, more than 900 years have passed. During this time the Ukrainian people have undergone a long and difficult national and cultural development.

Like every other people, the Ukrainians, too, are proud of their literary treasure and of those who created it. It is simply clear from the history of Ukraine that in the course of these nine centuries, she has had to suffer more than once under the blows of various conquerors and that many times she proved equal to the heroic test in the defence of her soil, language and culture.

Even if we take the most well-known figures on the publication of books as the most indicative clue to the cultural development of any given people at any given time — for herein we always see reflected all the branches of a whole cultural movement — then we note that from the 11th century, that is to say, since the appearance of the first extant manuscript, namely, the *Ostromyr Gospel*, which was written in the years 1056-57, to the 14th century, c. 700 manuscripts were written, while 25,000 books were printed from the 15th to the 17th century.

To be sure, these figures do not pertain to Ukraine alone, but to the whole area which was united under the name *Rus'* at that time. Moreover, the survey which was made in the last century by the Russian officials did not take into account how many books were copied and printed in Ukraine, or in the other areas which were under Russian administration at one time. Unfortunately, only a few of these works have been preserved until the present day. Nonetheless, it can be maintained with certainty, even without calculations, that in the past substantially more books were copied and printed in Ukraine than in Muscovy; for at that time, the standard of education was notably higher in Ukraine than in Muscovy. As a matter of fact, the first academies and printing-shops were founded in Ukraine.

Among the Slavs, it was the Czechs, who were closest to the West, who first printed books. In 1468, their first book appeared in print; Ukraine holds second place with 1491, while the first book in Moscow did not appear until 73 years later, in 1564. It was printed by the first Russian printer Ivan Fedorov with the help of the Byelorussian, Mstyslavets. At that time, however, Muscovy was still so uncivilised that after the appearance of the third book, the Muscovites set fire to Fedorov's printing-office, and even wanted to kill the printer himself. He saved himself by escaping to Byelorussia and later to Lviv, where he opened a new printing-shop.

That Ukraine was culturally superior to Muscovy can also be seen from the fact that at that time Kyiv was already an important cultural and economic centre, while, in 1147, Moscow was still a small farmstead, or at best a small village.

In short, as long as Ukraine was an independent state, whether under a Prince, Cossack rule, or the *bulavá* of a hetman, her cultural development proceeded by leaps and bounds. It is well known how many books were published in Kyiv, Lviv or Ostroh. Towards the end of the 18th century, a single Kyiv printing-shop printed 250 books. The Ukrainian impressions were circulated in all Slavic countries, indeed, even in Moldavia, Rumania, Hungary and throughout Muscovy. In this way Ukraine fulfilled an important cultural mission among the Slavic peoples. At that time, of course, there were no censorship restrictions whatever in Ukraine. To an ever increasing degree, however, the Ukrainophobe Muscovites laid an ever-tightening hand on the Ukrainian impressions, until even clearly ecclesiastical books came under the grip of the censorship.

As a matter of fact, Tsar Alexis Mikhaylovich concluded an agreement with the Poles, according to which all publishers of books had to reckon with the death penalty, while their books were burned. In the second half of the 17th century, that is to say, after the Pereyaslav Treaty, which caused so much suffering, the situation in Ukraine took a rapid turn for the worse: Moscow maintained close surveillance on all printed material and required all manuscripts to be sent to Moscow first for censorship purposes. This was especially the case with the Moscow Patriarch, who let himself be carried away to such a degree that he addressed a threatening letter to Kyiv, by which, however, the Kievan Monastery of the Caves did not allow itself to be particularly impressed. For a long time the Kyiv Metropolitan did not want to submit to the Moscow Patriarchate; he insisted upon complete independence in ecclesiastical matters. Notwithstanding this, practically all independent printing was forbidden after 1720, and a Ukrainian book could not come into existence without Moscow's blessing. Violations of this censorship law were punishable. As a matter of fact, Chernihiv (Chernigov) printing-shop was confiscated and transported to Moscow. This also accounts for the fact that the works of outstanding men, such as Velychko,

Samovýdets, indeed, Skovorodá, first appeared in manuscript form in the 18th century. Indeed, the first parts of the *Aeneid* by Kotlyarévsky were first published in Petersburg.

In the course of the 18th and 19th century, the publication of Ukrainian books in Ukraine was completely paralysed by Moscow.

Even the first *Kobzár* and the *Haydamáky* by Shevchenko were published in Russia.

In 1847, a single book only was published in Ukraine in the Ukrainian language; in 1848, there were three; 1849, two only; 1850, again only one; 1851, two; 1852, three books in all; 1853, again only one; 1854 — three; 1855, four; 1856, five Ukrainian books. And this at a time when the Russian-administered Ukraine numbered 10 million people. It becomes clear from this just what a disgraceful rôle the Moscow regime played in Ukraine, just how much it hampered the Ukrainian cultural process as a whole, and the degree to which our people were held in a mental darkness. Even at that time, however, Russian historians wrote that the unification of Ukraine with Russia had a progressive character. Precisely the same thing is repeated by the contemporary Soviet historians.

In the fifties and sixties of the 19th century — that is to say, after the abolition of serfdom — the pressure exerted on the Ukrainian book is somewhat eased. For a few years as many as twenty to thirty books appeared, but the year 1863 brings the disastrous *ukase* of the tsarist government, which prohibited the printing of Ukrainian textbooks and other impressions in the Ukrainian language. In the name of the government the Minister of the Interior of the Russian empire, Valúyev, declared that "there never was, is or ever will be a Little Russian language", and that the "colloquial speech used by the simple people is the Russian language itself, which, however, has been adulterated by Polish influence." Not even the gospel could be printed in the Ukrainian language. In 1876, this *ukase* was renewed. The import of Ukrainian books from abroad and exhibitions of Ukrainian books were prohibited. To be sure, this regulation was not published in the press. It was a secret shared only by the censorship and the constabulary. This law was in existence until 1905. Only Galicia, which was under Austrian rule, enjoyed a greater national freedom. Here Ukrainian books were printed, and many Ukrainian writers from the Ukraine under Russian administration sent their works to West Ukraine, where Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals also appeared.

1905 witnessed an alleviation of these conditions in Ukraine. With the outbreak of the revolution and the creation of a young Ukrainian state, however, a passionate blossoming of Ukrainian life is to be ascertained. In 1917 alone, 747 books appeared in print in Ukraine; in 1918, there were already 1048, in 1919, however, again only 665, for in this year the Russian Communist wave of conquest approached from the north, and that of the Russian Whites from the south.

As soon as the Muscovite Bolsheviks took over power in Ukraine, the number of reprints and new publications of Ukrainian books sunk precipitately. In 1920, 457 books appeared in the Ukrainian language, while 369 appeared in the Russian language in Ukraine itself; in 1921, there were only 214 books published in the Ukrainian language, but already 448 Russian books appeared; in 1922, 385 Ukrainian as compared to 927 Russian books.

At present, Ukraine continues to be flooded with Russian literature, which is purposely brought into Ukraine and sold at a substantially lower price than the Ukrainian-language books. For instance, the handbook on microbiology costs 5 roubles in the Ukrainian language, while the same book in Russian costs only 2 roubles and 50 kopecks. Such a difference in price exists for other publications also. A Russification of the Ukrainian people is carried out in accordance with a specific plan and with all possible means, including books, the press and films. Moreover, Moscow has assumed control of the production and circulation of printed matter and the furnishing of paper. In 1933, for instance, the publication of 230 books was called for, while the paper sufficient for 88 books only was delivered. This is an additional means with which Moscow seeks to wipe out the Ukrainian language and literature; in short, the Ukrainian cultural life as a whole. As a means of breaking the resistance of the Ukrainian people more rapidly, more than 250 Ukrainian writers and scholars were arrested on the order of the Moscow government in the thirties, the greater number of whom met their death in concentration camps. In conjunction with the verdict of the board of the Supreme Court of Justice, many of them were shot. As elucidation of the prevailing conditions of that time, we quote from a document, which was published on December 18, 1934: "From the 13th to the 15th of December of this year, the visiting session of the military board of the Supreme Court of Justice of the USSR, under the chairmanship of Gen. Ulrich, and the members, Rychkov and Goryachev, the following cases were dealt with: Krushelnytsky Ivan, Krushelnytsky Taras, Skazynsky Roman, Lebedynets Mykhailo, Shevchenko Roman, ... Kosynka-Strilets Hryhory, Falkivsky Dmytro ..." — in this list alone, 28 persons were condemned to death by firing squad, and it was noted that the verdict of the court had already been implemented. There were three waves of such mass acts of violence in Ukraine and mass extermination of the leading intellectual elite as well as of the common people: the first took place from 1929 to 1934, in other words, at the time that the collective system was pushed through and an artificial famine was created, which took as its toll 7 million Ukrainians; the second took place at the time of the so-called Yezhov-era, between 1937 and 1938; the third followed the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. That there was absolutely no basis to the charges brought against the accused, is clearly to be seen alone from the fact that those who were condemned to death by the verdict of

the court, have now been almost all rehabilitated, though their works continue to remain unpublished.

A result of these violent proceedings against Ukrainian literature and writers is the fact that some 5000 Ukrainian books were placed on the banned list.

Another point of attack of the Muscovite occupiers was the Ukrainian school system. To prepare a more extensive Russification programme, the teaching staff was purged between 1933 and 1937. According to news reports, 24 thousand teachers were dismissed at that time; they were among the most patriotic and most responsible representatives of their position within the teaching staff. Just about all of them were arrested and deported, having been charged with Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. The upshot of this was that already by 1941, almost all secondary Ukrainian schools had been Russified; only at the universities, a few special fields remained; for example, courses in the Ukrainian language and literature were still held in Ukrainian.

The mass extermination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia on the charge of nationalism increased to such an extent, that it was sufficient in any city whatever for an intellectual to run the risk of being accused of nationalism, if he merely spoke Ukrainian. After the liquidation of Ukrainisation in North Caucasus, especially in the Kuban area where alone there were 250 Ukrainian schools, two teachers training colleges, an institute of education, a Ukrainian newspaper, a Ukrainian department at the Workers' University, and likewise in the Writers' Association outside Ukraine, and a number of other Ukrainian establishments, the NKVD made secret inquiries as to who took out Ukrainian books. In 1933, the section of "Ukrainian writers in North Caucasus" was removed from the book exhibition in the Shevchenko Institute at the University of Kharkiv, for it was just at this time that the Bolsheviks exterminated everything Ukrainian in the Caucasus and shot the professors, Shalya, Bokla-zhenko and many others.

Russification at the secondary school and university level went so far that in 1953, students at the Lviv University signed a petition addressed to the authorities demanding the use of Ukrainian as the language of instruction for lectures. Whereupon, Moscow answered with the shooting of 33 students who had signed the petition. Swiss and other newspapers carried reports on this. These reprisals and Russification practices on the part of Moscow, which were directed primarily against Ukraine, but also against Byelorussia and other nationalities, pushed the former co-worker of the Kyiv Film Studio, Brodsky, so far that he escaped to the West and published his reminiscences in the American and British press.

Another incontestable fact of the planned extinction of Ukrainian cultural and artistic treasures was the setting fire to the Ukrainian department of the Public State Library of the Academy of Sciences

in Kyïv, which took place on May 24, 1964. As a result of this atrocious act, six thousand valuable impressions and other invaluable objects, for example, old unduplicated manuscripts from the history of Ukraine, as well as the entire archive of the documents pertaining to Ukrainian national statehood in years 1917-1921, were destroyed. This outrage against culture has its newest instance in the destruction of the stained glass panel in the Kyïv museum.

When one mentions the burning of the Scientific Library in Kyïv, one must also add, that the occupier's practice of eliminating and destroying valuable Ukrainian possessions has been going on since the outset of their seizure of power in Ukraine. It is not to be forgotten that the already mentioned 5000 books which were placed on the banned list and removed by the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupiers, were also destroyed. Following the well-known letter by Stalin addressed to the periodical *Proletarskaya revolyutsiya* (Proletarian Revolution), from the years 1933-34, on ideological "deviations" in the ranks of editors of literary works, a purge of all book stores of the book distribution centre and the editorial offices was staged. At that time thousands of ready-for-press books were removed and destroyed. Countless valuable impressions were also included among these, for example, the *Kobzár* by T. Shevchenko in the German and Polish translations, the novels *Chorna Rada* by Kulish, *Karmelyuk* by Strytsky in a German translation, the *Ukrainski Dumy*, with a commentary by Katherina Hrushevska, the novels of Pidmohylny, Dosvitny and numerous other authors. During this time, some 200 copies of the rare issues of the periodical *Kiyevskaya Starina* dating back to the last century, were also eliminated from the historical archives of the Kharkiv region. This journal systematically printed Ukrainian material on the past: Shevchenko's letters and a large amount of markedly Ukrainian patriotic material. These rare issues were also destroyed on orders received "from the top."

What is most outrageous is the discrimination against Ukraine which is carried out in all fields of Ukrainian culture. Even according to the Soviet statistics of 1963, there were 161 students per every 10,000 inhabitants of Russian territory, whereas there were only 129 per 10,000 inhabitants in Ukraine. Let us also take this opportunity to have a look at the representation of scientific specialists. The population of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic amounts to 54 per cent of that of the entire Soviet Union; however, in terms of Doctors of Philosophy and Science, the Russians make up 70%, whereas, Ukraine, which constitutes 20% of the total population of the USSR, contributes only 12.6% PhD's. The Russians make up 67% of the master degree holders; Ukraine, in comparison, only 13.9%.

From this, it can be ascertained that to every ten thousand Russians, there are 33 scientific specialists, while there are only 16 to every ten thousand Ukrainians. Hence, we see how education in

Ukraine is systematically suppressed. This can be further substantiated by the fact that during Russia's Tsarist era, there were 11 universities, of which 5 were located in Ukraine. Now there are 40 universities in the USSR, of which merely 7 are located in Ukraine.

The picture is not much different in terms of literary publications. In 1963, there were 9 books to every Russian in the USSR; to every Ukrainian, however, only two books in Ukrainian. In addition, even in Ukraine, substantially more books and newspapers are printed in Russian than in Ukrainian. In 1963, a total of 7,599 books were printed in Ukraine, of which, however, only 3,321 were in Ukrainian: in short, less than half. The number of impressions of Ukrainian books diminishes from year to year. According to the above-mentioned Soviet statistics, it can be seen that in 1962, a total of 87 million and 58 thousand copies of Ukrainian books were printed; in 1963, however, only 67 million and 667 thousand. In other words, in a single year, there was a decrease of 10 million copies, while at the same time, the number of Russian books which were printed increased by 15 million copies.

These statistics indicate the extent to which Moscow employs disastrous Russification policies against other nations. The very same picture is to be seen with reference to theatre life. It can be seen from the lecture by the head of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Korotchenko, that in 1960, there were 61 professional theatres in Ukraine, of which, however, only 30 were Ukrainian, while the rest were Russian. In Odessa, of six theatres, one alone is Ukrainian. Thus we see how Moscow's "internationalism" looks in practice in the "most democratic" of all democratic countries in the world. Outside of Ukraine, not a single Ukrainian book or newspaper is published in the USSR; just as few Ukrainian schools exist in the area of the USSR outside of Ukraine, while Australia alone accords the Ukrainians a dozen Ukrainian schools, with up to two thousand pupils and students.

Our protests would not effect the desired success, if our people itself in Ukraine did not put up a hard fight against the unrelenting Russification policies of the occupiers. A letter which succeeded in getting across the border of Ukraine and protested against the destruction of the library in Kyïv; numerous students protests against the Russification of schools; the general teachers' rally in Kyïv which demanded in its resolution the use of the Ukrainian language in all fields of Ukrainian life; numerous articles in Ukrainian newspapers — all this is an incontestable proof of the resistance-will, which Ukraine has shown against the measures of the Muscovite occupiers.

If one keeps abreast with the Ukrainian press, especially *Literaturna Ukraïna*, one notes that in addition to the fact that the greater number of books are printed in Russian, a substantial percentage of Russian books are translated into Ukrainian. In the article by A. Ishchenko entitled "The Future of Books for Children", ("May-

butne dytyachoi knyzhky") in *Literaturna Ukraïna* of May 30, 1961, we read, for instance, that the publishing house for children's books brought out 262 new titles, of which, however, only 85 were by Ukrainian writers; the rest were translations from the Russian. As a gesture of appeasement to the reproaches of the Ukrainian writers, the chief editor remarked that he of course also intended to bring out many translations from the Ukrainian (undoubtedly, in the Russian language). The writers of course were not in the least taken in by the Russification plans of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, from which the editors receive their directives, and declared that this would be detrimental to the task of the publishing house. The writer Maria Pryhara said that the publishing house for children's books was being transformed into a publishing house dealing exclusively with translations. The writers declared publicly that the number of impressions of juvenile and children's books was steadily decreasing. Formerly, the average number of impressions was approximately 90,000, while now it is only 30,000.

In the same newspaper, the humorist writer, Kovińka, wrote that in the village of Lyutenky in the district of Poltava, 10,000 roubles had been pre-paid for Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers, but instead of receiving what they had paid for, they were sent a whole stack of Russian periodicals and newspapers. On another occasion, the two writers Natalia Zabila and Maria Pryhara wrote in *Literaturna Hazeta*, that the Russian-translation of the prize-winner, Honchar, which had been published in Moscow, could be purchased in any shop; while the works of the same writer could not to be obtained even in the bookstores in the vicinity of Kyïv.

In the preface to Sadovsky's reminiscences, "My Reminiscences of the Theatre", the writer Maksym Rylsky wrote that he was happy that the publishers had resolved to bring out a very large number of impressions (some 50-100 thousand copies); in actual fact, however, only three and a half thousand copies were brought out, for this is a patriotic book dealing with the fight for the Ukrainian theatre at the time of the Tsarist government. Quite a few of reminiscences of the bygone days of the Ukrainian theatre were published in terribly small number of copies; for instance, Tobilévych's reminiscences of his father, the well-known artist Saksahansky, were published in 2000 copies only, and a mere one thousand copies were conceded to the monograph on the author of the opera *Kateryna*, Mykola Arkas. Last year reminiscences of Lesya Ukrainka were published, a wonderful, patriotic book, but only 7000 copies, which were sold in a trice. Such low number of impressions at a time when there are 30,000 libraries in Ukraine alone! Apparently, then, not every library is to possess these "reminiscences?" Furthermore, it is to be noted that these works have been falsified, words have been left out, indeed, whole lines have been deleted...

The colonial status of Ukraine becomes clear, when the number of impressions of the satellite country Hungary, which has 10 million inhabitants, is contrasted against that of Ukraine. In the course of last year, 18 Hungarian publishing houses brought out 24,000 different printed publications in Hungarian, totalling, in general, 80 million copies; in Ukraine, however, whose population is four times as great as that of Hungary's, a mere 3,325 books and brochures, totalling 77 million copies, appeared in Ukrainian in the same time span. But what proportions would this contrast assume, if we were to examine the contents of these books. From the Soviet statistics it is to be ascertained that according to plan propaganda literature constitutes 33% of the total publications, while belletristic literature constitutes a mere 9%. The same tragic conditions apply also for Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers. In 1962, there were 2,132 Ukrainian newspapers in Ukraine; in 1963, a mere 765 remained. Within a single year, in short, 1,601 newspapers were put out of circulation, in place of which, however, 1,591 newspapers were published in Russian. And how do matters stand with reference to periodicals: in 1958, there were 214 periodicals in Ukraine, of which only 130 remained in 1963.

In bringing this general survey of the fate of Ukrainian books and Ukrainian culture to a close, involuntarily, the question arises: What really is our obligation with respect to our fatherland and to ourselves? At home in foreign countries, we do not have the possibility to probe into the secrets and the statistics of the procedures of the Muscovite occupiers. No one is in a position to give a thorough elucidation of the figures which have been quoted here. Only very few individuals would be capable of it; the rest must be content to recognise the consequences of such hostile procedures. Here in the Free World, our scientists process the given data from the USSR, and use it to portray Moscow's ruinous policies towards Ukraine in their true light. Russia's aim is to make one nation of all the subjugated nations, a "melting pot", as it is so picturesquely called, having one language, mechanised thinking and a single Muscovite imperialistic idea. As is well known, all the non-Russian peoples, whose freedom has been robbed by the USSR, resist this intent.

Hence it is our duty to assist our scientists in the Free World to publish valuable, non-falsified works, which depict the true state of affairs in Ukraine under the Russian yoke. Such works will not only influence the course of action of the Free World and not only strengthen our community, but they will also penetrate the "Iron Curtain" and become a good and needful weapon for our people in Ukraine. At the same time, our help saves hundreds of valuable manuscripts of our scientists, historians and writers, who live and work in the Free World.

N. B. Prof. D. Nytchenko lives in Melbourne, Australia. The foregoing text is taken from the famous lecture he gave on 3 October, 1965 before an audience of The Australian Friends of Ukraine.



Modern portrait of I. Mazepa
by the artist V. Masyutyn (1928).



Count Erik Dahlberg (1625-1703)
supposedly similar to Hetman Mazepa.



Hetman Ivan Mazepa
on the etching by D. Galakhovskyj, 1708.



"Charles XII and Mazepa at the Dnieper"
by G. O. Cederstroem, 1880.



"Mazepa and the Wolves"
by Horace Vernet, 1827.

Dr. John P. PAULS
University of Cincinnati

GREAT MAECENAS OF THE ARTS GLORIFIED BY PAINTERS*

*Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae.*
H o r a c e

The twenty-two year rule of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709) and the relative economic stability in Ukraine at the time, introduced a new golden age in Ukrainian culture. It was especially apparent in the style of architecture, known till now as Mazepa or Ukrainian Baroque¹. Since the reign of the first mighty Princes of Kiev, the wealth of Ukraine had never been in the hands of a ruler who was more willing and eager to use it for the development of the cultural and artistic life of his country. In every field (except sculpture, for which the Greek-Orthodox Church had no use), Mazepa's generous donations produced splendid monuments of art. It was not only church architecture which he so lavishly supported at home and in all Orthodox countries (even his greatest enemy, Tsar Peter I, admitted that Mazepa "was a great builder of holy churches" — *velikoy stroitel' byl svyatym tserkvam*),² but also painting, graphic arts and literature that found in him a great Maecenas. Small wonder that he was so often glorified in paintings and panegyrics.

However, after Mazepa's defeat at Poltava in 1709, all portraits and engravings of him were deliberately destroyed under strict order of Tsar Peter. As a result, we now have practically no reliable picture of that great builder of churches and patron of culture. There are now about twenty old portraits of Mazepa in existence, some of which are reproductions. Some of them were made during his lifetime, but the majority of them were painted after his death. However, as F. M.

*) A condensed chapter from author's book (in preparation), *Mazeppa in Art and Literature*.

¹) Manning, C. A., *Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Mazeppa*, New York, Bookman, 1957, pp. 95-102; Ohloblyn, O., *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, New York, ODFFU, 1960, pp. 125-162; Sichynsky, V., "Ivan Mazepa-Patron of Culture and Arts of Ukraine", *Ivan Mazepa: Hetman of Ukraine* (Collection of Articles), New York, UCCA, 1960, pp. 81-90.

²) Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

Umanets aptly remarks: "Pictures regarded as portraits of Hetman Mazepa are so different from one another that, in the majority of cases, it is necessary to declare them simply sheer fancy or portraits of different people, mistakenly taken for Mazepa."³ The greatest Ukrainian historian, M. S. Hrushevsky (1866-1934), who also tried to establish a reliable likeness of Mazepa, came to a rather discouraging conclusion: "All the multitude and variety of those types could, by no means, be applied to the Hetman, and it is difficult to establish a fully authentic type and gain a definite notion of the physical appearance of the original."⁴ It is indeed puzzling, that from so many portraits of Mazepa, there are not even two which are similar (except, of course, the most questionable painting by I. N. Nikitin and its copies). Again, Hrushevsky says: "Generally, the wide distribution of the portraits can be attributed to the time after the Poltava catastrophe. And in this popularity of Mazepa's portrait, I would see a certain Ukrainian patriotic Fronde against the Russian regime."⁵

Thus, in order to establish the most reliable portrait of Mazepa, we should consult first a trustworthy written description of Mazepa, by contemporaries who saw him personally, and then compare this with his painted images. According to the Swedish scholar, Alfred Jensen, those who saw Mazepa, such as Chaplain G. Nordberg, in his *Historie de Charles XII*, speak of Mazepa's eyes as "burning with fire", and a Hungarian envoy to Charles XII, Pastor D. Krmann, noted his "serious expression."⁶ But the most complete and reliable description of Mazepa was given by the secretary of Charles XII, Gustav von Adlerfeld, 1708, whom Kostomarov calls "an impartial and very objective Swedish historian." Adlerfeld described the Ukrainian Hetman thus:

Before us was an old man, sixty-six years of age*, of medium height, slender, without a beard, but with a moustache worn in the Polish manner. Generally, he looked dignified, but sometimes he showed sparks of a gay and vivid temperament, joking with keen wit and amusing his listeners; in his conversation one noted great tact and much wisdom. It was evident that he was a well-educated man who spoke excellent Latin. King Charles liked him at once⁷.

³) Umanets, F. M., *Getman Mazepa (istoricheskaya monografiya)*, St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 413.

⁴) Hrushevs'kyj, M. S., "Do portreta Mazepy", *Zapysky NTSh*, Vol. XCII, book VI, L'viv, 1909, p. 247.

⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁶) Jensen, A., "Mazepa i konsten", *Mazepa*, Lund, 1909, p. 201.

^{*)} This was merely Adlerfeld's impression, because, according to P. Orlyk, Mazepa (1639-1709) died at the age of seventy. See: Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁷) Kostomarov, N. I., *Mazepa i mazepintsy*, in *Works*, Vol. XVI, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 438.

The Russian historian, I. I. Golikov, (who knew many contemporaries of the Hetman and obtained his information from people who knew him personally), described Mazepa thus: "His height was somewhat above medium, lean face, slender and swift figure, proud and stern appearance, thoughtful countenance."⁸ Also, Umanets reminds us that Mazepa was very handsome and popular with women and that youthful Motrya Kochubey was so hopelessly in love with him that her poor father had to complain even to Tsar Peter that "Mazepa cast an evil spell on her."⁹ Then, let us recall what the French academician, Viscount de Vogüé so articulately stressed: "According to his biographers, Mazepa was remarkably handsome in person, gifted with a brilliant wit and passionate temperament, and he handled with an equal grace his horse, his sword and his words."¹⁰

Keeping this in mind, let us analyze the most popular pictures of Mazepa, especially those which were painted during his lifetime. The oldest, is no doubt, an oil painting of Mazepa in Kiev's Cave Monastery, which remained there until the vandalic "restoration" took place and, which allegedly, till 1884, bore the inscription: "Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa, Hetman." Umanets thinks, the man depicted there (about 30-40 years of age) is too young to be Hetman Mazepa in the first place. "To recognize in this young man, the future Hetman", says the observant Jensen, "requires a strong belief or imagination. It is preposterous to believe that this somewhat meek and good-natured courtier or clerk should be identical with the Cave Abbey's mighty patron. It has been pointed out — especially by Umanets and Professor Lazarevsky — that Tsar Peter could not possibly have spared the portrait of his hated enemy in Russia's most holy of churches."¹¹ The only reason for surviving "the Muscovite iconoclasts' fury", thinks Jensen was that the tsar's men did not recognize Mazepa on that portrait. It would mean then, we would add, that it must have been a rather poor likeness. Nevertheless, it must have been a person of importance and a great friend of the Orthodox Church to receive that honourable place among the apostles and saints. Furthermore, hardly anyone other than Mazepa himself, the generous patron of the *Pechérska Lávra*, could have claimed that honourable place at the end of the seventeenth century.* The inscription mentioned could have been added later. By stretching the imagination, one could perhaps say that the elongated face and nose somewhat resembles Mazepa on the Galakhovsky etching of 1708.

⁸) Umanets, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

⁹) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

¹⁰) Vogüé, de E. M., "Mazeppa, la légende et l'histoire", *Le fils de Pierre le Grand*, Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1889, p. 230.

¹¹) Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 203, and Umanets, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

*) The same portrait, changed later (handsomer), was printed in *Kalendar Svobody*, N. J., 1959, p. 100.

We mention here the most primitive relief-engraving of "Mazepa" (his coat of arms, and hetman's baton (*bulavá*) are clues that it is meant to be Mazepa) on a church bell, made by Karp Balashevych, 1699, found in the Domnytsky monastery near Chernihiv, and reproduced in Ohloblyn's book on Mazepa in 1960. The full-beard on the engraving indicates that the artist had never seen the real Mazepa, and the unexpressive facial features reveal that it was not done by an artist of merit.

In Mazepa's Ukraine, the Baroque art of engraving and etching was very popular. The engravers often glorified their generous patron by creating richly decorated scenes from his life or drew his pictures surrounded by allegorical figures. The Ukrainian engravings made by Mazepa's contemporaries before the Poltava catastrophe of 1709, are very important for our topic and doubtlessly present the best hope for an authentic likeness of the Hetman. A student of art of Mazepa's time, the late Volodymyr Sichynsky, elevates four such masters of the art of engraving: Zakhariy Samoylovych, Leontiy Tarasevych, Ivan Migura, and Danylo Galakhovsky. In his article, "An Authentic Portrait of Hetman Mazepa", 1950, Sichynsky proclaimed the engraving supposedly made by Tarasevych in about 1695, as "especially important and even basic, so to say, point of departure in the iconography of the great Hetman",¹² in other words — "authentic."

The only copy of it (on different paper than the book itself), was found by D. Rovinsky, glued in the book *Sláva Shereméti* (Glory to Sheremet'yev), 1695, dedicated to the Kievan *voyevóda* on the occasion of the capture of the Turkish fortresses on the Azov Sea. According to Sichynsky, earlier Rovinsky and later Selishchev had "proved" that the oval portrait of the etching is "not of Sheremet'yev, but of Mazepa." In spite of Sichynsky's "proofs" (some of them simply imaginary, such as "key, seal, *pirnách*, inkwell with feather", which seem to be nothing more than decorative flowers under the portrait) we sincerely doubt that this is really Mazepa. Although Sichynsky assures us that Tarasevych's "Mazepa" has "rather wild Baroque-style hair on his head",¹³ it is evident that the character in question has such a wide receding hairline that we can certainly call him bald.* And nowhere was Mazepa ever depicted or described as

¹²) Sichynsky, V., "Avtentychnyy portret het'mana Mazepy", *Ukraina*, No. 3, Paris, 1950, p. 194. The author differs in his: "Gravyury na chest' Mazepy t gravirovani portrety het'mana", *Mazepa*, Vol. I, Warsaw, PUNI, Vol. 46, 1938, pp. 134-161.

¹³) *Ibid.*, p. 194.

*) This situation reminds us of the Ukrainian folk-song: "Ya dúmala kucheryávyy... v yohó chûba nemá!"

We respect Sichynsky's patriotism, but cannot always depend on his accuracy, as e.g., in his translation from J. G. Herder about Ukraine (1769): "...from so many small wild tribes, such as, also, the Greeks once were, there will arise a cultural nation." Sichynsky left out the word "wild." Cf. his *Chuzhyntsi pro Ukrayinu* (5th ed.), Augsburg, 1946, p. 68.

"bald", or with the remaining hair falling in waves down the sides and laying on the shoulders as on some pictures of Tsar Peter. Under the alleged portrait of "Mazepa" there is a banner with a Russian double-headed eagle, and an absence of Mazepa's coat of arms, which could be found on most of his old pictures. Then, too, on the oval frame of this portrait there are some Latin illegible letters, (something like "*sicurus*") certainly not the signature of Tarasevych. And finally, there is not the slightest similarity between "Mazepa" of Tarasevych and the Swedish Field Marshal, Count Erik J. Dahlberg (1625-1703), to whom, according to historian Borys Krupnytsky, Swedes who saw Hetman Mazepa, liked to compare him. Dahlberg's face is leaner, narrower and longer, the nose is longer and the setting of the eyes is different, whereas the alleged "Mazepa" by Tarasevych has an egg-shaped full face, a shorter more pointed nose, and a moustache that is short and straight, never drawn in that manner on any other Mazepa portrait. We cannot say for certain whose portrait it is, but one can definitely say that this picture of a bald man is not "an authentic portrait of Hetman Mazepa." And yet, this portrait of a pseudo-Mazepa by Tarasevych was very often reproduced in Ukrainian publications as "authentic", during the recent celebration of the 250th anniversary of Mazepa's death in 1959. For instance, on the cover of the book, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa* by Vasył' Lutsiv, Toronto, 1954, the artist (signed V. Balyas), went so far as to trim the hair to half the length, draw a bushy Lenin-style moustache, straighten the nose, change the direction of the eyes, and make an indentation in the forehead. As a result, the figure looks more like an insignificant, gloomy character, than a great and intelligent leader. The Russian double-headed eagle is, of course, eliminated entirely, presumably to make room for the title of the book.

On the artistic Baroque etching, known as *The Apotheosis of Mazepa*, 1705, by Ivan Migura, the Hetman is standing in knight's armour, over which hangs, falling to the back, a long mantle. He is wearing a helmet richly decorated with ostrich feathers, and in his left hand he holds the hetman's *bulavá*. On the top of the picture and under the Hetman, there is Mazepa's coat of arms. On each side of the Hetman, there are three allegorical figures representing the arts and sciences, which flourished under his patronage. In the highest row, there are miniatures of the churches built by the Hetman. Above the Hetman, on the clouds, stand Kiev's saints and apostles (St. Andreas is among them). Under the feet of the Hetman, on both sides of the larger coat of arms are banners and guns and two small angels holding a long scroll with a lengthy dedication in Latin.

This is no doubt an original etching. But the figure of Hetman Mazepa is too small here, so we cannot determine much about his face, except that it is a serene, handsome and clean-shaven face with

a cultivated moustache worn in the Polish manner. No doubt Mazepa here is much younger than sixty-six, as he would have been in 1705, and is possibly idealized. Nevertheless, his general appearance coincides well with the description of his better informed contemporaries.

In our opinion, the closest to the description of Hetman Mazepa by the Secretary of Charles XII, Gustav von Adlerfeld, 1708, is the outstanding copper engraving by Danylo Galakhovsky, 1708, glorifying the Hetman at the peak of his power, as the generous Maecenas of the Kievo-Mohylian Academy. The engraving was printed on dark yellow silk, and the only copy of it survived hidden under the Holy *Plashchanytsia* — a picture on the silk, representing the image of the dead Lord Jesus Christ dressed in a shroud. It escaped Tsar Peter's vengeance there and somehow landed in Warsaw's Krasinski Library, where it was finally burned completely together with the library, by the Nazis, during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. All that is left now are photographs of it. On Galakhovsky's engraving, Hetman Mazepa, over sixty years of age, is depicted standing, full of energy, serene and alert, dressed in knight's armour, over which hangs a long mantle, and the grey head is covered by a high Cossack cap, decorated with lavish ostrich feathers. Mazepa's left hand is supporting a large cross, which has a V-shaped top, as on his coat of arms, and with the right hand, he holds a raised shield, as if he is ready to protect his people and country, during the Great Northern War, raging at that time. He is without beard here and has a long Polish moustache, an elongated, narrow face and a long, straight, narrow nose. His eyes which are alert and intelligent, are turned toward the left, as if seeing some approaching danger. He looks like a born leader, dignified and confident (with all his decorations). Here, one is inclined to understand the youthful Motrya, who fell in love with this old man...

Around the Hetman, one sees again, the adoring personification of arts and sciences, which flourished under his protection. On the right side, one woman respectfully offers him the chalice, the Gospel and two keys. In the background are ruins of cities and raging war, and above that a quotation from Horace: "*Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae.*" Under the engraving, there is a pompous Baroque-style dedication in Latin:

To the Most Honorable and Most Illustrious Sire, Ivan Mazepa, the Hetman of H.R.H. Zaporozhian Host, Member of the Order of St. Andrew and White Eagle, by God chosen, given and confirmed Father of the Fatherland, Defender of the Holy Church in peace and war, Connoisseur and Patron of Arts and Sciences, in fortune and misfortune, the Wisest Leader.

This picture and dedication which came from the Kievo-Mohylian Academy, executed by the best engraver before Mazepa's defeat in 1709, is no doubt authentic, depicting the great Hetman faithfully.

Here Mazepa is indeed similar to the Swedish Field Marshal Erik Joensson Dahlberg,¹⁴ having the same elongated, narrow face, the same long, straight nose, the same set of the eyes, and the same serious, alert look. And this is the portrait of Mazepa which should be a "point of departure" for the Ukrainian painters, and not the very doubtful engraving by Tarasevych.

The oldest foreign portrait of Mazepa is the copper engraving in the historical calendar, *Die Europaeische Fama*, Vol. XXV, Leipzig, 1706.¹⁵ Jensen rightly calls it "a purely imaginary portrait, which has, nevertheless, often reappeared."¹⁶ It was also reproduced as "an original" in the Polish journal, *Przyjacieł ludu*, 1835, No. 22, p. 176,¹⁷ and even in Ukrainian calendars as late as 1959 in the United States, the picture was still named as "a most probable" and "till now unchallenged" (T. Mackiw) portrait of Mazepa. Under the picture is the inscription: "*Johannes Mazeppa, Cossaccorum Zaporoviensium Supremus Belli-Dux*", or in a variation: "*Veldheer der Zaporovischen Cosakken*." The artist of this poor, certainly unauthentic, picture is unknown, although Sichynsky credited it to the engraver from Zurich, Daniel Beyel (1760-1823) — another of his mistakes. Beyel was born fifty-four years after this engraving was published.¹⁸ Similarity to Mazepa was categorically denied by Umanets, Jensen (also by Sichynsky in 1950) and others. The character depicted here is a sick, old man, a martyr, rather than "*Supremus Belli-Dux*", having a square head, a long hanging moustache, a chin-beard together with a short beard on the cheeks, dressed in armour and pelisse, supporting his baton (*bulavá*) on a table. In the background a military tent is drawn, and above his head are dark clouds. A copy of this engraving, in still worse version, (with the face of a *Yurodývyy* — "a beggarly and weak-minded devotee"), is printed in Hrushevsky's *Illyustrovana Istoriya Ukraïny*. It is evidently this portrait, which Rovinsky mentions as being painted by D. Beyel in 1796, and Umanets described it as one which "has nothing in common" with Mazepa.¹⁹

All bearded Mazepas are, of course, either imaginary, painted by uninformed artists or simply counterfeits, because nowhere is it ever

¹⁴ See: *Salmonsens Konversations Leksikon*, Vol. V, Copenhagen, 1916, p. 431.

¹⁵ This engraving is usually mistakenly dated as 1704 everywhere, because it was in this year that the biography of Mazepa appeared there. But A. Lazarevsky established that only the edition of *E. Fama* of 1706 (and also of 1708, 1712) carried this engraving. Cf. his "Zametki o Mazepe", *Kievskaya Starina*, 1898, Vol. III, p. 455 f.

¹⁶ Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

¹⁷ Mackiw, T., *Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenossischen deutschen Quellen*, Munich, Ukraine, 1963, p. 27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁹ Umanets, *op. cit.*, p. 419 f.

mentioned that Mazepa wore a full beard. On this point, we fully agree with Jensen, who wrote wittily:

Both as former Polish courtier and as Ukrainian Cossack-Hetman, Mazepa must have been adorned with a well-tended moustache, and if he should have had the inclination to let his beard grow, his great benefactor, Peter I, would surely have been the first to let his reformatory barber shears make Mazepa's cheeks smooth²⁰.

In the above-mentioned *Illyustrovana Istoriya Ukraïny* by Hrushevsky, there is reprinted a miniature portrait, allegedly of Mazepa, with a full wedge-shaped beard. The reprint is from Mazepa's contemporary Cossack chronicle, *Skazaniye o voyné Kozátskoy* (1720), by S. Velychko, a close friend and associate of the executed Vasyl' Kochubey, whom Velychko always praised as a "kind, wise and God-fearing man", in contrast to Mazepa, whom he called a "Machiavelli", and a "sly fox."²¹ The portrait in his chronicle is meant to express the above-mentioned characteristics. Since Tsar Peter, in his letter to Count F. M. Apraksin, 1708, had branded the Hetman as "a new Judas" and ordered the bishops to excommunicate him, Peter's loyal subjects were obliged to picture Mazepa as "a Judas." Thus, the unknown painter of Velychko's chronicle, evidently did exactly that — at least so writes R. Mlynovetsky, who thinks that some artist "poorly copied the face of Judas from "The Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci."²² Whether this assumption is correct or not, we cannot say, but it does, at least, seem plausible.

In discussing the image of Mazepa as "a new Judas", we must mention here also one painting, which was widely distributed in the Tsarist Russian Empire, the so-called "academic portrait." Its original was found in the gallery of the Academy of Arts in Petersburg, and now it is in the *Gosudárstvennyy Rússkiy muzéy* in Leningrad, under the title, *Portrét napól'nogo gétmana* (Portrait of a field hetman), painted about 1720 by I. N. Nikitin (ca. 1688-1741). In 1959, the Soviet government reproduced it, in form of a colourful postcard, evidently in order to make its own "contribution" to the 250th anniversary of the death of Hetman Mazepa. Already in 1897, Umanets devoted three pages to it, and proved that this is not a portrait of Mazepa, but "a good study on the theme of 'a guilty conscience' [...] of the old Cain."²³ Later, we read in Umanets' book, that somehow under it appeared the inscription: *Pol'nyy gétman*

²⁰) Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 201 f.

²¹) Doroshenko, D., *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*, New York, UAAS, 1957, p. 46.

²²) Mlynovets'kyj, R. (Brzes'kyj, R.), "Portrety 'het'mana Mazepy', jak zasib antyukrayins'koyi propagandy", *Het'man Mazepa v svitli faktiv i v dzerkali "istoriyi"*, (mimeographed), Detroit, 1957, p. 116.

²³) Umanets, *op. cit.*, p. 413 f.

Mazépa ("Field Hetman Mazepa"). The truth is, the title "field hetman" never existed in Ukraine, and Mazepa never was a "deputy hetman" (*nakaznýy hётman*), which title would correspond to "field hetman." Horlenko thought it was a portrait of Hetman I. Skoropadsky,²⁴ and still others thought it was P. Polubotok, but in reality, it is not similar to either of them.

The figure depicted on the Nikitin portrait is simply monstrous. But perhaps the most accurate description of it and its many variations, is given by Jensen:

The most common, outwardly-deteriorated reproductions of Mazepa's counterfeit, were taken from an existing canvas in the Petersburg Art Academy, which has neither historic nor artistic value. It depicts a warrior with a vulgar, wild or treacherous expression, coarse features, prominent cheekbones and a restless, lurking look. Mazepa most certainly did not look like this, for here, he is lacking entirely the fine, enchanting liveness, which was his foremost quality. But the portrait is typical, as an expression of the official interpretation in Petersburg, depicting Mazepa as a "traitorous" Ukrainian *hayduk*²⁵.

With Nikitin's painting, the revengeful intention of Tsar Peter was relatively well served. The portrait of the "new Judas" went into circulation. Madame Kulikovskaya, writes Umanets, chose the "academic portrait" for the bust of Hetman Mazepa, which was made for the V. V. Tarnavsky Museum in Kiev.²⁶ The Ukrainian painters and patriots, who regard their Hetman as a national hero, unwittingly began to multiply this type of portrait, changing slightly the vulgar face, but leaving the rich, dark brown tunic (somehow left unbuttoned by Nikitin), gorgeously decorated with golden stripes. Umanets sarcastically labelled this type of portrait as "unbuttoned" (*roz-khrystannyi*),²⁷ and there are now about half a dozen variations of it, such as: (1) "Mazepa from an American book of 1884" (without any indication of the title of the book), reprinted in Lutsiv's book, 1954; (2) "Mazepa, found in Volhynia in 1937" and printed by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, 1938; (3) "Mazepa, found by V. Riznychenko in Baturyn" (more monstrous than that of Nikitin); (4) Mazepa with a round, Tartar face "from XVIII c." (with Mazepa's coat of arms, as "a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire"); (5) a crude sketch, marked as "painting of XIX c." in the *Kalendar "Svobody"*, 1959, p. 79. A combination of the etching from *Die Europaeische Fama* (tent and dark clouds in the background), and Nikitin's painting (lavish, unbuttoned tunic), but with a younger Semitic face and

²⁴) Horlenko, V., "Starinnyye malorossiyskiye portrety", *Kievskaya Starina*, December, 1882, p. 603.

²⁵) Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 204 f.

²⁶) Umanets, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

²⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 414.

Cossack's moustache, doubtlessly represents merely a variation of the same type. Innovations on this portrait (often distributed, e.g. in a Ye. Yu. Pelensky brochure, *I. Mazepa: Pysannya*, reprinted in the United States in 1959, p. 26) are the ermine collar, the hetman's baton, Mazepa's signature on the oval frame below, and on the top his coat of arms with a crown. All of these "unbuttoned" portraits have neither historic nor artistic value, and are not even worthy of discussion. Perhaps they serve as a good illustration of how easily people can be confused.

Another conventional Mazepa-type portrait from the first half of the seventeenth century (sometimes marked "from Butovych collection") depicts the Hetman as quite a prosperous-looking magnate, with a Polish-style moustache (in Mlynovetsky's publication with a thin goatee-type beard (?), perhaps even added later). He is wearing a dark green unbuttoned Polish *kontusz* (coat) over a white, richly embroidered costume, with the wide blue ribbon of the Order of St. Andrew and the White Eagle Star (on his left side). In the right top corner, there is a coat of arms of "a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire." The picture is rather crude, with a long, large face, but with a manly and stern expression, age about fifty, painted by some unsophisticated icon painter (*bohómáz*), as Umanets thinks, for the Cossack offices, and that is the reason he "could fully trust it."²⁸ We would rather regard it as highly questionable, because of the goatee beard and also because it contradicts Adlerfeld's description. An engraving of it (in which the facial expression has a crafty quality) was published in *Istoriya Maloy Rossii*, 1822, by D. Bantysh-Kamensky.

Not the slightest resemblance to Mazepa is displayed in the portrait in Kiev's museum (V. N. Butovych collection), which depicts some semi-oriental, overweight merchant in Polish *kontusz*, having large eyes, a hooked nose, thick lips, a short Cossack moustache and a double chin. It was reproduced in the history books of Arkas and Hrushevsky.

Jensen mentions also a portrait bearing Mazepa's coat of arms, from the D. J. Evarnitskiy collection in the Ekaterinoslav Museum, depicting a middle-aged man, standing with a cane, in a cardinal-like hat (with a severe expression on the round face), having a Polish-style long turned-up moustache, in a Polish *kontusz*²⁹, which does not fit any description of Mazepa, and therefore must be dismissed as entirely fictitious.

Some historians (Umanets, Jensen) were greatly impressed by the "clever eyes", "noble qualities" and "great artistic value" on the engraving, which was made in Warsaw (1775) by the French painter,

²⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 419.

²⁹) Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain (1745-1830), and provided with the inscription: "*Mazeppa aetat. 70.*" Jensen thought it was "a remarkable 'character head', which allowed Mazepa's most noble qualities to come completely to the fore: smiling craftiness, covetousness and greed for power together with an outer appearance of good breeding subdued by sensuality."³⁰ But the same Jensen noticed also traits impossible to associate with Mazepa: "the absence of a moustache and the addition of the beard-patches on the chin", and the unusual clothing. However, this impressive work of art was reproduced also in J. I. Kraszewski's journal *Atheneum*, 1842, No. 1, in Vilna, although not directly from Norblin, but rather from a reproduction which a certain Marcelli Zurowski had come upon in Innsbruck, which indicates that Norblin's engraving was quite well known in Europe. But here the Norblin version is totally spoiled: "of the old lion with the fox's cunning, remains only a mild-mannered billy-goat, with a dreamy, almost suffering facial expression."³¹

The same billy-goat expression, one can find on the poor copy of Norblin, with some changes — the hanging moustache is added, it is full length, the clothing is exotic and oriental-like. It was supposedly found in a monastery near Lysyanka and reproduced in the histories by Hrushevsky and Arkas.

Norblin's pseudo-Mazepa, supported by the plausible argumentation of the distinguished Swedish scholar, Alfred Jensen, has now found its way into almost every Scandinavian conversational lexicon and encyclopedia, as an "authentic" likeness of Mazepa.

And yet, Norblin's celebrated "Mazepa" is not at all the Cossack Hetman, but as Zygmunt Batowski, already in 1911 proved, an idealized "Jew, dairy-farmer, popular in Prince Czartoryski's estates, under the nickname of 'Mazepa'."^{32*} Norblin was invited to Poland from France by Polish Prince, Adam Czartoryski, "General of Podolie Lands", who became his generous patron and provided him with a comfortable livelihood in his immense Polish and Ukrainian estates. Norblin married a Polish girl there and in 1770 founded an art school (copper engraving) in Warsaw. He also became a court-painter to King Stanislaw August, by whom he was knighted, and produced there many remarkable pictures of Polish and Ukrainian life, always using living models, but stylizing them, somehow, fancifully.

³⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³¹) *Ibid.*, p. 210.

³²) Batowski, Z., *Norblin*, Lwów, 1911, p. 44.

*) Here is Batowski's original text: "...postać, którą Norblin tak mistrzowskimi rysami uwiecznił — to żyd-pachciarz ks. Czartoryskich, popularny w dobrach książęcych pod przezwiskiem Mazepy."

In his book, Batowski reproduced four working stages of Norblin's "Mazepa" (pp. 44, 45), all originals of which can now be found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. One can see from them, that Norblin began his "sketch from nature" (Stage 1 shows the actual prototype, an old Jewish dairy-farmer wearing a flat fur cap, with a long, full divided beard, long hair, thin compressed lips, large nose, small lurking and piercing eyes), changing it constantly during the working process, under the influence of Rembrandt, into a creation of fancy, or perhaps as Batowski thinks "into Rembrandt's rabbi." The final stage (VI), represents basically the same person, but with a different, more thoughtful expression in the eyes, more widely divided long thin beard-patches only on the chin, and no moustache at all. He is wearing a high cap with ostrich feathers and an unusual overcoat. The nickname "Mazeppa" for the shrewd farmer accounts for the appearance of the name under the picture. The notation "age 70" followed the name. Since this figure coincided exactly with the age of the real Mazepa at the time of his death, 1709, Umanets (who used erroneously the figure 78, instead of Norblin's 70) took it as a "sign" of accuracy, reasoning that Norblin had a good knowledge of Mazepa and that he used for his picture "a faithful portrait of Mazepa", such as the etching by Galakhovsky, 1708, which, incidentally, was in Warsaw's Krasinski Library at the time. "Even if Norblin's portrait is only a brilliant fantasy on the theme 'Mazepa'," says Umanets, "it is still based on real fact..."³³ — meaning here, of course, the Galakhovsky engraving.

The age of the subject (the farmer) could have been coincidentally the same as Mazepa's. Moreover, there is not the slightest similarity between Galakhovsky's Mazepa and Norblin's subject. Furthermore, Batowski has proved, beyond any doubt, the identity of the subject, and it was not the Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa.

Jensen, in his book, "Mazepa", 1909, merely repeated Umanets' inaccuracies about Norblin's portrait.

It could merely be "a smooth caricature of the aged Hetman" (Jensen), on an oil painting which was found in Prince Sanguszko's castle, at Pidhirtsi in Northeastern Galicia. The Quennerstedt family in Lund had a good copy of it.

Mazepa was an ally of the Swedish King, Charles XII. It is only natural that his portraits would have been found in Sweden as well. "In the year 1823, a portrait of unknown origin (painted ca. 1703) was given to Gripsholm's historical portrait gallery (No. 497) by Count G. L. Cederhjelm of Saeby."³⁴ That the person depicted there was meant to be Hetman Mazepa, we can guess from the jewels

³³) Umanets, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

³⁴) Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

lavishly adorning the baton, and the red cloak, which is fastened by a magnificent buckle over his armour decorated with golden borders. It represents once more "an armoured knight", as in *Die Europaeische Fama*, but here he is younger, about fifty, clean-shaven, with a Polish-style moustache, crude Cossack-style haircut and double chin. "The face itself is ineffable", says Jensen, "and the ruddy middle-aged man with the protruding ears and the small light brown moustache is in no way attractive." This is certainly not the man described by G. Adlerfeld, but rather a poor product of an untalented painter, unable to depict any thought or expression. A somewhat better copy of it (improving on the listless, droopy eyes) is in the royal castle in Stockholm.

It seems that some Ukrainian painter also tried to correct the above-mentioned portrait, without apparent success, by improving the expression of the eyes and making the person younger. The reproduction of it can be found in *Ilyustrovana istoriya Ukraïny* by Hrushevsky, p. 376.

All the modern Ukrainian portraits of Mazepa from the twentieth century, such as those by O. Kurylas, V. Dyadynyuk, I. Masyutyn (painting of 1928, and also bronze medallion), M. Levytsky, B. Kryukiv (1953) are painted without beard and in a patriotic light. It is our impression that the modern portraits reflect the imaginations of the individual artists rather than a diligent study of the historical Mazepa. No doubt the most popular among Ukrainian patriots, is the painting by Kurylas, depicting Mazepa as a pensive, middle-aged, rather handsome Byronic-type Cossack. Masyutyn's Mazepa is a lordly, dignified old ruler in armour and mantle. Supposedly based on the Migura and Galakhovsky engravings, the miniature of Dyadynyuk represents an old military leader in armour and cap lavishly decorated with ostrich feathers, looking apprehensively to his right, as if spotting an enemy in the field. But there is something left lacking in his expression — perhaps dignity and intelligence. A most human and handsome old gentleman is shown on the painting by Levytsky, whose Mazepa looks like a patron of the arts and sciences, rather than a military leader, appearing, perhaps, too soft to deal with such crowned giants as Charles XII and Peter I. Kryukiv claims that he had "basic studies" of Mazepa,³⁵ but the crooked nose, sparse moustache (nowhere mentioned in any description) spoil the rather alert face and "eyes burning with fire", which seem to be too large, too round and too dark. A deeper study of Galakhovsky's etching and Dahlberg's face would benefit all of these modern painters.

The twelve etchings, "The Life of Hetman Mazepa" by Mykola Bidnyak, published in Toronto, 1959, are rather imaginative and educational for children, although not similar.

And now, let us sum up the whole problem. Tsar Peter, if he did not succeed completely in obliterating the image of his enemy,

³⁵) Cf. *Ovyd*, Chicago, 1959, No. 7, p. 5, and the portrait on the cover.

certainly confused all those who tried to preserve the image of Mazepa, including even many Ukrainian patriots. His drastic order to destroy the Hetman's portraits, doubtlessly deprived posterity of many valuable artistic creations of the seventeenth century.

On the other hand, as Mazepa's contemporaries tried to glorify their ruler, patron and benefactor, generations of Ukrainians after the tragedy of Poltava amazingly showed a definite compliance with the demand in Petersburg, which is apparent in the senseless imitation of Nikitin. It was only outside of Russian influence, both previously and at the present time, that the image and truth about Mazepa could be restored.

*

The invented, romantic stories about young Mazepa, in the Byronic version, became a beloved subject of the romanticists. It was the great English poet, George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), who, by publishing his adventurous poem, *Mazeppa* (1819), established for poetry, painting and music,³⁶ the most fascinating theme of the Romantic movement. This theme was merely intensified by the French romantic poet, Victor Hugo (1802-1885), who wrote his fanciful poem, *Mazeppa* in 1828. From the English poet's verses, quickly famous, artists were inspired to portray, in colour, Mazepa's wild ride on horseback under most fantastic circumstances. Painting on this theme began in France in about 1823, with the first great painter of the French Romantic movement, Théodore Géricault (1791-1824), who had always been fascinated by the gorgeous colours, violent action and horses he painted. (Ironically, he died on January 26, 1824, of complications caused by a fall from a horse in 1822.) When Géricault returned to Paris after his exhibition in London, Byron's *Mazeppa* had just been translated into French and immediately won tremendous success among all romanticists, poets and artists alike. As Denise Aimé-Azam so beautifully expressed it: "*Tous les artistes s'emparent de ce sujet superbe, digne du ciseau de Phidias, d'un jeune condamné lié nu sur l'étalon sauvage qui l'emporte vers son destin.*"³⁷ Géricault painted an amazing little canvas in blue with brilliant high light. He showed the excited young man bound to the wild steed, sharing its dangerous mad gallop till the river engulfed both of them. The horse is caught in a whirlpool... Will the desperately struggling animal be stronger than the element?

"The horse tries to reach the bank of the river which seems
to reject him,

His pelt and his mane are shining and wet..."³⁸

³⁶) Pauls, J. P., "Musical Works Based on the Legend of Mazepa", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XI, No. 4, London, 1964, pp. 57-65.

³⁷) Aimé-Azam, D., *Mazeppa-Géricault et son temps*, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1956, p. 259.

³⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 260.

It is this very desperate moment that Géricault so expressively painted. Nowhere did the artist show more vividly his understanding of Byronic heroes (which he loved, painted, and with whom he identified) than in his "Blue Mazeppa." It seems he suggested symbolically that our existence here is like that mad gallop of the frightened steed. This was also beautifully expressed later in tone, in *Mazeppa* — *Symphonic Poem No. 6*, composed by Franz Liszt.

Another great romanticist, Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) also painted his "Mazeppa" in 1824, inspired by the romantic savagery in Byron's poems, which he liked to illustrate.

Louis Boulanger (1806-1867), friend of the great Victor Hugo, (whose many works he illustrated), painted the illustrations to "Mazeppa" in 1827, according to Byron. Boulanger's great canvas "Le Supplice de Mazeppa", showing Mazepa being bound with ropes to the wild horse, before an old Polish magnate with the shocked crowd watching, so impressed Hugo, that a year later he wrote his melodic and exotic poem, *Mazeppa*, published in *Les Orientales* (1829).

Most popular of all these romantic canvases is perhaps "Mazeppa with Wolves", 1827, painted by Horace Vernet (1789-1863). He was the first representative in art of the Napoleonic war spirit, and famous as a battle and animal painter, who, in 1836 and 1843, went to the Court of St. Petersburg, where he received profitable orders and was treated as a personal friend by Emperor Nicholas I, for whom he painted. His "Mazeppa" reveals innate passion and the horse in flight (persecuted by a pack of hungry wolves) expresses the utmost agony. His illustration of Byron's poetic tale, so often reproduced in print, popularized the Ukrainian Hetman in the West, and was a personal tribute to the memory of Vernet's friend, Géricault, whose love for horses was the cause of his death. The original oil painting is kept in the museum of Avignon.

Another French painter, Théodore Chassériau (1819-1856), who often imitated E. Delacroix, in the year 1853, also painted on a Byronic theme: "A Cossack Girl Finds on Horseback the Almost Lifeless Mazeppa." In the year 1870, Louis T. Devilly (1818-1886) sought to revive the rather trite (at this late date) romantic theme.

In Sweden, it was Gustaf Olaf Cederstroem, who, in 1880, painted the famous picture, "Charles XII and Mazepa at the Dnieper" (owned by the royal equerry, Sager, in Stockholm), of which a few well-executed woodcut reproductions may be found in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, 1881.³⁹ It is accurate in style, but in a historical sense, it is only fantasy, done by the *Karolinernas* best sketcher. Less authentic, is a woodcut, of obscure origin, "Flight of Charles XII and Mazepa from Poltava", which may be found in I. F. Pavlovskiy's illustrated book about the battle of Poltava (Poltava, 1909).

³⁹) Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

The Byronic story of Mazepa, in the version of the French romantic painters, also penetrated America. At the Kentucky Historical Society, in Frankfort, there is "an American Mazepa", that is a copy of William Walcutt's oil painting entitled, "Simon Kenton's Ride", copied by Walcutt from the original in the Louvre museum about 1910.⁴⁰ Walcutt's canvas is based on a lithograph depicting the adventures of Simon Kenton, and labelled "*Mazeppa américain*", drawn by a Swiss, Karl Bodmer (1809-1893), who in 1832-34 travelled in North America, and his friend, a Frenchman, Jean François Millet (1814-1875). Together they published a large impressive lithograph in 1852, depicting a man tied to a frenzied horse galloping wildly through a forest and some jubilant Indians. (The landscape and horse were drawn by Bodmer and the figures by Millet). However, Walcutt's illustration differs considerably from the original inasmuch as it shows only the beginning of the ride of Simon Kenton, the well-known Indian fighter (born in Virginia in 1755 and died in Logan County, Ohio in 1836), who is bound naked to a white stallion by Indians, who goad the horse into a wild gallop with spears, while another group of Indians look on amusedly. Some Indians there have the same forelock (*chub*) as the *Zaporózhetsi*. It is quite an impressive and colourful painting.

Strange was Mazepa's fate. Almost from nowhere came a brilliant man who almost became a king. Even the Russian poet, A. S. Pushkin (1799-1837), who was hostile toward Mazepa, had to admit in the preface to his poem, *Poltava* (1829) that, "Mazepa was one of the most remarkable persons of that epoch."⁴¹ However, shortly before his death he lost everything — his army, his power, his country, and even his Church, which he had so generously supported, was forced by Tsar Peter to excommunicate him. It seemed for a while that not even his image would survive for posterity... Yet, the generous Maecenas of Church, Arts and Sciences, survived the vandalic attempt to obliterate his name completely, though not without scar. It seems that R. Nislet Bain was almost accurate in saying that, "Art and poetry have conspired to make him one of the most picturesque figures in Slavic history."⁴²

⁴⁰) To the Kentucky Historical Society and its Assistant Director, G. Glenn Clift, we express our gratitude for the information given and the print of the picture.

On Simon Kenton, see: Kenton, Edna, *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period*. Garden City, Doubleday, 1930, pp. 327-336.

⁴¹) Pauls. J. P., *Pushkin's "Poltava"*, New York, NTSh, 1962, p. 75.

⁴²) Bain, R. N., *Charles XII*, New York, Putnam's, 1895, p. 169.

Elizabeth Anne HARVEY

THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH OLD UKRAINE

Being the Lecture given under the auspices of The Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on Sunday, October 16th, 1966 at 49 Linden Gardens, London, W.2.

No-one living in England during the last summer and autumn could have been unaware that in this year this country was commemorating the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Hastings. In advertising, in entertainment, in lectures, in radio and TV programmes, in needlework 'glossies', in historical academic circles, even on the amateur stage, and certainly in published literature, evidences of the anniversary have been apparent since the year commenced. On October 14th, the actual day of the battle, Hastings and Waltham¹ commemorated in a season of commemorations, whilst the Poetry Society² like The Royal School of Needlework³, each actively concerned with the consequences of the Conquest, played their own parts in contributing to this anniversary of England's most famous date of history.

¹) Waltham Abbey was built by King Harold (when Earl of Wessex) in 1060, on the site of a previous and smaller church. The grant of land and church was given to him by his brother-in-law, King Edward. (*De Inventione*, ed. Stubbs, ch. 20, p. 25; Fuller, *History of Waltham Abbey* (1655), p. 6.

²) In honour of Old English poetry, and mourning the loss of the Old English language in which it was written, the Poetry Society held a Reading, entitled *A Weave of Voices*, on the actual 900th anniversary of the Battle of Hastings, October 14th, 1966. Vera Rich inaugurated the programme.

³) English needlework of the pre-Conquest era was famed far and wide. The opinion is now held that the famous Bayeux Tapestry, which portrays the Battle and the events leading up to it in 73 scenes (in its present form), was designed and made at the Canterbury School of Needlework, probably at the instigation of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and half-brother of William the Conqueror, sometime between 1077 and 1082. It is 70.34 metres by 50 centimetres, worked on coarse linen in woollen thread and is housed in a special museum at Bayeux, where it can be seen to this day. It is one of the most interesting contemporary sources for the Norman Conquest.

Ukrainians living within these shores, and therefore hearing so much of this event, might well ask what this commemoration could mean to the English people that after 900 years, it could still rouse them from their phlegmatic, seeming indifference into a patriotic fervour which could still, after all this time, provoke bitter argument, or why, each century, when the year come to the 66th, the commemorations occur again, as they have done now for nine successive anniversaries and probably will continue to do for many centuries to come.

In simple words, the Battle of Hastings fought where now stands the village of Battle Abbey, not at Hastings at all, between Harold II, the defending King of the English, and William the Bastard, aggressing Duke of Normandy, was the last great defeat the English suffered on their own soil, and the beginning of that Norman conquest which caused the death of the old nobility, the ending of the familiar and loved régime of the Cerdinga kings, and the advent of a reign of English oppression and pacification, sometimes even terror that was to last for many years. It also constituted a complete break from our former and northern tradition, it refashioned our language, and brought a considerable change, not only to the constitution, but to the English character itself.

It seems a far cry from the England of those days to Kievan Ruś, and one might wonder how there could be any connection between two countries placed geographically, at least, so far apart, least of all a connection between the Kievan State and the Norman Conquest, which latter, seems, at first glance to be a purely domestic matter between the Anglo-Saxon kingdom and the Duchy of Normandy. However, we shall see, by going back to the original sources, how three Ruślandic princesses played their parts, however small, in these events, and how the Battle of Hastings affected their lives. We shall also see how one English girl proscribed and a refugee, left her country, as so many Ukrainian girls have had to leave theirs in this century, and later found sanctuary and marriage and happiness as Knyaginia in Ruś. But first let me give you a picture of this Norman Conquest, what it was, and what it meant to the English, and, briefly, how it came about.

So much has been written on the Norman Conquest that it seems almost superfluous to write any more. It is one of the best 'covered' events in all English history, with many contemporary sources — all of them of course from the Norman side, since the Normans won — and from the 11th century until this day histories of this event have been written and continue to be written, with historians still taking sides as if the battle were fought only yesterday. However for my Ukrainian friends who have not had the time to study this period of English history I will elucidate briefly.

In the eleventh century, that is, in the reign of the last King of the old Royal House of Cerdic, Edward, later called St. Edward the Confessor, England had known peace and prosperity since this Edward had come to the throne in 1042. He came to his crown late in life for a man of those times, being then forty years of age. He also came as a bachelor and an exile, for in the troublous times preceding his reign, he had had to fly to Normandy where he had relatives, for his mother, Emma, had been a Norman princess. Emma was the Queen of Ethelred the Unredy or Unready, that is, the man without good counsel. Emma had also been the Queen of the man who took the throne from him, the Danish King Canute whom she married on the death of her first husband, Ethelred. It is said that she so hated Ethelred and so loved the Danish Canute (she had a great deal of Danish blood herself) that she forgot the three children she had borne to Ethelred, leaving them with her relatives in Normandy, and cared only for the son and daughter she had borne to Canute⁴. When Emma's Danish son, Harthacanute died, the people of England, through the Witenagemót, the Great Council⁵ unanimously elected the banished Edward⁶, the sole surviving son of Ethelred and Emma⁷, and Edward⁸ was accordingly invited to return to England and claim his crown⁹. After much preamble Edward came¹⁰ and was crowned at Winchester, the capital city of the English, on Easterday 1043.

Unfortunately for the English, and perhaps for Edward too, his long years of exile and perhaps some psychological effects of his mother's apparently abandoning him on her re-marriage, had lost him most of his Englishness and he came to the throne a French-speaking man of Norman tastes and preferences, a man of Norman upbringing and outlook. He, not without misgivings from the English

4) All sources, contemporary and modern, remark on her apparent disregard for her children by King Ethelred. See also *Encomium Emmæ Reginae*.

5) Comparable to the Old Ukrainian *Viche*. See also D. Whitlock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, Ch. 3, p. 55. Cf. F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, ch. 14, p. 548.

6) *Ibid.*, ch. 12, p. 417. See also *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E (F), 1042. 'And before he, (King Harthacanute) was buried, all the people chose Edward as King in London.'

7) Edward was the sole surviving son of Ethelred & Emma. His younger brother Alfred had come on a visit to England (the Norman contemporary sources, William of Poitiers, William of Jumièges, etc. record that he came with a force to take the throne from the harsh & unpopular King Harold Harefoot, Canute's son by Ælfgifu of Northampton (his hand-fast wife), and had met a cruel death at the hands of Harefoot's ministers. See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 104; Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 415; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I, ch. 2; *Encomium Emmæ Reginae* et al.

8) *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in anno 1043; Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 417; Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 5.

9) *A.S.C.* in anno 1043.

10) Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 7.

nobility, filled many important positions in the administration, both secular and ecclesiastical, with his Norman favourites and thus established an important wedge, as one might say, that played its part, twenty odd years later when his first cousin, once removed, William the Bastard, invaded the English shores.

Edward had been welcomed, as I have said, by the unanimous vote of the Witenagemôt, which consisted of the greater and lesser lords of the land. In England at that time there were three very powerful men: in the north, Siward, Earl of the Northumbrians, in the midlands, Leofric, Earl of the Mercians, and in the south and west, Godwine, Earl of the West Saxons. By far the most powerful of the three was Godwine, and he was the closest and perhaps the most aggressive of the three towards King Edward.

Godwine has been written off as a villain, all along the pages of English history¹¹ and has been named as the perpetrator of the cruel murder of Alfred, King Edward's younger brother, when he came to England to visit his mother during the reign of Canute's eldest son, the Danish Harold I Harefoot¹². This has never been proved nor could it be and has been as excellent a vehicle for adverse propaganda as his son Harold's famous oath, thirty years later¹³. Whatever had been the truth of the matter, it is certain that Godwine was an English patriot hating the foreign infiltration and the treatment of his own people by these foreigners. It has been said that Godwine was a thorn in the side of the King until he (Godwine) died¹⁴, and that when the King married Godwine's daughter, Edith, in 1044, 'ten nights before Candlemas'¹⁵, he did it under pressure¹⁶, he having inclinations towards the monastic life and having taken a vow of

11) Many sources, particularly the Norman, have blamed Godwine for refusing to punish the citizens of Dover for defending themselves against the ravaging of Eustace of Boulogne and his men, passing through after a visit to King Edward whose sister Eustace had married. This refusal resulted in the entire family of Godwine being forced into temporary exile. Even Godwine's daughter Edith, Edward's Queen, was forced to retire into a convent until her father was received back into favour again. See particularly Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, and A.S.C. in anno. 1051. Will. Malmesbury, II, 199.

12) *Ibid.* Cf. Stenton, *op. cit.*; David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, ch. 7, p. 163. See also Freeman, *op. cit.*, who uses his logic, as always, in defence of Godwine. See also *Chron. Flor. Wig.* in anno 1051. *Vita Ed.*, 401. So *Encomium Emmæ Reginae* p. 28 et seqq.; Will. Pict. (ed. Maseres) 37 et seqq.; *Roman de Rou* 9761 et seqq.

13) See below.

14) See *Vita Edwardi*, ed. Barlow; Stenton, *op. cit.*, ch. 15, p. 561; Freeman, *op. cit.*; Will. Pict. & Will. Gem.

15) A.S.C. in anno 1044.

16) Freeman, *op. cit.*; *Vita Edwardi*, Douglas, *op. cit.* writes: 'in 1045, presumably as the price of his allegiance, Godwine had forced the King to marry his daughter Edith.' A.S.C., (E), says: 'This year King Edward took as his queen the daughter of Earl Godwine.'

chastity¹⁷. Whether this vow was historically true or whether it was a story embellished later when his sainthood had been declared¹⁸, he and Edith Godwinesdottir certainly had no children which was, perhaps, the omission that led to the Norman Conquest more certainly than any other one event in English history of that time.

When Godwine died, in 1053, his oldest surviving son, Harold¹⁹, took his place as Earl of Wessex, and the most powerful of the Earls, and gradually, with the King declining in years and inclination to rule²⁰, Harold took over the government of the realm, so that when on January 5th, 1066, the old king died, Harold had virtually ruled this country wisely and well for twelve years, and it was no wonder that the Witan, aware that on the death of Edward, three nations who purported to have claims to the throne²¹ would most probably invade, unanimously elected Harold King²² over the heads of the last remaining prince of the house of Cerdic²³ and the Duke of the Normans, whom, it was said, Edward had nominated as his successor many years before²⁴. Whatever the old King had previously said or thought, on his deathbed it was to Harold that he commended the

¹⁷) *Vita Edwardi* (ed. Barlow), and most Norman sources. It is said he had wanted to become a monk, but he was already 40 years old when he was invited to become King of the English and was still not in Holy Orders.

¹⁸) Edward the Confessor was acclaimed a Saint after the Norman Conquest but before the inauguration of the process of canonisation. His Feastday is kept on October 13th the eve of the Battle of Hastings. Since Norman policy insisted that William had inherited from St. Edward, was the fixing of this Feastday yet another example of their seemingly dedicated aim of expunging the name of Harold as King of the English from the roll of history? Ukrainian readers will understand and appreciate this point. There were many miracles performed by St. Edward both before and after his death. It is well known that a Saint's Feastday is usually kept on the anniversary of his death. St. Edward died on *5th January, 1066*. There would surely have been no liturgical objection to the Feastday being kept on the 5th January, since St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was martyred on December 29th, 1170, has his Feastday kept on 29th December, which like St. Edward's death-day falls within the twelve days of Christmas.

¹⁹) Swegn Godwineson had died of exposure in the mountains of Anatolia returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Like many another wrong-doer of that time (for example Robert of Normandy, father of William, who met with the same fate), he had gone thence in expiation of a great sin. Freeman, *op. cit.*, and all contemporary sources.

²⁰) *Ibid.*; Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

²¹) Norway, Normandy & Denmark. See below.

²²) 'And Earl Harold was now consecrated King.' A.S.C. in anno 1066. Cf. Freeman, *op. cit.*

²³) The great grandson of Ethelred, Prince Edgar, son of Edward the Atheling and Agatha of Hungary. See below.

²⁴) William had always maintained that King Edward promised the throne to himself. See Douglas, *op. cit.*, ch. 7, p. 169; Stenton, *op. cit.*, Freeman, *op. cit.*; *Will. Pict.*, *Will. Gem.* etc. In actual fact no-one could bequeath the throne. It was, and is still an elective monarchy.

Kingdom²⁵ and it was these last wishes that the Witenagemōt respected, and Harold was consecrated King of the English in the new Minster that the dead King had just erected on the island of Thorney in the Thames, the West Minster of St. Peter²⁶, the first of our Kings to be crowned there. Three countries eyed these events carefully and angrily, and two of them, Normandy and Norway began to plan their invasions²⁷.

There we will leave the history of the English for the time being and look up some of the Ukrainian/English connections which I have hinted at and which I am sure you are all most interested to hear about.

Let us now go East to Old Ruś to Kyiv, Golden Kyiv, second only in glory to the Imperial City of Constantinople itself. Standing on her three hills above the broad Dnipro, she knew a civilisation and culture that most nations of the West only dreamed about. She was rich, prosperous, progressive, deeply religious, with a culture founded on the culture of Byzantium with which she traded regularly and remuneratively.

The late Great-Prince of Kyiv, Yaroslav the Wise had, besides many sons, three daughters for whom he arranged excellent marriages in western Europe. Most Ukrainians know and are proud of the fact that Anna Yaroslavna married Henry, King of France, but few know of the marriage of her two sisters. One, Anastasia Yaroslavna, married the King of Hungary, and the oldest of them, Elizabeth Yaroslavna, married Harald, King of Norway²⁸. Hers was perhaps the most brilliant marriage of them all, for the King of Norway at that time ruled not only Norway, Orkney, Shetland, Færoe, Man, the northern parts of Scotland and the Hebrides, but the seaboard of Ireland as well, besides having a sort of protective interests in the republic of Iceland²⁹ (which had been colonised by Norwegians) and her colonies

²⁵) See *Vita Edwardi*; cf. A.S.C. in anno 1066 (the panegyric to St. Edward):

'...Yet the wise ruler entrusted the realm
To a man of high rank, to Harold himself,
A noble earl who all the time
Had loyally followed his lord's commands
With words and deeds, and neglected nothing
That met the need of the people's King.'

(tr. Dorothy Whitelock).

²⁶) The West Minster of St. Peter, was built by St. Edward the Confessor in lieu of his vowed pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Peter in Rome. It was finished and consecrated on Holy Innocents Day, 1066. See A.S.C. in anno 1066. Stenton, *op. cit.*, Freeman, *op. cit.* Florence of Worcester, 1065, etc., etc.

²⁷) *Ibid.* Cf. The Bayeux Tapestry.

²⁸) See Cross, *The Chronicle of Ancient Times*, (appendix); Snorri Sturlason, *History of the Kings of Norway*. Freeman, *op. cit.*, III, p. 340.

²⁹) For the history of the settlement of Iceland see *Landnamabók*.

of Greenland and Wineland (America)³⁰, when settlements were made on the western continent. Thus Elizabeth was not only Queen of Norway but Empress of a great Northern empire³¹, the wife of a man who owned untold riches and wealth and who had been acclaimed as the greatest soldier in Europe³².

The story of her romantic marriage has been told before in Vera Rich's excellent article *Ellisif Jarisleifsdottir in the Northern Sources*³³ which can be thoroughly recommended for those interested in this princess. This marriage is also to be found in the *Saga of Harald Hardrade*³⁴. The story of some of his exploits as a soldier Miss Rich has also published in *The Ukrainian Review* under the title *Harald Hardrade, Rognvald Brusason and the 'Cities of Cherven'*³⁵, which I can warmly advise all those interested to read. As so much has already been written for Ukrainian reading in English, I will only say briefly that Prince Harald, the half brother of the King of Norway (St. Olaf), had to fly the country at St. Olaf's martyrdom in a civil war³⁶. He sailed, as did so many Northmen of that time, up the Baltic, over the lakes and rivers and down the Dniro to Kyiv, where Yaroslav received him hospitably and he met, and, presumably, fell in love with the young Princess Elizabeth. He asked for her hand and was refused on account of his impecunious position³⁷, so he sailed south to Constantinople where he joined the Varangian Guard³⁸, and gained such wealth and fame as a soldier under the Emperor, that he could send so much gold and precious things back to Yaroslav that no man in the Northern lands ever saw the like of it in one man's possession³⁹. Yaroslav, delighted, gave him Elizabeth in marriage, and after the ceremony, possibly in Yaroslav's own

³⁰) The eastern shores of the continent of America were first sighted in 1000 A.D. by the Icelander, Bjarni Herjólfsson. The first landing on this continent was made by Leif Eriksson, presumably in the same year. He called the country he discovered Markland. Other tracts were later called Vinland (Wineland), from the grape-like berries that grew thereabouts and which made excellent wine. See *Groenlendinga Saga*. See also Adam of Bremen.

³¹) See Vera Rich's article *Ellisif Jarisleifsdottir in the Northern Sources in The Ukrainian Review* (4), 1963.

³²) Freeman, *op. cit.*, III, p. 332.

³³) Vera Rich, *op. cit.*

³⁴) Snorri Sturlason, *Heimskringla*. Cf. *Morkinskinna*; see also *Orkneyinga Saga*.

³⁵) *The Ukrainian Review* (4), 1964.

³⁶) At the Battle of Stiklastaðir, July 29th, 1030. See Snorri Sturlason, *op. cit.*, *Saga of St. Olaf*, also Snorri Sturlason, *Separate Saga of St. Olaf*, also *Flateyabók* (which has an illustration of the martyrdom in which St. Olaf wears a helmet, almost identical to the helmets depicted in the MS of the *Slovo o Polku Ihoreve*).

³⁷) *Flateyabók. Saga of Magnus the Good & Harald Hardrade*, ch. 12.

³⁸) Snorri Sturlason, *Saga of Harald Hardrade in Heimskringla*.

³⁹) *Heimskringla*, ch. 16, p. 172.

rebuilt Cathedral of St. Sophia, they sailed for Norway, where shortly afterwards, on the death of his nephew (St. Olaf's son), Harald succeeded to the throne.

This nephew, the now dead Magnus (who had been a foster-son, in the Northern tradition, of Yaroslav and his Swedish wife, Ingigerd) had had a pact with the last Danish King of the English, Harthacanute, the son of Emma and Canute⁴⁰, that on Harthacanute's death, Magnus should take the English throne. This had not proved possible what with one thing and another and the English so adamant that the half-Norman Edward, the last Cerdinga (as they thought), should be unanimously elected to the throne. But now, in 1066, with the old king of the English dead and the non-royal Earl of Wessex Harold Godwineson, consecrated King in his place, Harald of Norway, uncle of this Magnus and his successor on the throne of Norway, decided that he should have been the successor, also, of King Edward, by reason of this pact, and began accordingly to prepare his invasion of England from the North. To the immediate south of him, the King of Denmark, Swegn Estrithson, the cousin of King Harold of England — Harold's mother and Swegn's mother were sister-in-law — decided that he also had a claim on the English throne but Swegn made no immediate preparations to invade, although the possibility of invasion was everpresent⁴¹.

The second daughter of Yaroslav, Anastasia, as we have said, married the King of Hungary⁴², and by this marriage she came into contact with members of the English Royal Family living there in exile, indeed by her marriage she became cousin to King Edward's English nephew.

I have spoken about the usurping Danish Kings of the English, and of one of them in particular, Knut or Canute as his name is usually spelt in this country, who married Edward's mother Emma after

⁴⁰) Vera Rich, *Ellisif*... See also Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 332.

⁴¹) See *Knytlinga Saga*; cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, book 3.

⁴²) As Canute had been King of England & of Denmark it was obvious that his heirs in Denmark should feel that they had a right also to the crown of England. (See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 247 & footnote 2 to this page). Denmark did invade, in fact, but after the Conquest & at the repeated requests of the people of northern England (themselves Anglo-Danish), for deliverance from Norman oppression. The Danes landed in Autumn, 1069. Joined by English patriots they reached York on 21st Sept., 1069, found the city blazing (the Normans had a predilection for scorched earth especially when it was not their own), took it after much fighting, sparing the life of the Norman governor of the City, William Malet and his family. *Chron. Petrib.* in anno 1069. *Simeon of Durham* (85, Hinde), says: *Willelmo Malet (qui tunc vicecomitatus gerebat Sim.) cum sua conjuge et duobus liberis (et Gilbert de Gant Sim.) aliisque per paucis vitae reservatis.* The captivity of W. Malet is also mentioned in *Domesday* (374). William Malet, it will be remembered, was *cumpater* of King Harold Godwineson.

King Ethelred died. King Ethelred had married twice and had a prodigious family and when he died in 1015, his oldest surviving son Edmund, surnamed Ironside because of his valour, the son of the first marriage of Queen Ælfgifu, came to the throne and fought bitterly to drive out Canute until, unable to shift the now firmly wedged Danes, completed a treaty with them in which he undertook to rule parts of England with Canute ruling the others. On the death of either, the other would take the whole kingdom. Shortly after signing this treaty Edmund died suddenly⁴³, leaving a widow and twin sons, these latter were babies in arms⁴⁴. Canute, of course, took the whole country and had Edmund's sons taken to Sweden where the Swedish King, no doubt finding them an embarrassment, sent them south, first to Kyiv then to Hungary where the King⁴⁵, had them reared in proper royal state. When they reached manhood they both married, Hungarian princesses, Prince Edward the elder of them, the Princess Agatha⁴⁶. Edward, the prince and his wife the Princess Agatha, had three children, Cristina, Margareta and Edgar. They were all related by marriage to Anastasia Yaroslavna, and must have known her intimately being brought up at her court, and she must have followed their subsequent journey to England with deep interest and concern.

Towards the end of King Edward's life, when it was obvious that there would never be an heir to the English throne born to him by Queen Edith, the question of the succession became of primary importance to the great Earls, and steps were taken to bring back Prince Edward and his Hungarian wife and family to be the next King and Queen of the English. The Norman favourites of Edward were temporarily in disgrace and Harold, Earl of Wessex went to Flanders to start the negotiations for Prince Edward's return⁴⁷. Later Archbishop Ealdred of York went to the German Emperor, to make further arrangements and when they were all concluded, two years

⁴³ King Andrew I (1037-1061). See J. Thurocsy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, XLII (apud J. Bondars, *Rerum Hungaricarum Scriptores*, Frankfurt a/M., 1600. See also J. Długosz, *Historiae Polonicae*, Leipzig, 1711, I, 236. Anastasia is important enough to the history of Hungary to merit an article of 23 lines in *Revai Nagy Lexikona az ismeretek enciklopédiája*, Budapest, 1911.

⁴⁴ See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 438-9. See also *Knytlinga Saga*, ch. 16, p. 178. See also Snorri Sturlason; also Stenton, *op. cit.*, ch. xii, p. 563. Also *Encomium Emmæ Reginae* etc.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* See Sándor Fest, 'The Sons of King Edmund Ironside at the Court of St. Stephen.' M. Fest holds that they travelled through Rušland, probably passing through Kyiv. See also Gaimar, *op. cit.*, who contends that their journey through Ruš took 5 days. See also Paulsen, *Arch. Hung.*, *Acta Archaeologica Mus. Nat. Hung.*, xii. Also *Magyarországi viking-lelek az észat* — etc., etc. Adam of Bremen finds that they spent a good part of their exile in Ruš viz. *'filii (Emundi) eius in Ruziam exilio dampnati.'*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* See also Sándor Fest, *op. cit.*, Stenton, *op. cit.*, xii, p. 563.

⁴⁷ Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 636-7; see also Stenton, *op. cit.*, xii, p. 563.

after they were concluded, Edward and his family landed in England, where he died almost immediately, before arrangements could be made for him to see the King. This was a great piece of propaganda in the hands of the Normans, seeing in it foul play to lay at the Godwineson's door⁴⁸. But the Cerdingas were known to be very short-lived, and it is possibly correct to say that Edward, who was then a man of forty or forty-one died like his father Edmund Ironside (he was only 21 when he died) worn out by life, and, in his case, the hardship of a long journey. Nothing otherwise has ever been proved. The Chronicler of the day merely laments 'We do not know for what reason it was brought about that he was not allowed to see his kinsman King Edward.'⁴⁹ His widow and children were brought to London and given a house and small estate befitting their rank. The youngest of them, Edgar, a mere child, more Hungarian than English and probably speaking only the Hungarian tongue, was the last direct heir of the old royal house of Cerdic.

The third daughter of Yaroslav, Anna, married Henry, King of France, and overlord of all the small dukedoms in that country which owed allegiance to him. By far the most irritating and the most dangerous to Henry's peace of mind was the Dukedom of Normandy where Duke William, bastard son of the late Duke Robert was on the ducal throne. William was an iron man, a grey man, of unshakeable ambitions. In spite of the disapproval of Rome and years of ex-communication before he found a prelate eloquent enough to persuade the Papacy to lift the ban, he had married the Princess Matilda, daughter of the Count of Flanders, for Matilda had some long-distant English blood of the Cerdinga line, and for many years William had had his eye on the English throne. Matilda's mother, Adela, was King Henry (of France's) sister, so she was sister-in-law to Queen Anna which made Anna Yaroslavna, Queen of France, the Aunt of William of Normandy and his wife the Duchess Matilda. William, had, from time to time to make his formal submission to his overlord in Paris, and on these occasions he obviously met and grown to know Queen Anna, and, as obviously again, to learn something of Kyiiv and of the Eastern religion, since it is recorded that Anna took her own chaplains with her to France and often signed papers and witnessed treaties in the Kyrillic script⁵⁰. After the death of King Henry, great lords took over the regency of the country during her son King Phillipe's minority, taking Anna's children from her and treating her indifferently⁵¹. She made a second marriage to Count Ralph de

⁴⁸) See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. II; See also Stenton, ch. xii, p. 563; see also contemporary sources.

⁴⁹) See A.S.C. in anno 1057, p. 133. See also Flor. Wig. See also D. Whitlock's notes to A.S.C., 'The atheling's death is one of the unsolved mysteries of the period.'

⁵⁰) *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Toronto, 1963), vol. I, p. 595 B.

Montdidier, against the will of young King Phillipe and his guardian Count Baldwin of Flanders⁵², and the marriage was 'loudly denounced' and Ralph underwent 'more than one excommunication.'⁵³ However, William, who had lived under the self-same ban during the early years of his own marriage and for the apparently self-same reason, was more than cordial to Ralph, and presumably to Queen Anna, receiving him (them) as honoured guests at his first Easter celebrations in Normandy following his successful invasion of England, and since, as Freeman records⁵⁴, 'And the excommunicated Count was received with all honour at the (Easter) festival at Fécamp' and, as we are told that William exacted strict attendance at divine service from all his Company⁵⁵, we must infer that the assembled prelates of Normandy did not shrink from his spiritual society. Whether Anna and her Orthodox chaplain joined them, William of Poitiers does not say, but one would not imagine that two so felicitously married would be far apart at Easter, especially a wife reared in the Eastern Christian Faith.

By the summer of 1066, it was known to King Harold Godwineson that William was mustering an enormous army on his side of the Channel, with shipbuilding of carrier-craft going on ceaselessly, and that by August he only required a fair wind to carry his fleet across the narrow seas to England. He had made the most of his cause and rights with Rome, using the same clerical eloquence he had used for the lifting of his excommunication and the recognition of his marriage with Matilda, trading on King Edward's promise to leave the throne to him⁵⁶ when he died, and on the oath King Harold was alleged to have sworn to William when Harold was still Earl of Wessex, that on Edward's death he would do all in his power to persuade the Witenagemót to promote William's accession⁵⁷.

⁵¹) See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 310.

⁵²) See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 90. He [Ralph de Montdidier], five years before, against the will of the young King Philip and of his guardian the Marquis Baldwin, married the Rus' princess, Anne, the widowed mother of the King.

⁵³) Either on the grounds of kindred between Ralph and her former husband, or that of the existence of an earlier Countess, the marriage was loudly denounced & Ralph underwent more than one excommunication (*Chron. S. Petri. Vivi Senon.* 1060 (ap. D'Achery, II, 476: "*Rodolfo Comes consanguines ejusdem Regis duxit uxorem in conjugio contra jus et fas, unde fuit excommunicatus.*" See *Art de Verifier les Dates*, 11, 701.

⁵⁴) See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. IV.

⁵⁵) Will. Pict., *op. cit.*, 155.

⁵⁶) The English monarchy was elective. See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. III; Will. Pict., *op. cit.*; Will. Gem. Flor. Wig. et al. A.S.C. is silent on this matter.

⁵⁷) For this see Bayeux Tapestry. Freeman, *op. cit.*; Will. Pict., *op. cit.*; Will. Gem. et al. Again A.S.C. is silent. At all events, the most general opinion is

If that oath was ever sworn, and in some form or other it probably was, although there are only the contemporary Norman sources to corroborate it, it was sworn when Harold was virtually a prisoner of William's in Normandy — he had visited Normandy to try to negotiate the return of his brother and nephew whom William had been holding as hostages for many years — it was certainly sworn under pressure and as such would be invalid, even if sworn over relics. The Bayeux Tapestry⁵⁸ leaves no room for doubt that Harold was tricked into swearing and had no idea what he had done until it was all over, for, as you will see later, from the reproduction of the Tapestry which I have been permitted to place around this room, Harold looks shocked when he realises what he has done, and many prose sources also remark on his anger and astonishment at being so tricked⁵⁹. It must be remembered that Harold of England was half Danish through his mother, the Countess Gytha, and the oath of a Northern man was never broken without the fear of serious consequences overtaking him⁶⁰, and also the men of the North were more credulous, less inclined to achieve an easy conscience, even when the intricacies of Church Law, which they rarely understood, proclaimed them free from stain of guilt of such an oath.

Rome, of course, took William's envoys at their word, and without an English representative to defend Harold's case, a pronouncement was given. William was granted a papal banner and the Papal blessing on his expedition, and Harold and all those who fought for him were promptly excommunicated⁶¹. He also, on promising the Pope, that he

that Harold was tricked and in any case an oath sworn under pressure is not valid. One point I must make myself, is that Harold was half Danish, and a Danishman's oath was not lightly given. The Emperor of Byzantium, relied on the oaths of the Varangian Guard to safeguard his person and the Imperial Treasure (See Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*; Ravndal, *Stories of the East Vikings*, for sources there cited; Gibbon, *The Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire*. If, as many suggest, the swearing of this oath, even under pressure and later absolved, as it would quite easily be, overshadowed all the 9 short months of Harold's reign, it is surely only to his credit as a honourable man.

⁵⁸) See above.

⁵⁹) See Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 246-253; also Appendix, Note C, to this volume.

⁶⁰) Ravndal, as above. See also Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*

⁶¹) Freeman, *op. cit.*, ch. xiii. The case was debated in the Conclave after the hearing of the one side only. Cardinal Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII, was the advocate. Many cardinals rejected his arguments with horror. Will. Malmesbury says, that the Pope (Alexander) gave judgement "*perpensio utrimque partibus*", but it is from a letter written long afterwards by Hildebrand, then Pope Gregory, that we learn how strong an opposition was made to William's claims. Gregory says to William: "*...Notum esse tibi credo excellentissime fili, priusquam ad pontificate culmen ascenderem, quanto semper te sincere dilectionis effectui amavi quandem etiam me tuis negotiis cresceres quanto studio laboravi. Qua pro re a quibusdam fratribus magnum pene infamius pertuli,*

would fight in his name and one or two other points which he afterwards did not keep, obtained for those who fought with him a Papal free pardon for their past sins, and, if they were killed in battle, a prompt entry into Heaven, for this was now accounted a Holy War, what would, in forty years time be known as a Holy Crusade, fought against a usurping and excommunicated monarch. For this gratuitous ticket to Heaven, all the footpads and the thieves and the cut-throats of Europe flocked to Normandy and enlisted in the mercenary army, where the pay was good and the food plentiful and the only fly in the ointment, the (to the West) incomprehensible discipline that forbade a man to loot and rape, for this was a holy war and there could be no thieving, no murder, no raping of the women or any other of the pleasures a man usually looked forward to when he, what the Victorians called, 'took the colours.' This was a holy war. The army was well controlled. The men quiet, if sullen, frightened to their very souls by the tall, grey, portly man who had been born a bastard yet could command even the greatest of the land, bore with him and drilled and rested and drilled and prayed, waiting for the wind to change, for summer 1066, was a cold, grey and rainy summer with the wind perpetually blowing from the north to keep the great armada landlocked in Normandy. This inclement weather persisted so long that to give the men something to think about, he moved his whole fleet and personnel from the River Dive into the estuary of the Somme at St. Valéry in Ponthieu, the modern Picardy, where the ruling Count, Guy, was under treaty with him. There again they waited and prayed for a break in the weather and on the English shore King Harold waited with his men, wondering which of the two great invasions would come first, the one from the North or the one from the south, and they also waited and waited while the weather got worse and worse and the harvest started to rot in the fields.

submurmurantibus quod ad tanta homocidia perpetranda, tanto favore meam operum impendissem. Deus vero in mea conscientia testis erat, quam recto id animo feracem, sperans per gratiam Dei et non inaniter confidens de virtutibus bonis quae in te erant, quia quanto ad sublimiora proficeres, tanto te apud Deum et sanctam ecclesiam (sicut et nunc, Deo gratias res est) ex bono meliorum exhiberes." Ep. Greg. VII cxxxvi, ap. Bouquet, xiv, 648. (I give this at length to avoid any possible confusion on the matter. E.A.H.). Hildebrand won a small majority vote on the matter (at the Conclave), and the Papal Decree went forth. Harold was declared a usurper to the Crown of England and he and all those faithful to him were excommunicated. So Wace, *Roman de Rou*, 12353:

E si saunt Enleiz de veir

Ke cil sunt escumengie

A tuz le velt fere saveir

De l'Apostoile e del clergie...

The Pope sent William a ring containing a hair of St. Peter and a consecrated banner. This banner is mentioned by most writers. Will. Pict. thus: *Vexillum accepit Willelmus ejus (Alexandri) benignitate, Velut suffragium Sancti Petri; quo primo confidentius ac tutius invaderet adversarium.*" Ord. Vit. 498 C. says: "Vexillit Sancti Petri Apostoli", Will Malmsbury, III, 238: "*Papa vexillum in omen regni Willelmo contradidit.*" So Wace, u.s. & Benoit 36807. Wace calls it *gonfanon*, Benoit *enseigne*.

I do not have to remind Ukrainians what it is like when the harvest fails or there is no-one to gather it safely in. Harold could not bear to see the strain his men were waiting under and at last gave them permission to disband and see to their crops. He also, sent his fleet north to the Thames estuary to refurbish and by a terrible stroke of ill-luck, or so it seems, for no reason has ever been given otherwise⁶² the entire fleet was lost on the voyage.

It was soon after this that King Harold learned that his namesake of Norway, Harald Hardrade, together with the English King's own renegade brother Tostig Godwineson⁶³ had landed in Yorkshire with his great fleet, having crossed to Shetland and Orkney picking up reserves, and at Orkney had left his wife Queen Elizabeth and his daughters Mariya and Ingigerd, whom he had brought with him — so confident of success was he — and joining up with his men from Scotland and the force that Tostig had brought with him for his use, they had sailed down the coast of England burning and ravaging and had finally landed at Riccal, and, marching on York, had engaged the English in a terrible battle at Fulford Gate. The English Earls, Edwin and Morcar of the North — Harold's brother-in-law, for he had but recently married their sister Aldgith — came out in defence and were severely beaten⁶⁴, Morcar, according to the Northern sources, being left for dead in a ditch⁶⁵.

Harold was at Waltham Abbey, his own foundation⁶⁶, when the

⁶²) Freeman, *op. cit.*, ch. xvi, p. 338; Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 580; Douglas, ch. 8, p. 192; *Chron. Ab.*: "And man draf tha scypu to Lundene, and manega for-wurdon æt hi thyder cōmen."

⁶³) Tostig had been outlawed at the order of King Edward (regretfully, one imagines since the old King was fond of Harold's brother) for offences committed against the people of his Earldom, Northumbria. Harold, as vice-King had carried out the outlawing. *Chron. A.D. 1065*: "Fortham tha he ryppte God ærost." *Ibid.*: "And ealle tha bestrypte the he ofer mihte, æt life and aet lande." *Ibid.*: "Ealle tha mid hym the unlage vædon." *Flor. Wig. 1065*: "Pro immensitate tributi, quod de totâ Northumbriâ injustè acceperat." Edward & Harold had no option but to outlaw him. On Harold's consecration as King, Tostig sought to destroy his brother. (Again I give this at length because it has often been a part of adverse propaganda to cite Harold as the outlawer of his brother. — E.A.H.).

⁶⁴) Will. Malmesbury (II, 228) complains of the carelessness of Edwine and Morcar. See Freeman, *op. cit.*, ch. xiv, pp. 349-351. See also Snorri Sturlason in *Heimskringla*.

⁶⁵) According to a verse of Stein Herdisarson, quoted by Snorri, *Heimskringla*, SHH, ch. 84.

"Thjod forsk mórg í moðu,
Menn druknuðu suknir;
Drengr lá ár óf ungan
Ofar Mórúkarar."

(Full many fell in the rivers'
Flood, sank down and drowned there;
Throngs fell round the young Thegn,
Thick, scores lay by Morcar.)

⁶⁶) *De Inventione*, ch. 20, p. 27. (The Waltham writer mistakes news of the Norwegian landing for news of the Norman landing.) Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 355. See also *Vita Haroldi*.

news came that the Norwegians had landed and had inflicted a great defeat on the northern English forces. He collected his troops, marched north in five days, an incredible feat, especially as he was reputed to be suffering from gout when he heard the news — he had been at Waltham praying for a cure⁶⁷ — in fact he moved so fast that 'he took the Norwegians by surprise'⁶⁸ at a village about seven miles outside York called Stamfordbridge and there gave great battle and in that battle by the River Derwent were killed among others of note, Harald, King of the Norwegians, the great soldier of the Byzantine Emperor⁶⁹, and Tostig, brother of the King⁷⁰ and many other good men, Harald Hardrade thus getting the 'seven feet of English earth' that King Harold of England had said was all that he could give him, which was given in burial 'because I have heard that he is taller than most men.'⁷¹ Harold of England scarcely had time to conclude a non-aggression treaty with the Norwegians (which has never been broken in 900 years), and to make arrangements for the return of those surviving (only 24 ship loads went back out of the 240 that came) and, presumably, that of conveying the Queen and her daughters back to Norway from Orkney. I say daughters but it was only one daughter who had to return when the time came, for Mariya, the oldest princess, was so devoted to her father, that it is reported that in the very hour that he died, she died also, and 'men say that they had but one soul between them!'⁷² As I have just said, Harold scarcely had time to effect all this and to have the Masses sung and the dead of note buried, than news came that William of Normandy, taking advantage of the changing wind which now blew from the south had crossed the channel with a great fleet and had landed at Pevensey Bay near Hastings, and had set himself up with what we would now call a prefabricated castle and was scavenging the countryside, burning and terrorising.

There was no time for Harold to finish the burying of the dead. Men's bodies had to be left where they lay for there were the living to consider. He had no time to rest his weary soldiers or to allow the slightly wounded to have sick leave. All that could walk were mustered, and proceeded on another march, this time to London, again covering the 200 odd miles in five days. Arrived in London he stayed for a week resting his men and awaiting the levies from the far, western shires which had had no time to assemble for the battle with the Norwegians. There he was besought by his brothers

67) *Vita Haroldi*: "Tybie subito unius vehementissimo cœpit dolore constringi."

68) A.S.C. in anno 1066.

69) *Ibid.*; Freeman, *op. cit.*, ch. xiv, p. 330, *et al.*

70) Freeman, *op. cit.*, ch. xiv, p. 365, *et al.*

71) *Op. cit.*; Vera Rich, *Ellisif* ; Snorri, *S.H.H.*, ch. 91.

72) *Ibid.*; Vera Rich, *Ellisif*...; See also *Elizabeth the Wise King's Daughter*, in *Ukrainian Review*, No. 3, 1966; also in *Nashe Zhyttia*, October, 1963.

and his mother to refrain from going into immediate battle with William. They advised him to lay waste the entire south and starve William out so that he would have to retreat, defeated by conditions⁷³.

But Harold, it has been said, ruled more like a King of later years than one of the 11th century and he would not burn one cottage or one field of any of his subjects. 'Never', said Harold, 'will I burn an English village or an English house. Never will I harm the lands or the goods of any Englishman. How can I do hurt to the folk who are put under me to govern? How can I plunder and harass those whom I would rather see flourish under my rule?'⁷⁴ He stayed in London for one week only resting his forces, whilst William continued to burn and exhort in Sussex knowing he could do nothing better to bring Harold hurrying south to engage him.

They met on the 14th October 1066, in the area of what is now known as Battle Abbey. Harold had sent word for his levies to meet him at the hoar apple tree, a known meeting place where three districts converge. They arrived late at night, foot weary and exhausted, and taking position on the hill above the Norman forces. There they slept from sheer exhaustion, for we are told in the Chronicle that William 'came against him by surprise before his army was drawn up in battle array.' Norman propaganda has been rampant on this subject as you may guess, and for years their erroneous stories of the English spending the night in drunken revelry was believed by many people. However, history, being a science, the truth must out eventually.

The battle has been written about more times than anything in modern history so I will only say that after a day long of bloody fighting — and the field of Hastings was particularly bloody for the English used, mainly, battle axes, and the Normans, lances, and the terrible mace, besides their famed arrows — the issue was still not decided until William told his archers to shoot their arrows high into the air to better pierce the chainmail head covering of the English soldiers. This shooting above an angle of 45° was expressly forbidden by Rome, for by so doing, the arrow fell of its own and natural volition — what we would call today by force of gravity — and not by the archer's own strength. These arrows went high into the air and fell upon the English like a rain of death. According to most contemporary sources Harold fell, pierced in the left eye, and

⁷³) Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. III, ch. xv, pp. 434-435.

⁷⁴) Freeman, *op. cit.*, ch. xv, p. 457. Cf. Wace, *Roman de Rou*:

Maison e viles n'en ardia
Ne sis honres ne robera.
'Coment', dist-il, 'dei-zo grever
La gent Ke jo die gouverner?
Destruire ne grever ne dei
La gent ki det garir soz mei.'

with him fell many others. The Norman knights were thus able to break through and the English were cut to pieces⁷⁵. Four of William's knights, seeking for the fallen English King, found him severely wounded and one pierced him through the chest with his spear, another cut off his head, a third ripped him open and disembowelled him, scattering the entrails, and the fourth, not to be left behind in this dishonour, cut off his leg. William afterwards, when he learned of the incident, had the four knights dismissed from his army⁷⁶.

And so the battle ended and the Normans held the place of slaughter, and William refused the dead body of King Harold Christian burial although his mother, the Countess Gytha, offered his weight in gold if William would relent and let her have it conveyed to Waltham, his own Abbey, for burial. William was adamant and commanded one of his lords, one William Malet, said to be part English, part Norman⁷⁷ and a *cumpater* of Harold, to bury it with full pagan rites (as befitted a brave man and a great soldier who could not have church burial) under a cairn of stones on the sands at Pevnesey and this was accordingly accomplished.

There is one poignant touch to this burial of Harold that will appeal to the ladies present. For many years Harold had been handfast-married, that is married by the common law of the people although without the blessing of the Church, to a lady called Edith, known as the "Swan-Neck" because of the beauty of her throat. We do not know why Harold did not marry her in Church or what the impediment was if he was unable to have the benefit of a Church marriage. We can only conclude he must have loved her deeply, for to live in a state of handfast-marriage whilst his brother-in-law was

⁷⁵) Vividly portrayed in the Bayeux Tapestry. See also Stenton, *op. cit.*; Freeman, *op. cit.*, vol. III, ch. xxv, p. 498. *Roman de Rou*, 13297.

⁷⁶) This action is clearly shown in the Tapestry, pl. 16. So Wace, 13942. Freeman, *op. cit.*, ch. xv, p. 499-500 says: "One [of the the four Norman knights] seeking the wounded King Harold pierced through the shield of the dying King and stabbed him in the breast. Another assailant finished the work by striking his head off with his sword. But even this vengeance was not enough. A third pierced the dead body and scattered about the entrails. The fourth, coming too late, it would seem, for sufficient share in the deed, cut off the dead King's leg as he lay dead. (Wid. Amb. 549.

*"Abscidit coxam quartus procul egit ademptam,
Taliter occisum terra cadaver habet."*

Such was the measure in which the boasted chivalry of Normandy meted out to a prince who had never dealt harshly or cruelly with either a domestic or a foreign foe." The knights were, Count Eustace of Boulogne, related to both William and Harold by marriages of their womenfolk, the son of Count Guy of Ponthieu, Walter Giffard, and de Montfort, an ancestor of the famous Simon de Montfort. When William heard what they had done they were ignominiously dismissed from the Norman Army.

⁷⁷) Freeman, *op. cit.*, xv, 514.

the saintly King Edward, a great upholder of the Church and its laws, who openly confessed that he preferred the conventual life to the secular, was surely to be at a great disadvantage. To an ambitious man, and Harold was obviously ambitious, such an alliance would normally not have stood the test of time. Yet at the time of his accession, he and Edith Swan-neck had been handfasted for about twenty years and had a growing family of five children, three boys, Godwine, Edmund and Magnus and two daughters, Gytha and Gunhilda. The daughter, Gytha, as we shall see, later married Volodymyr Monomakh in 1073 or 1074. Harold did not repudiate Edith until circumstances — and these were purely for the peace and eventual good of the realm — forced him into a Church marriage with Aldgith, the sister of the powerful Northern Earls, Edwin and Morcar. At the time of the battle, Aldgith who was carrying the future heir to the throne — as all thought and hoped — was kept well away from the danger zone — although it did not profit her or her unborn son in the long run⁷⁸.

Edith Swan-neck, with the Canons of Waltham Abbey, — Edith lived in a manor at Nazeing which is close by Waltham Abbey — watched from a hill overlooking the battle and afterwards when the fighting had ceased and the searchers were out looking for the body of the murdered King, and unable to find it because of the mutilation it had suffered⁷⁹, asked Edith to search for she who knew him so well might be able to recognise it by some means of which they had no knowledge. So Edith searched that ghastly place of the dead and the dying and at last found Harold whom she loved. Some time after the burial on the sands, his body was removed, perhaps secretly, perhaps by William relenting once he had been safely crowned King of the English, and at last it found sanctuary at his own Abbey, and there his tomb remains to this day as all those Ukrainians living in close-by Waltham Cross can testify.

And what of England after that day of final defeat? Let the historian of long ago, the old chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon, speak for me, words which no Ukrainian will fail to understand.

'From that day forward the Normans began to work the will of God upon the folk of England until there were left in England no chiefs of the land of English blood, until all were brought down to bondage and to sorrow, until it was a shame to be called an Englishman and the men of England were no longer a people.'

Indeed, we English were no longer a people. For three hundred years the language of the realm was French, a Romance language whereas ours had been Teutonic. We lost our magnificent tradition of Old English poetry. We gained the French tradition of jingling

⁷⁸) *Ibid*, xv, 500-1. Cf. *Flor. Wig. in anno* 1066.

⁷⁹) *De Inventione*, c. 21; *Will. Pict.*, 138.

rhyme and the romantic as against our former heroic outlook. But among the common people, still English to the core, the old ways and the old traditions remained. True, the Old English names could no longer be used, for a boy or a girl would not profit by being baptised with one of them, so they must adopt the new foreign names like Herbert, Robert, Henry, William as against Alfred, Edmund, Edwy, Leofric. But eventually, after three hundred years, the English language came into its own once more. A different-sounding language — indeed the Old English scholar of pre-conquest England would have found it as difficult to understand modern English as a modern Englishman finds it difficult to read Old English, but an English language, all the same, changed considerably, but still English, with about 60 percent of the vocabulary still Anglo-Saxon. Our poetry suffered the worst change, 'the olden, the golden songs...' as Vera Rich has so poignantly written in her lovely and haunting *Hymn for October 15th* were gone, seemingly for ever and only a rhyming jingle left in its place. No more would we sing of our great ones, our great battles, in a tradition which the Ukrainian people both of that far age and our own could truly appreciate. There was no one left to write the histories but Norman or Anglo-Norman clerics, all favouring what we would now call the party line, and until this year dawned with its 900th anniversary, there were few indeed, except one great historian of the last century — often alas, derided for his beliefs — to write a panegyric for our lost King.

But we have yet to outline the last connection between Old England and Old Ukraine, the most happy connection of all — the marriage of the daughter of Harold and his Edith, Gytha of Waltham to the great Ruslandic Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, a fact of which both English and Ukrainian people living at Waltham are so justly proud.

After the defeat of the King and his army at Hastings, it took comparatively little time for William to get himself crowned King of the English and complete the subjugation of the country, for most of the English nobility were dead and those who were left had little fight left in them. After a few months most of the southern counties were sworn in fealty to him, and in a very short time his barons were in possession of English estates and English titles. As his armies closed in upon each town, often after a ring of fire had been effected round that town — as in the case of London — the elders capitulated. Any insult or insurrection was promptly dealt with and William rarely exacted the death penalty, preferring mutilation for the offenders. It is said he did not wish to deprive a man of his life, and it was an expedient policy, for a dead man can become a martyr or a hero. A mutilated man, a man without his eyes or his tongue or his hands can quickly degenerate into an object of derision.

Harold's three sons by Edith of Waltham were young men when their father died, and started negotiating with the Danes of Ireland to bring a large invading army into England to throw William out. But their plans never came to much and after an abortive attempt in 1068 to withstand him at the City of Exeter, the Elders of the city took fright and the three young men had to fly. With them in Exeter were their grandmother, Gytha, the Danish countess, and their sisters young Gytha and little Gunhilda. The young men went again to Ireland to raise levies, but the elderly Countess took refuge on an island in the river Severn and eventually made her way to St. Omer, in the County of Flanders, where she, and indeed all the Godwine family had held property for some time. There, presumably, she settled and there, also presumably, her two grand-daughters and her daughter Gunhilda, later to be professed as a nun, remained.

A few years afterwards a civil war broke out in Flanders, the two contestants being Robert of Frisia, the brother of William's wife Matilda⁸⁰ and the Countess Richilda, of Hainault, who had married Baldwin, the other brother of Matilda, — all the Flemish heirs to the throne seemed to have been called Baldwin, which is most confusing. This Baldwin was now dead and Richilda held the throne for her son Arnulf the Simple. She had just married William Fitzosbern, the closest and dearest friend of William the Conqueror and they held St. Omer so it was obvious that for their own safety the two young daughters of King Harold must be removed from St. Omer.

In company with their Aunt, the nun Sister Gunhilda, the younger Gytha and the younger Gunhilda, together with their brothers, travelled to the Court of King Swegn of Denmark, where King Swegn arranged a marriage for Gytha with the Kievan Prince Volodymyr II Monomakh. So to Novgorod, travelled King Harold's daughter, to become the wife of one of Ruśland's greatest princes, and the mother of Mstislav-Harald, from whose marriage with the princess of Sweden, the Royal Line of West Ukraine and Prince Danylo were sprung⁸¹.

⁸⁰) Sir F. Palgrave, *Hist. of Normandy & England*, vol. III, ch. 6, pp. 487-494, for the state of affairs in Flanders which could well have been the reason for Gunhilda Godwinesdottir taking her nephews and neices(s) Gytha Haroldsdottir (& Gunhilda Haroldsdottir) into Denmark. See also *ibid.*, p. 483 for the penances imposed upon the conquerors by Rome for what they had perpetrated in the taking and subjugating of England, as Palgrave puts it, "the robbery of a whole nation which would be needful for the purpose of carrying it through."

⁸¹) Sir A. Malet, *The Conquest of England* (1860) (From Wace's poem, *the Roman de Rou*, parallel texts), appendix 3, p. 271, writes, "It will be of interest to many readers to learn that the children of Harold, three in number, two sons and a daughter, according to the Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, found refuge and hospitality in Denmark, and that, according to this author, the daughter (whose name Simeon of Durham says was Gisla), was, by the care of the Danish monarch, Sven, married to Waldemar, King of the Rutheni or Russians. A note by the learned editor of Saxo's works says that there is good

reason for believing that this sovereign was *Vladimir the Second*, called *Monomachus*, who was born A.D. 1053. Saxo goes on to say that Schleswig afterwards received as Duke, a prince named Waldemar, issue of the union, — and, in his rather flowery Latin, he felicitates his country on possessing a ruler in whose blood flowed the noble races of East and West. We give the words of Saxo, as to the first of these two facts: — “Cujus filii duo, confestim in Daniam cum Sorore migrarunt Quos Sveon ‘paterni’ eorum meriti oblitus, consanguinæ more excepit, puellamque, Rutenorum Regi, Waldemaro, qui et ipse Jarizlavus à fuis appellatus nuptum dedit.” Saxo Gram., *Hist. Dan.*, 11b. xi. Ed. Dr. Müller & J. M. Velschow, Hannover, 1839. See also Cross, *ibid.*, note 373; also Appendix 1, note A. (Here Saxo made a mistake, of course. Volodymyr Monomakh was the *grandson* not the son of Yaroslav the Wise. And there were five children of Harold & Edith viz.: Godwine, Edmund, Magnus, Gytha & Gunhilda. — E.A.H.). See Snorri Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, translated by Samuel Laing, Ed. Peter Foote (London, 1961), introduction pp. xxix-xxx.

In this year of the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Hastings, Queen Elizabeth II of England has announced through Debrett, the English equivalent of the *Almanach de Gotha*, that she is not only descended from William the Conqueror — this has of course been known for a long time — but also from King Harold, by reason of the marriage of his daughter Gytha to the Grand Prince of Kiev, Vladimir II. (I give Debrett's pronunciation here). This announcement was received most delightedly by what might be called the English Nationalist party, and those of us who are interested in Ukraine, and have dear Ukrainian friends, were delighted that it should come through this marriage. Descendants of Gytha and Monomakh married into the royal houses of Spain and Portugal also Denmark and through the marriage of British princes with princesses of these countries back came the blood of Harold Godwineson to our Royal Family. We have waited a long time for such recognition of Harold to be made, and now in this year when we commemorate his courage and devotion to the national cause, the Ukrainian people can commemorate with us, especially at the ‘shrine’ at Waltham, where all day long on the 14th October the minute bells rang for the dead and a requiem was conducted at the tomb, but where also, in the window of the Historical Society's premises, by the Abbey itself, the marriage of Gytha and Volodymyr Monomakh is proudly portrayed on the family tree they have so clearly and accurately delineated.

Ivan Franko First Love

Adapted and translated

by

Mary GABODA

Based on articles by M. Vozniak which appeared in
The Canadian Farmer of November 9, 16, 23, 30, 1927.

Rummaging through files of old newspapers, I was rewarded by finding in **The Canadian Farmer** of 1927, a moving article by M. Vozniak, entitled "Ivan Franko's First Love." The entire article is based on the personal reminiscences of Michaelina, the sister, and on Franko's letters to his beloved. The beloved's name was Olha Roshkevych, the daughter of Father Michael Roshkevych, the parish priest of the village of Dolyna. This is the story of an unrequited love that was destined to leave its imprint on everything this great modern Ukrainian poet wrote. The letters give us an intimate glimpse of a poet's feelings in the throes of love's passion.

Vozniak relates how Franko first met the Roshkevych family. A son Yaroslav Roshkevych attended the gymnasium in Drohobych, but in his third year he failed and one of his professors suggested to the distraught father that he hire the brilliant student Franko as a tutor for his son. Under Franko's tutelage Yaroslav passed his year. And when he came home he told his brother and two sisters that Franko was going to visit them that summer. For the first time since he had started school, Franko was not going to work as usual but was planning to take a walking trip over the country. Ivan Franko stayed one month in Dolyna. His first appearance in tramp's clothing did not impress the refined priest, nor did his rough peasant manners do anything further to impress the family.

During this month-long visit love was born and grew between Franko and Olha Roshkevych. Franko wrote a string of love letters in German to Olha, for example, the letter of May 2, 1875 where he wrote that he did not care what the polite thing to do or not to do

was. He did not care for conventions because the words of his heart drowned out its cold voice. He opened his heart to Olha. Perhaps he seemed dull, unsocial and secretive, but would she please remember that he had received practically no upbringing, nor had he known parental love or the security of a home. He had grown up a stranger and alone among people. He had no friends, lived with no one, but with his books. The world was unknown to him, the great school of society had been closed to him. Only the year before when he had become acquainted with her brother, only then, had the wide world been opened to his eyes.

In a letter of May 26, 1875 he told Olha Roshkevych that he could not fly to her side on graduation because she knew about his agreement with the Bachynsky Theatre. He had to earn money in translating in order to go to Lviv. He asked her if the poetry of Heine still had the same hold over her. He hoped that by having her near his heart he would be happy, full of faith and would be able to accomplish his literary work with confidence. Here he informed her that he had a collection of poetry ready for publication and was working on a second volume. She could well guess that she was the muse of the two volumes.

From a letter of October 30th, 1875, we learn that Olha forbade Franko to write to her — but he continued to write and asked her outright what her feelings were toward him. And he concluded the letter with the words, "I hope you will give me a written answer, as an oral one, unfortunately, is impossible. Anyway you no longer have before you the same Franko who once loved you passionately and still loves you very much — you have now before you a writer, dead to everything that is not books and paper. But if you do not answer, then I shall have grounds to believe that you refuse me."

As is evident from a letter of February 29th, 1876, the answer must have been in the affirmative for Franko wrote, "My beloved, forgive me for addressing you so familiarly and throwing aside all ceremony! My heart is not accustomed in addressing you as 'Miss' — and my hand obeys my heart. Perhaps you ask why I am writing this letter in Ukrainian and not German? A simple matter. For me, the German language is a fashionable frockcoat, which any dandy with empty pockets may don. But the Ukrainian language is like familiar and worn clothing for me, in which one shows himself as one really is, and one in which I love you the best! The Ukrainian language — that is the language of my heart! I don't know what memories you brought back from the ball and Lviv? All that remains in my memory and in my heart are the moments when I was near you, when I spoke to you — there remains only the pain I suffered when I felt you that night. How earnestly I wished you had taken a look at our lodgings for a moment! Every spot on which your eyes would have rested, would make me remember you!"

In a letter of June 9th, Franko asked for Olha's hand in marriage in a letter to Father Roshkevych. Unfortunately there are no letters available from the Roshkevyches to Franko before his first political trial of January 1878. Therefore we do not know the answer to Franko's proposal of marriage.

Out of Franko's letters to Olha before his arrest there remains only one from the spring of 1877. Here among other things Franko advised Olha to think about some kind of employment which would draw her closer to him, which would earn for her respect and acknowledgement, but also strengthen their love, or even in case of unforeseen circumstances could insure her her daily bread. "You know yourself", argued Franko, "that one lives more pleasantly and freely together with someone else when one knows he does not depend on the other for his upkeep and is free to do as he pleases." And he urged her to follow the writer's path. He informed her that her photograph had become for him "a source of happiness and joy." He confessed, "Every night when everyone is asleep, I gaze at it for half an hour and forget everything. I am so happy! I feel new strength and new ideas flowing in me. And for all this I have only you to thank! I remember your words when you said that your 'finished' education and the breath of your ideas and so on, were my work! That was an unearned compliment for me — it isn't that way at all — but that is not the subject of our conversation. I only thought then how important it was for me to weigh how many ideas and impressions I owe to you — how many new elements entered my life through my acquaintance with you."

Franko wished to end his letter, but really he did not want to, "just as, you recall, we didn't want to part those nights! Happy moments which are buried so deep in my heart — and at times, I become very sad when I recall them; no, that is too beautiful for me! Who knows whether I shall ever enjoy such nights in my life! But really — what was so great about it? I just remember what I said to you — with sincere love, happiness should increase, not decrease! We must not yearn for the past! We are young, the world will smile upon us — to live is beautiful, to love is beautiful!"

It is evident that Franko was greatly concerned about Olha's education. When he was a philosophy student he brought her the works of Netchuy-Levytsky, Vovchok, Turgenev, Lermontov to read. In German literature he especially loved Heine and often read his poetry aloud. In French literature he was enthralled by the novels of Zola and asked Olha to translate Zola into Ukrainian.

It seemed that all would go well for the young people in love. But the arrest and conviction of Franko in June 1877 was an unforeseen catastrophe. Father Roshkevych was very angry with Franko. When Franko came out of jail on March 5, 1878, he continued to write to Olha. They had to devise various methods of correspondence and

some of the letters were confiscated by Olha's father. As a result of these uncertain methods of communication, misunderstandings arose. When Olha asked him to visit them in Dolyna, Franko answered that he would have to lack all human dignity to enter her father's house after the way he had behaved at his trial. He considered his relations with Olha's parents as broken because as he wrote, "You can tell your true friends when you are in trouble, and whoever of your friends becomes an enemy, means that he had never been a friend before and never will be."

After this he came to the important question, "What are we going to do? I'm writing this with the understanding in mind that our relationship is the same as before our separation. However if anything has changed on your part, then write plainly and openly that our romance can no longer follow the same path and be limited to letters and sighs — it is time to think about life."

On April 2, 1878 Franko wrote a letter to Father Roshkevych in which he said he had no intention of apologizing because he saw no need for it since he had not offended him in any way. He wrote thus, "I promised your daughter that I would marry her whenever I had any kind of chance to support her. I think neither you nor she expect an aristocratic life or millions, but on the other hand, in spite of what happened, I have some hopes of support and perhaps because of what happened... Therefore I put this question to you — Do you wish me to continue my relationship with your daughter or not (I'm taking it for granted there is another question, does she wish to?) If you have nothing against this then I shall write you what my chances are in the near future and I beg you to allow me to correspond openly with Miss Olha."

Father Roshkevych's terms are evident in Franko's letter of June 14th in which he complained that he found them rather egoistic, such as requiring him to move out from Pavlyk's home and to get his doctorate. Olha likewise wrote an angry letter.

In order not to add oil to the flames, Franko wrote to Slavko* and said that Olha was completely in the right and that he had not been telling the whole truth. He wrote, "You have heard more than once about my dreams, you know how I wanted to arrange my life, etc. In the meantime, things did not go right — hope after hope failed, leaving behind only a dark, ugly future, degradation, want, worry. And in addition, I was not worried about my fate, but that of Olha. I did not sleep nights and I even had to laugh in front of others, to joke in order to hide my feelings... I shall obtain no position. I cannot promise myself or her any security. And when adverse circumstances put us to the test, the fight for a piece of bread, in the midst of general difficulties will quickly cool our love and break our

*) Yaroslav Roshkevych, Olha's brother.

strength." At first Franko wanted to write to Olha also, but decided not to, "why should he for the devil's sake try to whiten one lie with another lie, to untie the tangle with a worse tangle. If we are destined to be lost in that tangle, then let's be lost." A bitter truth began to dawn upon Franko, "If every love must cost a man so many pieces of his heart, so much trouble and worry, then to hell with that love — may no one in the world ever know it!"

Temporary circumstances were such that the two lovers agreed to remain friends. Although Franko wrote Slavko that it was not wise for him to show his letters to Olha, Slavko, without doubt, showed her the letters and the romance continued. This we can gather from a letter of July 30, 1878 when he wrote to Olha, "You are probably wondering why I did not answer your last letter which was so loving and warm. You are probably beginning to be angry again, thinking that I have really forgotten you. It seems to me that, in addition to reasons well-known to you (family, etc.) your loving and warm letter, the like of which I have never before received from you is partly the reason for my silence. You will still be more surprised when you hear this — but really the reason is very plain. After reading your words, and everyone of them pleased and filled me with joy — in seeing the strength of your feelings, in spite of all difficulties, even in spite of that unworthy and unreasonable upheaval which I created in my fit of sadness and doubt, and after seeing your great faith in the future, I stand as though condemned. And really what did I do to deserve such loyalty and how can I pay it back? How can I give support to your hope, your strength when I have so little myself? In what way can I untie those horrible knots in which we are both tied and which hinder us from a joint happy life? You don't know how these questions torture me — but they became clearer to me after reading your letter for which I thank you very very much. And instead of sitting down and answering I went, I myself don't know where — far into the fields. For several days I thought about our fate and promised to write only when I would be able to send you good news, anything at all which would bring us a step closer to our happiness. But I waited in vain. And I wrote nothing — until now being unable to resist the temptation of taking advantage of a good opportunity. Do not be angry, beloved, at my delay. I'm sorry and it may seem that I am indifferent towards you, but I know that you will not think badly of me, that opposition and difficulties have only strengthened your sincerity towards me. We need only sincerity and truthfulness to settle such a question. I confess, that for the last few days I have forced myself to think as little as possible of you, because those thoughts lead me to doubt — not your love, but to doubt our future life."

Later Franko wrote to Olha, "You wrote me why should we worry and trouble each other? Can't we love each other this way? Let us

love each other as long as we are young, as long as our blood is hot! Oh, how I wish that were true — that one could live year after year far from one another and love one another faithfully with a platonic love! Maybe that is true, who knows? Perhaps others can live this way — but I can only speak for myself — I cannot. Platonic love becomes tiresome quickly because it lacks essentially that which a reasonable and true love demands — changes which real life brings, a mutual struggle for your beliefs and for your survival! Such a life together with a beloved one I desire, because it alone can mature into a real love, can make platonic love completely real, strong, an element of life, as necessary as bread or air. I know, beloved Olha, that you also desire such a love and such a life and this tortures me more than ever. Oh, strength weakens, the charm of youth withers, hot blood grows cold slowly amidst eternal sterile wishes — the best years, when a man can feel and love most strongly, pass by.”

How deeply Franko was overcome with thoughts about Olha is evident when a few days later on August 4th at 9 o'clock he had to write to her. “I'm writing to you again, my beloved. I'm not writing with pleas, nor with requests of any kind, nor with complaints at fate — to the devil with them — those complaints. I'm writing because of the necessity for confession, to pour out all that is welling up in my soul, to share everything with another sincere person. I don't know what has happened to me. The need to feel oneself close to someone, to know that someone else shares everything that a man does — the need of a mutual, living, unceasing exchange of thoughts. This feeling has been so strong in me lately that I could not help writing this letter. Oftener and oftener I'm overcome by moments of deep thought and in spite of myself I recall your beloved face every time. The desire to see you becomes stronger each time although circumstances prevent me. I experienced such moments only in prison when during the endless winter nights I lay on my straw mattress in a dark cell and tried to see you before my eyes — all of you, to recall the times when I had seen you during the loveliest, happiest moments of our love. Will these moments ever return? No! Will we ever have similar moments?...”

“Oh moments of happiness are so rare in each life, especially in mine. I can count them all on my fingers. And this means — a man lived, was young, loved, loved with all the passion of youthful first love... And this means — the highest happiness, the highest peak of life's poetry was attained. Do not expect something greater and more beautiful! More than once I felt like cursing life together with its poetry and its ugly prose, if I did not know that you still loved me a little, is it not true? And that you are ready to share not only the poetry, but also the prose of life with me?”

Then he continued to write how the thought of insanity had been haunting him. “It must be lovely”, wrote Franko, “when in your

head everything becomes mixed up, perceptions, feelings, ideas, will — everything, each mixed up with the other, bumping into each other without order, choking the brain but also cramping it. And a man does not remember his past sorrows and happiness and only sees before him the eternal brilliant sight of the remnants of his own reason! That must be most pleasant — such a kaleidoscope! For example, instead of all the surrounding dead and quiet world I could see before me this eternally changing kaleidoscope. Oh that would be a luxury! In an instant I would be able to see your face — smiling as when you kissed me for the last time, or else covered with angry spots when I kissed you for the first time. I was then, it seems, profane in love, unprofessed, unclean."

Complaining that he had done nothing all week, while awaiting a letter from Olha, Franko wrote, "I'm overcome with moments when I'm most anxious to wipe out of my head all memories of you. I become angry when I recall your every word, every gesture, smile, joke — and you don't know how angry I can be. There is only one thing with which I cannot quarrel — one moment that I cannot wipe out of my memory, that I cannot mock of profane. It is the moment when in a bad humour I did not answer your question: Do you love me? Do you remember, it was a year ago — you smiled at first and then were overcome with tears. Why in the world did you cry then? Do you know if it were not for those tears, I would have forgotten you by now? Those unhappy tears — they still burn me! Ah, you women, women! Neither your favours, nor your beauty, nor your virtues are as dangerous as your tears! And why did you cry then? Having begun with a smile, could you not have ended with laughter, loud laughter? Ah, that would have been wonderful! I would have forgotten you by now and would be buried in books like a worm and would take no thought of the future. Let come what will. If I die of hunger, it will be alone — whose business is it! I am free! But now, no. I've been chained by unhappy tears. I struggle this way and that way, but only at a loss, not a gain to myself, it is understood. You are angry with me. That's certain. Or else why the hidden note of anger in your warm, loving letter. I heard it well. It was laughter through tears."

He continued, "Do you know that plant that grows everywhere in the fields whose roots when boiled and eaten, gradually and slowly kill a man, ravage his muscles, make him thin, unhinge his nerves, take away the brightness of his eyes, deaden thought and in the end kill him? Do you know this plant? I have it — the juice from it stands in a jar in my drawer, the path to it is quite short, only those cursed tears lie in my way! Nevertheless, life seems much safer, having such a saviour nearby! And the jar with the yellow liquid is so gentle and mild — completely unfrightening!"

Later he asked her if she hadn't noticed that in moments when he is most overcome with love or any other feeling he inflicts pain upon the people he loves the most. As an example, he talked about the deaths of his mother and Marusia. He wrote, "Life, life! Why such facts? And why do the sad, cruel memories last longer than the happy ones?" He counselled her about her sister Michaelina, that if she ever fell in love with anyone, "not to act like we did. We loved each other almost for two years, but walked alongside each other like strangers — and how much I suffered. I curse those moments which should have been the most beautiful in my life — they ate out my heart, ruined my most beautiful feelings. We only came together when the fire was beginning to die. This was the result of politics."

After receiving an answer Franko wrote in a letter of August 14th: "You hint that I'm complaining that your tears bind me... And still you say that you didn't want to bind me! And why? Are we not bound together, do we not belong one to the other, does not one suffer what happens to the other? It is no wonder that they have called love a shackles! But I am not denying it — but one must take care that those shackles do not turn into hard binding ropes which eat away the flesh but rather into a pleasant though strong bond which ties two people together, so that together they may have more strength for mutual labour."

Feeling the need to end the letter because of the late hour, Franko asked, "How shall I end? I want to tell you in a few short, poetic words about my love, my longing for you, my desires, all that the heart is full of, but these are things for which words have not yet been discovered, things about which heart talks to heart, but not words! But a time for such a talk will come quickly."

There were several clandestine meetings arranged with the help of Olha's sister and brother. In a letter dated the 20th of August, Franko wrote freely about his plans, his work and his thoughts. He had often heard the words: "Leave your work, let's get married, try first of all to unite with me, and then we shall see what to do next." Such words were often the cause of dissonances in the letters to her. And so he wrote her: "I can tell you openly now, that when we shall live together some day (and I deeply believe we shall) and you will begin again to question my beliefs and hinder me from doing that which my conscience orders me to do, I will leave you, regardless of other issues."

Talking about marriage, he emphasized the need "that both of the people who are joined in marriage be as developed as possible, that their temperaments be akin and their love strong enough not to disappear at the first prosaic daily crisis. One needs a healthy organic love which does not idealize the beloved, adorned in unheard of beauty and falls apart at the first touch of real life. True love can only belong to a healthy and normally developed man — it is quiet,

clean, more akin to sincere friendship in its feeling of equality and solidarity with the beloved and such a love is able to endure all unhappiness, because it makes the loved one a necessary, natural part of life, just like air, bread, books, work. That is one thing. Secondly what else is needed — a high, humane worthy goal to which such a couple would strive to achieve all their lives; by striving toward that goal they would strengthen their love and in loving their mutual goal they would love and respect all those who strive to the same goal."

Franko was afraid that such letters must bore Olha who wrote such sincere, warm letters to him, so he wrote, "I have thought more than once that you must think me cold, that I don't love you or have ceased to love you and that thought tortures me. But no, you don't think that my beloved Olha! You know that I love you as sincerely and as much as you love me. You know that my feelings, the warmer and deeper they are, the less I can express them in words. You know that the sincerest kisses are given in silence."

A little later, he wrote an irritated Olha: "Slavko must have mentioned our talk about platonic love which I regarded, as you know yourself, as unnatural and unsatisfying. On that occasion I said that I was surprised when you wrote that you would be satisfied to live all your life away from me, knowing only that I loved you. I said that this was an impossible thing and that I myself would never be satisfied with it. What was wrong with this? What could have given you cause for worry? My dearest love, believe in me and in my love just as I believe you! I, as you know yourself, love you above all in the world; in knowing you and in loving you, I knew woman for the first time. You know that ever since I saw you, until now, my love for you has been my guiding star, that it has become for me something so natural, so necessary and strong as life itself, like second nature. Perhaps that is why I talk so little, so incoherently about my love! Don't worry, my love, I shall always be true to you, and no other woman will be able to squeeze you out of my heart! I hope that we shall not need to suffer separation much longer, that sooner or later we shall be united and we shall live, even if it be from day to day, but will be working, struggling and loving each other more and more."

In the fall of 1878, the two Roshkevych girls went to Ivanivka for the winter where their uncle Ivan Rudynsky was the parish priest. Now Franko could write openly to her and he was overjoyed. "Ah, my beloved, only to see each other, to live together without a care for a short while — did I say without care? Even with care and trouble like now, if only together and then let whatever happen, happen."

After receiving a letter from Olha on St. Nicholas' day he wrote, "My dearest, beloved heart! I don't know what was wrong with me because I waited for your letter with such anxiety, such sorrow and

such yearning. And finally I've been rewarded with two letters at one time. My beloved — how overjoyed I was in seeing your letter and in reading, no, rather, in hearing your words, your conversation, your thoughts. How dear, warm-hearted and sincere you are! I walked on air all day yesterday. I don't know why love has become so strong and so bright these days. Almost every night I see you in my dreams. I see you in those brief, happy moments when we were together, when no one looked crossly at us or the whole world, but when they saw us, smiled at our happiness. And all these moments come to life again in my dreams and give me strength and joy."

And in that same letter Franko spoke about his literary plans and his work. In reply Olha made him "the greatest Ukrainian writer."

"A lovely thought", wrote Franko in reply on December 26th, 1878. "Do you know that after reading your letter yesterday I was happy as a child! Those in love are like children, that is children, in the best meaning of the word, although not in the ideal meaning. Anything at all makes us happy and what's more anything at all makes us sad and separates us. How lovely it is to be a child — just as I have been, for four years almost, for example."

When Olha fearfully expressed the idea that the ideal woman for Franko was a writer, he wrote thus, "My love — don't worry one bit. My ideal is a woman in the full meaning of the word, woman — man; a woman, thoughtful, intelligent, virtuous and believing and you can be such an ideal. And may I also add that in general she be a woman who is loving, hot-blooded, warm-hearted, sincere — that is my whole ideal. And you will be such an ideal." It was not the idealization of a writer's life, but his love for her and a desire that she develop and grow that had made Franko urge Olha to become a writer.

Taking advantage of the fact that Olha had called him a "pet" in one of her letters, he asked her in his letter of January 2, 1879: "I — a pet? Who petted me? Perhaps you, dear lady? Was it not from my eighth year in grammar school to my second in philosophy that I died, suffered and cursed myself to say only one "thou", to hear your "I love", to embrace, to kiss you, was it then you petted me? Or did you pet me that one week when you really tried to pet me in all seriousness? What do you think? True, good people interrupted your work and began to pet me on another note "against the grain." Or did you pet me in those brief moments when we saw each other after that? What do you think? Ah, Olha, Olha! My life is made up of paper and all such ugly things — even love, that world is almost all of paper!"

When Olha signed her letter as "Your fiancée", Franko wrote: "My heart — somehow or other I cannot recall when our engagement was held. I have a beastly short memory."

In a letter dated December 26th, Franko wrote: "The love which exists in educated people must be based on a concise academic

analysis of each other's characters, goals, endeavours, and secondly based on a sound knowledge of human nature in general and of the natural laws which the human soul and the human body follow. Then change, which deals defeat like thunder from a clear sky to the people who don't know them, or else even deals out madness — will be a natural thing, necessary and just, and will not destroy their equilibrium, because it will permit them to know the reasons in the first instance and count their sorrows in advance. Only such people can love each other strongly, deeply and long."

In another letter, Franko admitted that he was beside himself when he did not receive a letter from Olha when he expected one. "Ah, no, I know what it is!" he wrote. "When a man sits in a fetid prison cell, he recalls with sorrow, the fresh air, but slowly he becomes accustomed. When he goes outside for a moment and breathes the fresh, clean, invigorating air and then they chase him back to his horrible cage, ah, then he wishes for death. You have become like that, my love. Now when I can exchange thoughts with you more frequently, you are like the fresh air for me, like the bright sun which a man cannot leave behind. Ah, my sun, in ugly days, in days of sorrow, heartbreak, loneliness — I have become used to being without you. I thought I could forget you completely, that I could live forever in that horror — and perhaps thought something else — may the devil take those days and those thoughts! But now, when your face has come to life in all its past beauty again, when your love warms me again and shakes off the ice of all ugliness — my love, now I cannot think what I was without you. I cannot imagine to what depths I would descend if I had to part from you forever. It is only now that I realize what a precious treasure your love is for me."

In the first months of 1879 Olha in secret understanding with Franko went to Lviv to visit her mother's brother. And in that uncle's home, Franko saw her often. He was happy and was most anxious to find work and overcome all obstacles.

When Olha's father heard of her visit to Lviv he began to hate Franko more than ever. Olha's position at home became impossible. And so she agreed to become engaged to a seminarian by the name of Volodymyr Ozerkevych. When Olha wrote to Franko and asked what answer to give Ozerkevych, Franko wrote in a trembling hand, "I love you, but not as before, but a hundred times more, a hundred times deeper, since I have learned that you are compromised like I have been and that you are suffering. You say, that we men, are severe judges — perhaps, but now I don't want to judge. I put myself and everything in your hands. Do as you please, as you think best. Make a decision and rest assured that I shall always love you and will always be faithful to you and that I can suffer for your sake... Study the differences between Ozerkevych's fate and mine and decide."

And the only support that Franko had for many years deserted him. The only evidence of the desertion were a few haemorrhages which were not severe ones, luckily. In one of the letters which he continued to write, even a few years after Olha's marriage and were full of literary matters, Franko was happy at the thought that he would be able to see her from afar in the autumn when she came to Lviv for her husband's ordination.

For Olha's marriage he wrote this poem:

Often I dream about the days
We spent in youthful leisure,
And in my loneliness they raise
Consoling thoughts of pleasure.

Like two leaves on the water, we
Drifted in life together,
And our hearts most fervently
Were joined as one forever.

Too soon by fate's compelling hand
We two were sundered, parted;
But friendship evermore will stand,
Shall never grow faint-hearted.

Think of me, then, from time to time!
I likewise shall recall you...
Accept, today, my sincere rhyme:
"God grant that joy befall you!"

(Translated by *Vera RICH*)

These lines emanate a deep truth. This truth is shown by his translation of Heine's "Downfall of the Gods", dedicated to Olha Ozerkevych and also by all the traces of memories of his first love in all his literary works beginning with the novel "In the Depths." No other Ukrainian woman was fated to become for Franko that which Olha Roshkevych was. And thus ends a correspondence which gives us an insight into the innermost life of one of our greatest writers.

Dr. Ivan SENKIV

TRADITIONAL CHRISTMAS FESTIVITIES IN UKRAINE

In some regions of Ukraine, where industrialisation has made only slow progress, the old Ukrainian Christmas customs have been handed down and very well preserved up to the present day. Agriculture has always been predominant in Ukraine, which possesses the best and richest soil in Europe, and forms today the main occupation of the population. Thanks to the specially favourable topographical and climatic conditions and advanced peasant culture was able to be freely developed, reaching a splendid peak. Ukrainian national culture was for a long time under its great influence and could only free itself with effort from folklore elements. Ukrainian cities and the Church also were not free from the influence of folklore. The Church indeed fought against the old traditions as pagan superstitions, but with advancing liberalisation, it finally succumbed to the magic of Ukrainian peasant culture.

Many old customs and uses of the autumn and winter period were grouped round the festival of the birth of Jesus Christ. In the course of the centuries they joined with the Christian elements, to form an inseparable unity. The Ukrainian Christmas festivity presents itself to us now as a great, colourful Christmas tree, full of freshness and vitality, which makes an indelible impression on anyone who comes into contact with it.

Christmas Eve (Svyat-Vechir)

Christmas Eve is celebrated in Ukraine according to the Julian calendar, on 6th January. People stay at home on that day and avoid all quarrels in the family and neighbours become reconciled with each other. A festive atmosphere rules in each household, fasting takes place, and some even do without breakfast and lunch on this day. The women of the house are completely taken up with preparing

the 12 traditional courses which are served in the evening on Christmas Eve. This solemn meal is called "The Holy Supper." The following dishes are served: stewed dried fruit, peas, beans, pasties, potatoes, mushrooms, buckwheat porridge, sauerkraut and stuffed cabbage, baked fish and pancakes with millet. Finally the dish which has a very ancient tradition is prepared with especial attention. It is called "kutya", a sweet made of boiled wheat-grain, honey and ground poppy-seeds, served cold.

The master of the house occupies himself with clearing up and preparing the room for the "Holy Supper." He feels he is in the role of a magician or priest, who has an unusual mission on Christmas Eve to fulfil. He brings a sheaf of corn and a bundle of hay and straw into the living-room with lots of ceremony and puts them in the main corner. Hay and straw are spread out under the table-cover and the rest laid under the table. This corn-sheaf and the hay are called "grandfather" and "grandmother" (*did* and *baba*), as symbols of deceased forefathers. Then the master of the house blesses the house, the yards and stalls with incense, as a protection against evil spirits and all possible dangers.

As soon as it is dark and the evening star appears on the horizon, the "Holy Supper" begins in every Ukrainian household. First of all, all domestic animals are given a treat. The master of the house takes a spoonful from each of the 12 dishes tastefully arranged on the table, and puts them onto a special dish. He goes with this to the stalls for his domestic animals and lets them all try in turn. Then he makes a sign of the cross on the forehead of each, to protect them in the coming year from illnesses and wild animals. According to an old belief, the domestic animals receive the gift of speech at midnight on Christmas Eve. They can talk to the Almighty and complain about their bad treatment from their master or else praise him. The poultry too are visited on Christmas Eve and given some "kutya" (wheat-grain).

After that follows the most exciting and mysterious moment of Christmas Eve. The master fills his dish again from the 12 dishes of the Holy Supper. He takes as well a glass with honey, a glass of water, a cake, nuts and an apple¹. He takes a flail in his right hand and thus loaded he goes in front of the door of his house. He calls loudly into the darkness of the night and invites all forces of nature (frost, storms, hail, drought), wild animals and other visible and invisible dangers, which constantly threaten him and cause him much worry, to come to the Holy Supper. He waits for a while, and then, if nothing moves in the stillness of the night, he says: "If you evil spirits do not come today, when I invite you, then you do not need to come all through the year when I do not invite you."

1) O. Woropay, *Zvychayi nashoho narodu*. München 1958, Vol. I, p. 70.

Nature receives its healing and wonderful magic power only twice a year: on the eve of the summer solstice (Eve of St. John "the Kupalo") and on Christmas Eve, the night before the winter solstice. Only then is it possible to turn away all possible dangers and to call for happiness and wealth, and to entreat for the coming year. Thus Christmas Eve was of such great importance for the farmer. After the master of the house has protected his family and farm against all possible dangers for a long time, he sits down with his family at the table, which has been festively covered, to eat the 12 traditional courses himself. The Holy Supper then takes its traditional course, all requirements of the old customs and of etiquette being observed and followed. The souls of dead relatives also take part in the meal. The festive room on this evening is full of good souls, for whom the "food of the dead" (*kutya*) is put in small bowls on tables and benches. If a living member of the family wants to sit himself on the bench or on a chair, he blows the souls of the dead away first like dust, so that they are not crushed.

According to old belief, the souls of dead members of the family return to their former dwelling places, where they are called upon by the living relatives to perform various services. The oldest task of the dead was to protect the houses and survivors against dangers. In the course of time, the cult of the dead became mixed up with the cult of fire, the dead taking over the fertility characteristics of fire. With the rise of agriculture the dead also took over all vegetative characteristics and functions of agriculture. The dead finally rose to become the protective spirits of life, of fertility and the promoters of growth. The survivors were obliged to thank the dead constantly for their help and attention. Their duties extended, in the main, to feeding, keeping warm and providing the dead with water. There were regular meals for the dead (*tryzna*) on the graves of the dead. Warm meals were brought to the dead at the graves, and the souls were warmed by the steam of the meals. The dead were not to be deprived of anything which was also a pleasure to the living. Thus the "meals for the dead", which began originally with deep mourning, became a kind of wakes, full of games, dances, and songs. Such a festival was originally the Ukrainian *kolyada* (yule-tide carol singing), a ritual custom devoted in the main to appeals for happiness, wealth and peace.

The Ukrainian Kolyada

The word 'Kolyada' must have originated in the Roman 'calendar', and was widespread in Ukraine long before the introduction of Christianity. Later Christmas Eve was called Kolyada in Ukraine. Today this word signifies Christmas, Christmas carols and also various presents at Christmas.

Kolyada was often mentioned and strongly attacked in many writings of the Orthodox Church. In a command to sons and daughters taking confession, in the 14th century, they were forbidden to take part in *Kolyada* games. If nevertheless anyone did take part, he had to do three years penance and live only on bread and water. The Ukrainian ascetic Ivan Vyshensky (1657) was also an opponent of *Kolyada*: Abolish *Kolyada* — he wrote — in the cities and villages through instruction, for Christ does not want the devilish *Kolyada* to take place on the day of his birth, or the devil will push them into his abyss." The author of the *Hustynska Chronicle* (16th century) considered *Kolyada* as a heathen god and placed it in the sixth place in the line of gods of the Grand Duke Volodymyr: "The sixth was *Kolyada*", he wrote, "A very loathesome festival in his honour was celebrated on the 24th December. The simple people gathered in remembrance of this devil, on Christmas Eve, and they sang certain songs, in which the birth of Christ was certainly mentioned, but *Kolyada* was more in honour of the devil."²

The Ukrainian *Kolyada* (a merry procession with songs and dances) began on Christmas Eve after the traditional evening meal and lasted over the New Year festival until Epiphany. Its organisers were several groups of Christmas carol singers (*kolyadnyky*), who were composed mainly of adults and later also of children. This ancient custom has been best preserved among the Ukrainian mountain dwellers in the East Carpathians, and it is worthy of our attention.

A *Kolyada* group consists of 12 singers with a choir-leader, 3 musicians, 1 *trembita* player³ and several dancers. The village priest usually supervised the organisation and the carrying out of the *Kolyada* games. The carol singing began in front of the parsonage with a procession round the church. The dancers carried valuable walking-sticks in the shape of an axe, richly ornamented and decorated with brass ferrules. Often small bells used to hang on the sticks. They approached the individual farms with rhythmic dances by the men, full of leaps and bows, accompanied by singing, music, bell-ringing and merry swinging of the sticks in the air. In these songs the arrival of the Christmas carol singers was announced and permission was asked for the event to take place. The master of the house gave his assent and then the singers entered the house, singing and dancing.

The choir-leader played the main role in the *Kolyada* procession, singing the carols as a solo, and the choir members always repeating

²) V. J. Mausikka, *The Religion of the Eastern Slavs*. Vol. I, Sourdes, 1922, p. 235 and 253.

³) Trembita is a skilfully constructed wind instrument made of wood, 3,20 m long, which is only used on special occasions (Christmas, New Year, Births, Funerals, Beginning of Spring).

the same refrain. The choir-leader bore the traditional title of 'Bereza', for the time of the Kolyada procession. This word means "mask" among the Roumanians and Bulgarians, and the Kolyada-leader in Roumania and Bulgaria used to wear masks of goats, wolves or birds. They were in definite relationship to the good spirits of the dead and sometimes even wore the masks of a death's-head in their procession. Only in the mask were they able to exert "a victorious influence on cattle and meadow."⁴

The Ukrainian choir leader did not in fact wear a mask, but had the ritual title of "Bereza" (a borrowing from the Balkans), which afforded him the same secret powers. In addition there were costumed singers in his company, disguised as goats, a horse, or *did* (ancestor). The choir leader appeared in the Kolyada procession as a magician, to demonstrate on the winter solstice his supernatural characteristics. His arrival was unusual. The rhythmic dance by the men (Plyas), together with the singing, music and much noise, served originally in the main to drive away the evil spirits, and then as an entreaty for happiness and prosperity.

The secret power of the 'bereza' revealed itself most strongly in the performance of the old Kolyada songs, which took place in the house of the host. The singers, musicians and people in costume sat round a large table. The choir-leader Bereza sat in the middle and opposite the host with his family. The faces of the people present could scarcely be recognised by the light of a weak parafin lamp. Bereza began at once in the tense stillness with the performance of an old Christmas song, which lasted for two to three hours. He developed in his song lavish imaginary pictures of happiness, wealth, safety, and love. The singers called in chorus: "May God give him this"! The Ukrainian farmers used to dream in their lonely mountain huts in the middle of winter of prosperity and heavenly happiness. The Christmas singers brought them this imaginary paradise and put their host into the state of the longed for felicity.

The scope of motives in the carols is very extensive. In one part of the Christmas songs the glorification of the person of the host and his family is portrayed. The host is compared to the moon, his pretty wife with the sun and their children with the stars. He no longer needed to worry about his farm because the saints would arrange the whole work for him. In spring St. Michael would take the plough to the field, St. Peter would drive the oxen, and the Mother of God would bring them their midday meal. Sometimes it was predicted that there would grow on this glorious farm (and here the full name of the owner of the farm was mentioned) wheat and rye, whose stalks would be of silver, and whose ears would be of gold.

⁴) Mircea Aliade, "Marginal Notes on the nature of the mask", *Antaios*, Vol. IV. p. 402.

In other carols it used to be sung again, how St. Peter drove the plough, St. Paul lead the oxen and God in person sowed the wheat. Then the prophet Elias was mentioned, how he harrowed the field. Again in another song a description is given, how the Lord God personally visited the host. He goes through all his farm buildings, triples the number of his cattle, fills his store and warehouse with riches, and his chests with precious silk cloth.

In another song, very widespread in Ukraine, it is related how the great cosmic powers, the sun, the moon and rain are guests of the farmer. They sit at the table of finest yew-wood, on which are piled cakes and innumerable goblets of wine, honey and beer. After the banquet the great guests name their services for the farmer. The sun gives warmth for growing the crops, the moon light in the night, and God donates the necessary rain.

In one part of the Ukrainian Christmas epic the old mythological theme of the world creation is represented. In this mention is made of the sea, stone, the Eternal Tree and the bird Demiurge. The Eternal Tree is represented as an oak, a pine, a maple, or as a vine, which grows in the middle of farmyard. The farmer comes in a direct relationship of kinship with all cosmic forces and traces his origin to them. In the later Christianised Christmas epics appears instead of the world creation the motive of the building of the church and instead of the bird Demiurge Jesus Christ as creator of the world.

A poetic improvisation by the choir-leader (bereza), addressed to the person of the host and his family, forms the end of one of those Christmas songs. He wishes him, either in the yard, in the field or in the meadow, a happy meeting with Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, and many other Saints, who are listed in order. This fortune-bringing meeting usually takes place in spring, when the farmer moves with his cattle to the mountain pastures, where they graze the whole summer, away from great danger. The longing for a better and more beautiful world and the poetic gifts of the old roving professional singers has in these songs created true works of art.

Mykhaylo KOTSYUBYNSKY
(1864—1913)

The Christmas Tree

(A Story)

I

Christmas Eve dawned.

In Yakym's hut work was being eagerly done. The fire crackled in the stove, and the borshch was hissing. Olena, Vasylo's mother, was making stuffed cabbage for the evening meal. Vasylo sat on the floor and rubbed poppy-seeds for the kutya, the delicious Christmas dish. Vasylo was 12 years old and the eldest of his brothers and sisters. While he was working he looked, now at his two small sisters, playing with the cat, now at his father, sitting on the floor, his head sunk down.

"What is father so worried about?" he thought. "Perhaps because he is not well, or because there is no money, to fetch mother's shoes from the cobbler's."

The door creaked and a strange man walked into the room. "I wish you good day", he addressed Yakym. "Haven't you sold the Christmas tree which is in your garden? My master has sent me to find a Christmas tree for his children; I've been looking for two days already and still can't find what I want..."

Yakym was silent.

"How much would you pay for it?" he asked after a time.

"Oh, we won't spent time haggling over that... tell me your price..."

"Will you give me three karbovantsi?" answered Yakym questioningly.

"Father", Vasylo's trembling voice could be heard, "but it's my tree, you gave it to me, when the teacher was pleased with me."

Vasylo's blue eyes filled with tears. He was sorry for the slender, green, Christmas tree, the only source of joy in the winter garden. The father looked at the son and Vasylo was quiet when he felt inexpressible sorrow in this glance.

"Well, I'll give three karbovantsi", the stranger broke the silence, "but you must deliver the tree today, since my master wants to decorate it for Christmas Eve."

"How am I going to deliver it, when I'm too weak myself and the boy is too small", Yakym said to him.

"Oh the boy isn't so small as all that... anyway it's not too far to carry it... about an hour... he can get there and back in daylight..."

Yakym thought it over and moved his hand.

"We'll manage it somehow... after all the city is not at the end of the world."

The stranger made the payment, told them where to take the tree and left.

Yakym's feelings brightened. For three karbovantsi he could get his wife's boots from the cobbler's. Thank goodness, Olena won't have to go to the celebrations in boots falling to pieces.

He dressed, took the axe, and went into the garden. Vasylo ran behind his father.

There was deep snow in the garden. Yakym's feet, in sturdy boots, sank into the deep snow and left a line of deep holes, which seemed to be threaded on a string. Now Vasylo hopped in the deep steps of his father, now he whirled up the soft, fluffy snow. The trees were standing bare and black in the snow; with fixed, frozen branches they clutched at the sky and did not move in the wind, as if they were dead. Their shadow lay like a net on the sugar-white snow. And further in the distance beckoned the Christmas tree, like a steep green needle. Vasylo and his father went up to it and remained standing. Both were sorry for the young little tree. It seemed to beckon to them, slender, green and happy, with its branches, as if it were pleased to see these guests...

Yakym went nearer to it, swung with the axe and cut into the trunk. The tree shuddered to the very top, as if it were terrified by this unexpected wickedness, and some green needles fell onto the snow. While Yakym was cutting, the tree shook as if it had fever. Vasylo seemed to notice that now and then it must have sighed, but then it was already bending. Cracking, robbed of every support, it fell to the earth... Vasylo almost wept from pain and sorrow. He watched in silence how his father took the tree by the trunk, loaded it on his shoulder and went off with it. The top of the tree dragged in the snow and left behind a long, path-like furrow. Vasylo looked at the fresh stump of the tree and two little tears ran down his cheeks. He could not bear any longer to look at this stub, this place where a few minutes before his Christmas tree had stood, and he covered the trunk with snow. It didn't take long and the tree trunk disappeared.

"Hey, Vasylo, why aren't you coming!" sounded the voice of his father, already in the farmyard. Vasylo ran to him.

"Get the sledge ready, son, you must take the tree off. Quick, it's already past noon and you must be back in daylight... If only no snow comes... said Yakym and looked at the horizon carefully, — it looks as if it is going to become cloudy. Don't hang about. Vasylo, it's no longer early..."

The little tree was already on the old sledge. Vasylo got ready for the journey. He harnessed the horse, put on his big fur and set off.

II

A cold wind freshened up and white, almost milky clouds began to roll up on the horizon. The strong horses trotted briskly. The track was level and the sledge glided quietly along. On both sides of the track, as far as one could see, stretched the snow-covered fields, as if covered with linen. The hard, bluish snow glittered like diamonds in the sun. Black crows settled in great flocks on the snow and rose up again. The wind became stronger. Snow clouds gathered and covered the sky. The sun disappeared behind the clouds. Fine flakes began to appear. Vasylo drove the horses on encouragingly and they ran at a trot to the approaching wood, which rose like a black wall before them. It was exactly half way, at the wood. He still had to travel half an hour through the wood. Vasylo entered the wood. Hardy gnarled oaks stood threatening in snow-drifts; it made no matter to them if a cold wind roared about them or if it snowed... Cold wet snow beat into Vasylo's face, stuck to his eyes, crept into his collar... The shaggy horses, on whom the snow remained sticking, had become white. Vasylo put his hands back into his sleeves, pulled his cap down over his forehead and bent his head, to protect himself a little from the cold wind and snow. He did not notice that the horses were leaving the track and were going as they liked. Suddenly the sledge got into a deep snow drift and hit a mound of earth. Crash! Something broke and Vasylo flew headfirst into the snow. The horses halted. Vasylo scrambled up, beat the snow from his clothes and ran to the sledge. The old, worm-eaten shaft was broken and the traces lay on the ground, separated from the sledge. Vasylo walked round the sledge, and regarded it from all sides. He was very near to crying. It was impossible to repair the damage. "It's best if I wait here until someone comes and gives me some advice", he thought and looked down the track, which was being more and more covered by the snow. But it was empty and still in the wood. Only the wind howled in the trees and blew the thick snow away in front of it, covering the distance with a white net... Vasylo took a few strides forwards and stood with eyes wide open

with fear and surprise. In front of him a gully opened, which should not in fact have been on his way. Then it became clear to Vasylko that he had strayed from the track. What was he to do? Leave the sledge with the little Christmas tree behind in the wood and return himself home? Vasylko unharnessed the horses and rode on the way back.

It became dim in the wood, evening began to break. Vasylko rode through the wood, the horses sank into the snow and could scarcely put one leg in front of the other. But Vasylko soon noticed that he was not on the right path, but simply riding at random through the wood. He stopped the horse. "I'll find the way in any case", he thought, "I'll ride back to the sledge, and then ride straight on from there." He turned the horses and rode back. Vasylko rode for a long time against the wind and the driving snow, but he did not find the sledge. "Somewhere or other I must have turned too far left instead of right", he thought, and turned more to the left.

Meanwhile it had already become quite dark in the wood. The only white was the gleaming snow on the earth and in the air, and the tough, frozen tree-trunks glimmered like ghosts, completely covered in snow.

Vasylko rode and rode, but could find no trace of the sledge. The horses went up to their bellies into the piled-up snow drifts. Grown tired, they did not stir from their position. Vasylko could not move one out again; he was cold and terribly dispirited. Then he began to cry. The snow-storm howled about him, the cold wind hissed, the snow whirled, and Vasylko thought of the bright warm hut of his father. The burning chips of pinewood crackle merrily in the room. The kutya, deliciously smelling Christmas cakes, are on the table. Father and the two small sisters are sitting at the table, mother hands out the evening meal... They are all so happy, talking loudly all at once and enjoying the holy day. Boys and girls bring presents, with 'A happy Christmas', ask after Vasylko... But perhaps there is no joy or happiness at home at all? Perhaps mother is crying, because Vasylko is not among them: perhaps Father, gloomy, sad, and lost in thought, is sitting at the end of the table and does not eat anything. Oh, if he could find a way at last out of this deadly wood! If he could see the track and his own hut... Vasylko spurred the horses on again; tiredly they moved from the spot and plodded slowly through the snow... But what was that? Vasylko saw clearly his own hut. It seemed to him, as if a little light flickered in the tiny window. Full of joy Vasylko wanted to make for the hut already. But it was only a bush, covered all over with snow, which from the distance had seemed like a hut. Vasylko let his hands drop. What was there to do? All around he saw like frightening ghosts the gnarled oaks in the wood, which stretched out their black boughs to him. It seemed to Vasylko as if they were dead people wrapped in white shrouds, who

were holding out their arms to him. Cold fear seized him. Then — something or other tore his cap from his head and cold snow fell on his head. A branch had been caught in his cap and had thrown it into the snow. Just as Vasylo gathered his courage and was going to climb down from his horse to pick up his cap, he heard from the distance a terrible, long-drawn out cry of 'oooooh!', whose echo rolled through the wood. Oooooh! it re-echoed from the other side and did not die away for a long time. Vasylo shuddered with cold dread. His hair stood on end and the heart in his breast stopped beating. "Wolves!", went through his mind. He turned the horses like a madman and hurried away between the mighty trunks. Vasylo came to the edge of the wood and the fields stretched behind him. Right at the edge of the wood in the field was standing a cross. Vasylo looked at the cross and then he knew: "Now I am on the right path... this path leads to the village where my uncle lives... it is not much farther." Vasylo turned into the path... but what was that fire glowing at the edge of the wood? What was the black thing moving in the snow? .. Suddenly the horses shied and sprang to the side. "Wolves" thought Vasylo. He spurred the horses on with force and held fast to their mane... Shaking with fear, without a cap, covered all over with snow, Vasylo stormed back onto the path, against the cold wind. Two wolves with long grey backs were pursuing them... the wind of the storm howled, whirled the snow high and covered their traces.

III

Yakym sighed in relief, after he had got Vasylo ready for the journey: the Christmas tree had been sold for good money, which was bitterly necessary; his wife needed the boots and also he had to buy something for the New Year... Of course Yakym was a bit sorry for Vasylo, because he had loved his little tree so much, but what was to be done? Necessity knows no law and there was really nothing to wear and eat — Olena was bustling about in a hurry by the oven, for she wanted to finish the evening meal in good time.

No one noticed that it was snowing outside, until the girl who was playing by the window called out joyfully:

"It's snowing! It's snowing! Mother can we go out?"

Olena and Yakym looked out of the window at the same time.

"How will our poor Vasylo get home in such a storm!" Olena called out.

Yakym went out. The sky was covered with snow clouds and a violent wind tore his breath out of his mouth. Yakym became very worried. "If only the lad doesn't have an accident", he thought.

"Now, what is the matter?" asked Olena, when he had come back into the room.

"A snowstorm... perhaps it will still go down... I will have to go and meet Vasylko perhaps."

But the storm did not abate. Olena looked again time after time out of the window, ran outside into the open air, sighed the whole time and was dying of fear and worry.

It had already become dark and Vasylko was still not back. Olena wept. Why did the child have to be sent away just before night was falling! Surely they would have still managed without those three miserable karbovantsi! What did they get out of the money, if they had to loose their eldest child for them? Olena made terrible reproaches and imagined how Vasylko was wandering, how wolves were attacking him and how they were tearing their beloved child into pieces... Her blood stopped still in her heart and her eyes swam in tears. Yakym was silent, but he worried none the less than Olena. He went out into the yard every five minutes, stared tensely into the darkness, listened to the howling of the stormy wind and waited in vain for Vasylko to appear or to hear his voice...

Everywhere the evening meal had already been eaten, only in Yakym's hut had they forgotten what day it was. The children had gone to sleep, waiting for their evening meal: but the older people let their heads hang sadly and they had no inclination to eat. The neighbour's son brought a present for Christmas. "Father and Mother and me — we wish you Great Happiness on Christmas Eve!" he said with his clear bell-like voice and handed over the Christmas biscuits wrapped up in a paper bag. "Where is Vasylko then?" he asked after a time. Olena sobbed out loud. My goodness! Today everyone is happy and in good spirits, as the Lord God wants it to be, when one waits for the great holy miracle. She alone was at this time in great suffering, her beloved child torn from her and thrown out into the snow storm, to be eaten by the greedy wolves. Black despair crouched the whole night in the hut, seized the poor people by the heart and granted them no sleep...

IV

The next morning the clear bright sun appeared in the clean-swept sky, to contemplate what the night had done with the earth. The wind lay silent, fresh snow, gleamed pure and silver under the blue vault of heaven. It looked as though the earth had put on a clean shirt for Christmas.

Soon it was daylight; Yakym went to the neighbour and asked him for a team of horses, because he had to seek Vasylko. Olena asked insistently to be allowed to come with him.

The sledge creaked along merrily in the snow, the horses ran merrily, although the track was somewhat covered; but Yakym and

Olena were not happy in their hearts. They kept a look out on all sides, anxiously intent on discovering any trace of Vasylo. But around it was level and white and the snow shone so much that it was painful to look at it for a long time. They were already entering the wood. Olena looked out in the wood, trembling from excitement and it seemed to her that now she saw the sledge, now the coat of Vasylo, now the foot of a horse...

"If anyone comes on the path", Yakym allowed himself to say, "we can at least ask if anything has happened in the wood!"

They met a Jew with a nag. Yakym told him his troubles and began to question him.

"I saw a broken sledge, with a Christmas tree on it", said the Jew. "Keep to the right in the wood."

"Alas, my poor Vasylo is no longer alive, my poor child is dead!" sobbed Olena between tears and these cries which came from a pain-torn heart affected Yakym's soul just as grievously.

The broken sledge glimmered on the track from a long way off, and among the snow shone the green of the Christmas tree. Yakym travelled up to it. Olena jumped off first from the sledge, fell down on to the earth, and wailings filled the wood. Yakym stood fixed, his head, tried by grief, bowed. "Now", he thought, "so the wolves have torn Vasylo to pieces..." Then he went a little closer. Yakym looked more closely and didn't want to trust his eyes. In front of him were standing his own horses and on the sledge sat Petro, the farm hand of his brother.

"Where have you come from?" Yakym shouted out loud.

"The farmer sent me to fetch this sledge. He also said that I should take this Christmas tree here to the master... Vasylo broke the sledge yesterday, lost his way and in the middle of the night with great difficulty reached us."

"Then Vasylo is alive?" shouted Yakym and Olena together.

"Yes of course he is alive... Just now they went back home with our Omelko."

"You're not lying?"

"Am I a mangy dog, that I lie!" Petro started up, insulted. "Thank the Lord that he is still alive!"

Petro took the Christmas tree on his sledge, but the broken sledge was hitched to Yakym's team. Yakym cheered the horses on and hurried back home.

Vasylo was already there. Yakym and Olena wept for overpowering joy and embraced Vasylo. "We have already thought that we would never see you again", she said. Vasylo however twittered like a little sprightly bird, when he related his adventure in the wood.

Yaroslav STETZKO

Where Eternity Lives

(NOTES AND REFLECTIONS ON A JOURNEY)

Nationalism — key to a solution

The threat of Communism is very strongly felt throughout the Asian countries our A.B.N. delegation was passing on its recent journey to the Far East. One of the apparent reasons for this is the lack of social and agrarian reforms. To attract and deceive a given local population, clever Soviet strategists use anti-feudal slogans, not their genuine Communist ideological aims, for propaganda purposes. Communist strategy aims to convince Asian peasants that the main purpose of Communist activity is to seize big landed estates and to divide the land among them equally. The agrarian reforms introduced in Taiwan, therefore, could well serve as an example to other South-east Asian countries. Moreover, national and social revolutions should be promoted, that is to say, social justice from the nationalist point of view should be sought. In essence, this means: children of one nation must not be social enemies; they must strive for social reforms within the scope of their own national unity. It can no longer be denied that social reform movements based on the various Asian religions — Hinduism and Mohammedanism — have failed. Hence Nationalism must be revived and become the inspiring force of opposition against Communist advance, and not the Buddhist philosophy of non-resistance to evil. The State Department of the United States of America, which neither forms any alliance with Nationalists nor creates suitable conditions for them to gain power, places many obstacles in the way of such a revival. The Diem regime in Vietnam is the best example... During our travels we met an American professor from Chicago who told us that Americans are partially responsible for the corruption in Asia. But the fact is that Nationalist movements are the least corrupted, e.g. Chiang Kai-shek's National China.

We had occasion to meet several Europeans, who had a troubled conscience about colonial policies, but, quite frankly, in comparison to some U.S. State Department protégés in the persons of some native representatives, the British or other West European "colonial masters" cannot be regarded as corrupt. To place the entire blame for the present situation in Asia on one country, on the British nation, or some other West European "colonial power" of yesterday — is, quite objectively speaking — unjust. This is all the more unjust because constant repetition of phrases about European "guilt" causes the whites in Asia to react unreasonably. They are ashamed of all their achievements, even of the fact that the whites were decidedly instrumental in helping to develop Asia...

Furthermore, it is the "whites" who are often exploited in Asia today. Practically all Americans and Westerners are regarded as wealthy by some Asians, and hence free booty!... In the meantime it is the "white" man who has become the working black angus, who is working the hardest in a climate that is an utter horror to him while some natives while away their time in play, cabarets, roaming and idleness...

A "white" man in Asia wants to expiate all his past sins, but he often goes about it with his eyes shut. For instance, he sometimes supports Governments that are in fact much worse for the broad masses than former colonial lords. If the Westerners repenting former colonial power were not afraid of *Nationalism* in Asian countries and if they ceased regarding the "democratic phrasemakers" as their only partners, but instead gave their support to Nationalists — a victory over Communism would be assured. *Nationalists in Asia regard every member of their nation as their brother*, while "liberal democrats" in Asia believe to be brothers only among themselves...

To be sure, a great job was accomplished by Protestant, mainly Scandinavian, Missions; Catholic missions have left a deep-rooted mark... But they are so very few.

Observing what England and Holland brought to Asia, I must admit that it was not merely colonial exploitation... They were not Muscovites... I am not trying to defend imperialism, but neither can I bring myself to believe that all who came here from the West were criminals in search of personal gain...

There are no colonial lords in Italy, but the south of the country lives in poverty. Here again it was a Democratic-Christian movement that failed; Christian democrats were not able to bring about social reforms in Sicily by liquidating big landed estates. As I sit here, in an airplane which lifts us over the clouds, nearer to God, as it seems I recall the wax-glued wings of Daedalus and Icarus that melted under the burning sun... Yet I do not share the opinion that asks: why go to the Moon as long as there is poverty on Earth?... It is the

THE 12TH CONFERENCE OF THE APACL
IN SEOUL, KOREA.



ABN delegation in Korea. Standing from the left:
Mr. Iryney Mykyta (Ukrainian Youth Association),
Mrs. S. Stetzko, Mr. Rama Swarup (ABN delegate
in India), Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko and Mr. A. Olechnik
(Byelorussian).



Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko talking with the Speaker of the Korean Parliament.
Mr. Ku Cheng-kang President of the APACL standing by.

great spirit of Man that ever yearns to know more, to discover new secrets of the Universe... Yet if Bolshevism, and Russian imperialism in particular, could be destroyed, then thermo-nuclear armament would take less of the nations' budget and new projects could be launched and continued: For instance, the irrigation problems of the Sahara and Gobi deserts, the problems of Pakistan and India... The Earth is not depleted and exhausted; it is merely that the efforts of mankind are directed elsewhere... The irrigation of the Sahara desert is not really in contradiction to man's efforts to reach the Moon. If the human brain did not strive to achieve what appears to be impossible it would surely deteriorate. Hence it was with pleasure that I read the statement by astronaut Colonel Glenn: "Only my great belief in God gave me the strength to overcome my fear and all mental and emotional strains while starting my flight into orbit. I am firmly convinced that every astronaut must have a strong belief in God or in an Ideal. But the belief in God is superior... There is order in the Cosmos, and this is one of those great things in the universe which prove to me that God exists. There must be a higher Power which gives the stars their paths and sees to it that the stars keep to this plan..."

The Longing for Eternity

Because of the Pakistani-Indian conflict, our air route was changed, and for this reason we had to spend several extra hours in Bangkok, Istanbul, Athens and then, as scheduled, to Rome. While admiring magnificent temples and pagodas in Bangkok — the centre of Buddhism — and seeing the terrible mediocrity all around, the inability to comprehend the eternal values created by the human spirit in the past periods of great faith, I was suddenly struck by the question: "What noble tribute will *our* generation pay to eternity. Just like the fathers and forefathers of these mortals around us, who now leisurely sip coca-cola and throw admiring glances at the human, all too human "art" — perhaps in the shape of Sophia Loren, — I was thinking how could they have created such monumental beauty, before which we, Europeans, stand in awe..."

Facing other situations while in the Far East, we were constantly conscious of the fact that we *were* Europeans, that this world was not our world, that our understanding of *human dignity*, rooted in Christianity, ancient Greek and Roman culture, is not the understanding of the majestic culture of Buddhist Rome — Bangkok...

Especially in India this feeling strongly prevails. How erroneous the existing appraisal of India could be?! For a European, who is used to view India through the image of Ghandi and Rabindranat Tagore, it is hard to realise the extent to which sex dominates over the spiritual in India. How amazingly far are we Christians and

Europeans from India, and yet the Japanese are just as far from India! The Nation of kamikadze and samurai! Asia is no monolith, but the most varied heterogeneity.

It seems that the Philosopher was absolutely right when he spoke about the transient character of culture. Cultures are born, reach a point of culmination and then die out... And yet it is painful and sad to have to admit that the Philosopher — a tragic pessimist — was right.

It was painful suddenly to see St. Sophia Cathedral, which is now a museum in Istanbul! A monumental structure containing uncared for, priceless treasures of art — Byzantine art. I felt so much at home while looking at and admiring these treasures of art, living through the centuries of the existence of this Cathedral, and yet painfully conscious of the fact that nobody cares to restore this church... Christianity is in a lethargic sleep when such a treasure is allowed to deteriorate. My thoughts carry me across the Black Sea to my native Cathedral of St. Sophia, in Kyïv, which I have seen only in pictures... and I am overcome by emotions: we are of Byzantine rite. Greece is closer to our hearts than Rome. Icons familiar and dear to us — and not at all tri-armed crosses, as we are for some reason made to believe — are there at St. Sophia Cathedral...

Turkish sultans thought that their Mosques would cast a tall shadow over St. Sophia Cathedral, but the shadow fell short. The blue Mosque of Sultan Ahmed, the Mosque of Suleyman the Great outshine St. Sophia with their glitter, but not with their originality. Everything here is an imitation of St. Sophia. And sultans were not ashamed to admit it. They wanted to outdo the Cathedral in style, but the first Cathedral remained unique. And even the best imitation is unable to dim its glory.

And my thoughts turn to St. Peter's basilica in Rome, the largest in the world, but even here we have an imitation of St. Sophia Cathedral, which, it seems, will remain forever as the original, most-imitated Cathedral throughout the ages... Here, too, stands St. Irene's old church, older than St. Sophia, and also turned into a museum. Disappointing and sad! Sad, for the Christian world is making no effort to restore St. Sophia Cathedral, it is not being cared for, it lies forgotten...

The same sad feeling stayed with us during our short stopover in Athens, as we practically ran to see the Acropolis... We looked... Large monumental ruins... But out of these ruins an ancient culture spoke to us in silence... Athens leaves a stronger impression than ancient Rome. Immediately one senses that Rome was an imitation. Majestically completed — no, still to be completed — spiritual culture! Standing before the Acropolis how deeply do I feel that we are Europeans! More deeply, as I begin to realize that here Europe

was born. We are now standing before Pallas Athena and thoughts grip me with such intensity that I am momentarily overcome. What beauty! What a perfect symbol of spiritual knowledge, and how strange it is to stroll by and walk on paths used by immortal Athenians... We are on the Agora... And as we look at a reconstructed model of the Acropolis, Agora and many other buildings and temples — we are sad and sad again. For if the Western world is able to invest astronomical sums in senseless films, degenerate television programs, sports stadiums, golden beds ornamented with precious stones — for the wife of Ghana's Minister of Finance — why is it that the Acropolis and the Agora are not reconstructed?... Yes, I had similar thoughts while standing before St. Sophia's Cathedral, for they stem from the same roots... Socrates and Plato, the greatest of philosophers — both shared a belief in one God, both prepared the World for the arrival of God's son. Is it not possible to start a Foundation for the Rebuilding of the Acropolis just as the Ford, Rockefeller, and other foundations exist? For anybody who once visits the Acropolis and wants to believe in greatness, in the genius of mankind, is reminded at once of the creative human spirit. Suddenly, how ridiculous all theories of historical and dialectical materialism appear, when compared to the greatness created by human genius! We stroll again the paths strolled by Plato, Socrates, stoics, and Pericles, Phidias, Praxiteles, and again we fail to understand how it is, that the poverty-stricken Greeks, rushing by with their oxen — are the descendants of real titans of Spirit!

(To be continued).

THE 12th CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (APACL)

Between October 31 and November 5th, 1966, there took place in Seoul, the capital of the Republic of Korea the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, an organisation which unites anti-communist bodies in many countries of Asia, as well as in Australia, New Zealand and some African States. The leading chapters of the APACL are those of National China (Taiwan), South Korea, the Philippines, Japan and South Vietnam. Delegations of other anti-communist organisations also took part. Among them there were representatives of the A.B.N. (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), an international organisation uniting revolutionary underground liberation movements of the nations enslaved by Communist Russia, including the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). The A.B.N. Delegation was led by its President Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and Mrs. Slava Stetzko, Editor of the "ABN Correspondence" and "The Ukrainian Review." It was supported by the representatives of the Ukrainian Youth Association (in the USA, Canada and Australia), Mr. Iryney Mykyta, and of the Byelorussian Liberation Front, Mr. Alexander Olechnik.

The 12th Conference of the APACL passed a number of important resolutions with regard to the fight against Communism and Russian and Red Chinese imperialism. It laid the foundations to the formation of a World Anti-Communist League which is to be set up at a conference in Taipeh, Taiwan, next year. A resolution demanding the break-up of the Russian empire and the re-establishment of national independence of Ukraine and other countries subjugated by Moscow was submitted by the A.B.N. and unanimously adopted by the plenary session of the Conference. Below we publish the texts of this resolution and of the speech by Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko delivered at the Conference.

ADDRESS

of Mr. Yaroslav STETZKO, President of the Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), former Prime Minister of Ukraine, at the 12th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, held in Seoul, Korea, October 31st-November 5th, 1966.

Your Excellencies, Dear Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my great pleasure to take part in this Conference and to bring you sincere greetings on behalf of Central Committee of ABN, Ukrainian Liberation Movement and myself.

We all are thankful to free Korea for organizing this Conference. Korea, as you know, like Vietnam and Germany, was bisected into two parts mainly as a result of political manouverings at the closing stages of the 2nd World War, which drew a dividing line right through the above-named nations and introduced into world politics a new basis for a temporary coexistence among super-powers.

The countries already mentioned by me, were not the only victims of the policy of coexistence. Because of the general principles of this policy, Ukraine, fighting the Russian invaders after the year 1945, was abandoned by Western democracies and refused any help, even when three communist states — USSR, the Polish People's Republic and Czecho-Slovakia joined forces, as agreed on May 12, 1947, to destroy the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Because of the principle of coexistence, the revolting East Germans were left unaided in 1953, and the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 was abandoned to Russian onslaught.

The coexisting Free World was just an indifferent onlooker when the prisoners of the Russian concentration camps revolted in the years 1953-1959. And yet, the appropriate help given to these anti-Russian forces after Stalin's death, would have started the disintegration of the biggest prison of nations in the world, and without the use of atomic bomb.

Nevertheless, today, disregarding this bad experience of the past, we have to carry on the fight against Russian imperialism and communism. And we shall succeed! But, —

We must be able to persuade certain Western official circles to resign from their attempts to unify the whole of mankind under one world government.

We must impress upon these important persons that any agreements for keeping the world divided between the great powers by the threat of using atomic bombs is now outdated. These agreements will not be kept, and furthermore there are now other nations who also have atomic weapons. Today there is a greater power than the atomic or hydrogen bomb — the forces of the captive and enslaved nations fighting for their liberation against the Russian imperialists and Chinese communists.

We must influence some official circles to drop the unrealistic plan of transforming, after victory over USSR, the totalitarian Russian empire into a pseudo-democratic one, which would eventually become a link in a world super-structure, after an outburst of dynamic national liberation forces of various subjugated nations were put down, prevented from gaining momentum or curtailed to become insignificant and ineffective.

We have to make the world aware of the Russian trick which makes some people believe that in the fight of the Free World against the Chinese communists — Russia's alignment with the West would be possible. This Russian devilish strategic plan, similar to Stalin's non-aggression pact with Hitler of August 23, 1939, would give the Russians the opportunity to intervene on the side of the Chinese communists, showing them the expansion possibilities in the South and the South-East.

We have to make everybody understand that it is not the Chinese nation, but the aggressive Chinese communists who are the real threat to the world. Therefore, the Free Chinese should be helped in their military actions against the Chinese communists. The achievements of the National Chinese Government, especially in the socio-political and economic fields, will be highly appreciated on the mainland. There is a great majority of Chinese who hate the imported communist ideas enforced upon them, since these ideas are diametrically opposed to the real teachings of Confucius and to the Chinese mentality.

We have to stress continuously that the Free World can succeed only by organizing the world on a national and not a supra-national or anti-national basis. Every nation, even the smallest, has to be given the opportunity to develop her historical, cultural, social and religious characteristics. It implies a necessity to profess and support by the Free World the concept of dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire of every shape into nation states of all subjugated peoples within their ethnographical boundaries.

These are the pre-conditions of our success in the fight against Russian imperialism and communism.

But some countries of the Free World are favouring the so-called "co-existence" policy. It is true that they are afraid of the hydrogen bomb, but they are also afraid of the national idea of the subjugated nations. Yet — and we have to stress it most emphatically — these subjugated nations, if given

a chance, would be able to destroy the whole Russian empire from within. Unfortunately, certain official circles in some countries are thinking about some undefined world government. Therefore, they are working against the prime interest of the subjugated nations and the interest of all freedom-minded people of the world.

For all the nations of the world have a Good-given right to live as individual spiritual entities. They will never resign their aspirations for national independence, and therefore, they will hardly ever voluntarily and without opposition agree to renounce their rights as separate nations and be dissolved in some global superstructure forced upon them. Attempts to destroy national states will inevitably lead to continuous wars with the ultimate danger of a nuclear war.

It should be emphasized that the real trend in the world today is leading to profound spiritual changes, to an ultimate victory of national ideas and the concept of nation states over empires and other supra-national and global combinations.

To follow the trend and be victorious, the Western World should employ a strategy of underground activities and national revolutions on the territories controlled by the enemy — the strategy successfully used for some time by the other side.

The Russians talk about coexistence because they are afraid of the national revolutionary forces of the enslaved nations of Ukraine, Caucasus, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Armenia, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany, the Baltic States and other subjugated nations. To co-operate with the Russians and other communist countries under such circumstances, helping them economically and otherwise, would mean to work against the vital interests of the enslaved nations.

It is most tragic that the Free World has no successful strategical plans against the dangers of enslavement of the rest of the Free World by Russian imperialism. There should be definite political and military plans, and such military strategy should take into consideration the national liberation forces of the enslaved nations. The non-Russian population in the Russian empire outnumbered the Russians about 3 to 1.

Therefore, the Free World's strategy should be clear: to concentrate the attack on the weakest spot of the enemy — this means supporting the national revolutionary movements of the subjugated nations in the Russian empire and helping the Free Chinese forces in their fight for China's liberation, and supporting the fight for North Vietnam's and North Korea's liberation.

The main aim of the Free World should be a concentrated simultaneous attack on both Moscow and Peking, and not the policy of favouring one or the other enemy and helping them to keep whole nations in enslavement. The main objective of the West should be wars of liberation where atomic bombs could not be used, as these wars would be conducted on the enemy's own territories.

It could be said with great certainty that liberation wars and revolutions can eliminate the thermonuclear warfare for a simple reason: the occupation

forces are too close to their adversaries — insurgent forces, there are no clearly marked fronts and there is not enough room for striking with thermonuclear weapons. Let me quote an authority on nuclear warfare, British war theoretician Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart, who thinks that the atomic bomb is a very dubious means of warfare to be successfully used against insurgents and its indiscriminatory use could mean death to both sides. The atomic bomb is neither a good policeman nor a good fireman, nor is it a useful border guard. On the other hand, every big imperialistic war will with certainty be a thermonuclear one, whatever its dimension.

It should be clearly stressed that any military actions must be supported by a second front: The WORLD ANTI-RUSSIAN AND ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE. The political basis for the creation of such a League already exists.

For the first time in 1958 in Mexico City delegates from 65 countries laid the foundation for this World Anti-Communist body, which, according to the accepted resolutions, should have been known as the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION. The Mexican Conference was a big step on the road to consolidation of anti-communist forces and the recognition of their true objectives.

In 1959, the Congress of the U.S.A. unanimously passed Public Law 86-90, supporting the disintegration of the Russian empire and the destruction of communism. The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations has always been working in this direction.

The principal objective of the World Anti-Communist League must be the mobilization and consolidation of all anti-communist forces in the world, in order to create a second auxiliary front which would do everything possible to support morally and materially revolutionary liberation movements of subjugated peoples in their fight against communist dictatorship and Russian imperialism and colonialism.

The World Anti-Communist League must identify itself with the objectives for which the subjugated nations are fighting, refraining, however, from any clauses or conditions which could limit, obscure, or deny the ultimate goals pursued by the revolutionary liberation movements.

It should be noted that at the time when Russians and Chinese communists did not yet have atomic weapons, the Western Powers refused any help to the revolutionary liberation movements of the subjugated peoples, be it active material help or mere declaration of solidarity with their objectives. This clearly indicates that lack of support for liberation movements of subjugated peoples by Western Powers, was caused by anything but fear of atomic weapons.

I have already indicated the reasons behind the refusal of support to the subjugated peoples by the West. We know already what misfortune brought this policy of moral disarmament and spiritual retreat upon the Western World. And what results did such a policy bring to the world? The West did not even try to liberate isolated Albania, while Peking was successful in occupying Tibet, and the Russians easily took Cuba into their orbit from under the nose of the USA.

Such is reality. We have to work very hard among the Free nations of the world to change the attitude of the world against Russian imperialism and Chinese communism. The subjugated nations must be taken into consideration as partners in the common fight against the same enemy. For the subjugated nations are able to speak for themselves and they will speak. Just listen to what the Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, persecuted to his death by Russian communists in 1963, wrote in this regard: "Let Americas and Russias be silent, when I speak with Thee, Ukraine! Ukraine, Thou art my prayer, my eternal desperation!"

From military and economic aspects, USA is strong enough to successfully oppose Moscow and Peking; ideologically and politically, however, the only force capable to tear apart the Soviet Russian empire is Kyiv, the Ukrainian liberation movement — true champion of the ideas of ABN. In Asia, it is Taiwan, the island of hope and freedom that reminds Chinese people on the mainland that their time will come.

We are confident that sooner or later Korea will be united into one independent and happy nation. We hope that other divided nations will follow suit. It is the wish not only of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, but also of all freedom-loving nations.

Yet, we all must be ready to fight and to help the fighters for independence. We have to fight, but we must persuade the free world to help us in this fight for national freedom and independence. If all the nations and peoples of the world will undertake to fight for the disintegration of the Russian colonial empire into independent nations, communism will be destroyed everywhere in the world.

RESOLUTION

**Submitted by the A.B.N. Delegation and Accepted by the A.P.A.C.L.
12th Conference, in Seoul, Korea, October 31-November 5, 1966.**

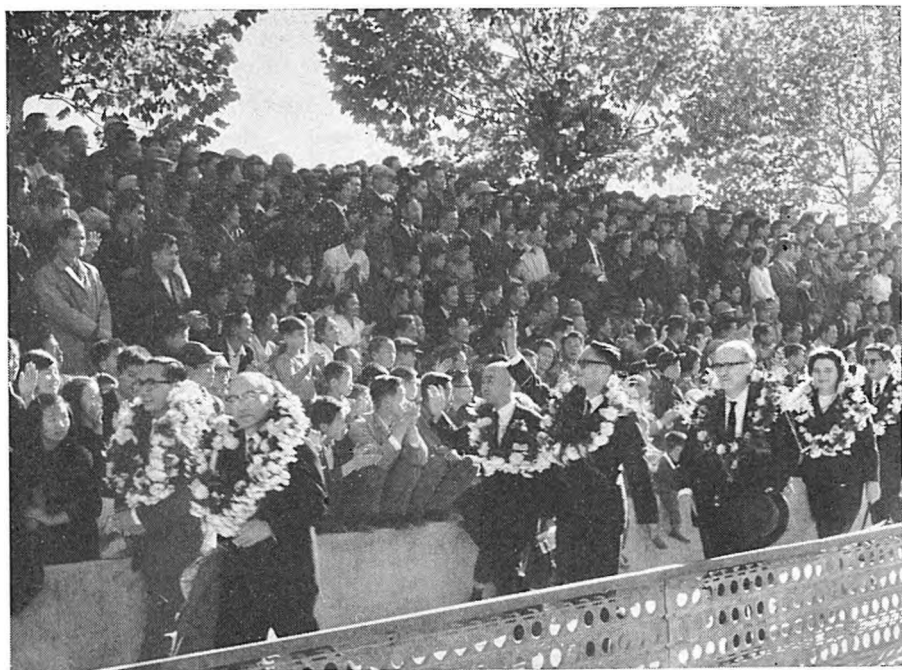
Whereas, the national independence of all peoples of the world is an integral part of the progress of mankind, and

whereas, the emancipation of peoples in Western dependencies into nation states, done often with assistance from their former colonial masters, makes the spontaneous realization of the idea of nation states more evident, and

whereas, the independent nation state decidedly furthers the development of original national cultures, thus enriching a cultural diversity of mankind, and

whereas, regardless of their size, wealth, race or religion, the nation states, as equal and sovereign, are the best safe-guard of peace, justice and international security, because, unlike the multinational empires, they have no means by which to exploit the material and technical resources as well as human manpower of other subjugated peoples for the purpose of perfecting and stockpiling their armaments and furthering their expansion, and

whereas, the exercise of human rights, unlimited creative expression, freedom of religion, social justice, self-determination of social and political systems,



Enthusiastic welcome for the delegates in Korea.



Assumption Church (built in 1073) of the Monastery of the Caves in Kyiv, patronised by Hetman Ivan Mazepa; destroyed during the 1941-45 war.

and the fostering of traditional cultural values, is possible only in an independent democratic nation state within its ethnographic boundaries, and

whereas, the Russian empire — regardless of its ideological base — is opposed to the progress of mankind and the integral realization of human rights of nations and individuals and becomes a most dangerous threat to freedom-loving mankind, because the possession of the resources of an empire allows it to accumulate massive means of destruction, and

whereas, the idea of national liberation and struggle for human rights is the Achilles' heel of the Russian Communist empire:

Now, therefore, the 12th Annual Conference of the A.P.A.C.L., in the spirit of resolutions approved at previous Conferences of the A.P.A.C.L., resolves:

1. (a) to support the break-up of the Soviet Russian colonial empire into independent democratic nation states whose territories would be determined by ethnographic boundaries and the destruction of the Communist system in all its forms;
(b) to advocate the dissolution of all forcibly constructed state organisms in and outside Europe into nation states;
(c) to support the re-unification into free nation states of all forcibly divided nations in Europe and Asia;
- 2) to support the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples in the Russian communist empire as a means to its liquidation and as a possible alternative to a nuclear war, and to call upon the governments of the Free World to give wholehearted active support to such an action;
- 3) to convince the Free World of the necessity to concentrate its attention on the principal enemies — Moscow and Peking — as a precondition of victory in the civil and peripheral wars instigated by these two powers and as the eventual means of preventing such wars in the future;
- 4) to advocate the concept of a united front of the Free World with the subjugated nations, directed *simultaneously* against *both* tyrannies — Moscow and Peking, — and to oppose any alliance with one tyranny against the other, because similar practices in the past led to the victory of the tyranny;
- 5) to condemn Russian colonialism and imperialism in countries subjugated by Moscow and to call upon the UN, to take the strongest measures in accordance with the de-colonization resolution No. 1514 (XV) to apply the strongest measures to the USSR and its satellites because of the continuous violation of human rights of individuals and nations by them; to condemn the extermination practices of Moscow in all subjugated countries; to condemn Russification, persecutions, imprisonments and sentencing of cultural workers — authors, scientists, artists as well as students, for their desire of creative freedom; to protest against and condemn the plan already under way of forced deportation and resettlement in Siberia and Kazakhstan of one and a half million young adults from the subjugated countries in order to weaken the revolutionary struggle of the subjugated peoples against their oppressors in their native lands.
- 6) The 12th A.P.A.C.L. Conference expresses its solidarity with heroic struggle of Hungarian people that ten years ago rose in arms against the Russian oppressors; it condemns the Soviet Russian aggression against the freedom-loving Hungarian nation and all other subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia; it calls upon Free World to support the liberation struggle of all subjugated peoples in their striving to freedom and independence.

V. B.

FURTHER TRIALS OF UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS

The publication of Symonenko's poems abroad in January, 1965 (in the Munich journal *Suchasnist*, the newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohy* etc.) has called forth a furore among the Soviet Russian literary commissars in the Ukraine. They tried to weaken the bombshell effect which his poems had on the Ukrainian people by forcing his mother to publish (on April 15th, 1965 in *Literaturna Ukraina*) a denunciation of his friends, Ivan Svitlychny, Perepadya and "others" to whom she had handed over Symonenko's unpublished manuscripts and who allegedly "spread them around." After the proper security organs were alerted a number of Ukrainian intellectuals, among them the literary historian Ivan Svitlychny (42) and literary critic and writer Ivan Dziuba (31), were arrested (probably in September, 1965) under the charge of sending Symonenko's manuscripts abroad and thus denigrating the Soviet regime. At the same time the writers Daniel and Sinyavskiy were arrested on similar charges and their trial took place at the beginning of 1966 and received some publicity. The arrests of Svitlychny, Dziuba and numerous other Ukrainian intellectuals whose names are only partly known took place under the veil of strict secrecy and despite various contradictory rumours nothing definite is known about their present conditions and whereabouts. It was rumoured that Dziuba was released because he contracted tuberculosis, and on May 29th the Paris *Le Monde* reported also the release of Svitlychny which so far has not been confirmed by other sources. At the same time, other arrested Ukrainian writers and intellectuals M. Horyn, M. Osadchy, B. Horyn, I. Kalynets and others apparently are still lingering in prison charged it seems for spreading views tarnished with Ukrainian nationalism. The Kiev satirical journal "Perets" (Pepper) published in its September, 1966 (No. 17) issue a lampoon by a certain V. Osadchy on Ivan Dziuba, implying that he enjoys the fame of a Ukrainian nationalist "martyr" though "living in liberty" and connecting his views with those of the Ukrainian emigré nationalist leader Yaroslav Stetzko, imputing to him anti-Soviet ideas and conduct. The Soviet newspaper *Visti z Ukrainy* (*News from the Ukraine*), published exclusively for propaganda among Ukrainian emigrés in the Western world, carried in its No. 35 (August, 1966) issue an article by I. Svitlychny on Vasyl Symonenko, disputing statements by emigré literary critic I. Koshelivets about Soviet censorship of Symonenko. Nothing by Svitlychny has appeared in the Soviet press published for home use. From this it seems that both writers are under severe pressure of Bolshevik Russian authorities to recant and that only the notoriety of their cases saves them from a worse fate.

It is reported that arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and students began in July 1965. The KGB arrested dozens of young Ukrainian students and cultural figures in such Ukrainian towns as Kiev, Odessa, Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil, Stanyslaviv (now known as Ivano-Frankivsk). About 70 people from among the arrested were retained in custody, while the rest were released under surveillance. The majority of the arrested were deported beyond the borders of the Ukraine into isolated concentration camps. There they underwent prolonged investigation connected with intimidation and tortures to enforce confessions. At a number of trials in Lutsk, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv which began in January 1966 several dozens of the arrested received various prison sentences. The last trial behind closed doors took place in Lviv in the second half of April. The following are some names of those sentenced and the terms of imprisonment to which they were sentenced.

- From Kiev:* HRYN MYKOLA — a scientific worker of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, sentenced to 3 years imprisonment;
RUSYN IVAN — scientific worker, sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment, released in summer 1966;
KUZNETSOVA YIVHA — scientific worker, sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment;
MARTYNENKO OLEKSANDER — engineer, sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment;
HEVRYCH YAROSLAV — student, sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment.
- From Odessa:* KARAVANSKY SVYATOSLAV — journalist, poet and translator. In 1944 he was sentenced to 25 years of penal servitude in concentration camps, released after serving half of the sentence, re-arrested in 1965 and deported to a concentration camp in the Mordovian ASSR to serve the rest of the sentence.
- From Lutsk:* MOROZ VALENTYN — historian, sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment;
IVASHCHENKO — journalist, sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment.
- From Lviv:* HORYN BOHDAN — art critic, sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment;
HORYN MYKHAYLO — psychologist, sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment;
ZVARYCHEVSKA MARIA — scientific worker, sentenced to 8 months of imprisonment, has now been released after serving her term;
MASYUTKO MYKHAYLO — pensioner, literary critic, sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment;
OSADCHY — lecturer at the University of Lviv, sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment.
GEL IVAN — worker, student of an evening course, sentenced to 3½ years of imprisonment;
KOSIV MYKHAYLO — lecturer, literary critic, arrested but later released owing to a heart ailment.
- From Ternopil:* CHUBATY — teacher, sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment;
GERETA — scientific worker, sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment.
- From Ivano-Frankivsk:* ZALYVAKHA OPANAS — artist, sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment;
OZERNY MYKHAYLO — literary critic, sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment.
- From Zhytomyr:* SHEVCHUK ANATOLY — young writer, sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment.

Some of the accused were released without a trial, as was probably Professor Ivan Svitlychny.

The accused were charged with committing offences under Article 62 of the Penal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. In particular they were charged with reading, copying and disseminating literary works, articles and pamphlets, prohibited by the Soviet Russian censorship, dealing with the unhappy state of the Ukrainian language, literature and art under the Soviet regime. Some of the accused were charged with reading and disseminating pre-revolutionary historical works on the history of Ukraine, essays on the colonial situation of Ukrainian culture and science, statement by the Ukrainian emigré cultural workers concerning the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument in Washington, ex-President's Eisenhower's speech on that occasion, the speech by Pope John XXIII and the work "The Deduction of the Rights of Ukraine" by the 18th century Ukrainian emigré Hetman Orlyk etc.

Another trial took place in the summer of 1965 in Ivano-Frankivsk where organisers and speakers at the unveiling of a monument to the poet Shevchenko in the village of Sheshory stood trial.

At all the trials the accused boldly rejected the accusations and declared that they merely demanded equal rights for Ukraine and protested against its present colonial position. They especially demanded the recognition of Ukrainian as the state language in the Ukrainian SSR and a free development of Ukrainian culture.

During the trial in Lviv the accused refused to accept the indictment written in Russian and as a result the trial had to take place in Ukrainian. Though the Russian occupation authorities tried to keep the trials secret, hundreds of people, especially students, gathered in front of the court and prison in Lviv during the April trial. They openly expressed their indignation with regard to the authorities and their sympathies to the accused. When those sentenced were led out of the court they were greeted with the shouts of solidarity and flowers. Following this demonstration several dozen of Ukrainian intellectuals sent a written protest to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine demanding that the condemned be released. Most of those sentenced have been deported beyond the borders of the Ukraine, while against some investigations continue. Those released cannot find a job in their usual place of residence and are refused permission to live in another town.

The fact of the arrests of a number of Ukrainian intellectuals was publicly confirmed by two Soviet Ukrainian poets, Ivan Drach and Dmytro Pavlychko, who attended the UN General Assembly session in New York last autumn as members of the delegation of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Replying to a question at a reception on 24th September, 1966, Pavlychko stated that 23 persons had been arrested on charges of "anti-Soviet activity." On 11th November, addressing a small gathering, Ivan Drach also admitted that arrests of intellectuals took place, stating literally, among other things:

"The point is that among those people there were persons who had earlier been connected with underground nationalist organisations which used to exist in Ukraine, they had even been connected with the German Gestapo... They started to spread a blunt propaganda against our system, against our order, they spread, re-typed and sent out, as well as carried all over Ukraine documents attacking the character of our system, its "hostility to Ukrainian matters", the "Red fascism" dominant in our country etc..."

The reference to "German Gestapo" is, of course, merely an attempt to justify somehow the brutal anti-Ukrainian policy of Moscow and persecutions of Ukrainian patriots who are simply demanding full rights of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine and freedom of cultural development of the Ukrainian nation which, like any other nation in the world, has every right to its independence and liberty.

The above facts, which of necessity give but a quick glimpse of the ferment which at present goes on in the Ukraine bears witness to the fact that the Soviet Russian occupation regime in Ukraine tries to curb the growth of an independent Ukrainian intellectual life by imposing severe punishments on the more outstanding individuals who refuse to bow to Moscow's boot. In these attempts Moscow encounters a growing resistance which, we believe, will constantly increase, for the historical development all over the world leads to the break-up of multinational empires and the establishment of free national independent states which then are able to choose their international partners freely.

Anatol W. BEDRIY

SURVEY OF HOLDINGS BY THE COLUMBIA LIBRARIES ON UKRAINE

(In the Field of Social Sciences)

The purpose of this paper is (1) to establish the holdings of Columbia Libraries on Ukraine in the areas of Social Sciences, (2) to find out such publications on the said subjects which CL is lacking but which are considered to be so valuable that would merit acquisition by Columbia, and (3) to try to evaluate this collection held by CL.

The succession of subjects to be discussed is as follows: (1) politics, government, ideologies, international relations; (2) general history, historiography, philosophy of history, specialized histories — ecclesiastical, military, economic, cultural; (3) bibliography; (4) geography; (5) archeology, anthropology, sociology; (6) economic theory and economics. Each section will include separate books and serial publications simultaneously.

In respect to the authorship, in this survey are included: (1) Ukrainian authors without regard of place of their residence or language of their writings, (2) authors of other nationalities disregarding language in which they wrote. However, authors and publications published in Ukraine which bear no relation to Ukraine are excluded.

My approach to the holdings is selective-representative and not statistical-numerical. My work included: (1) checking all holdings in CL main catalogue under the subjects: Ukraine, Ukrainian, Ukrainians, etc., and under some names of the more important authors (personal and institutional), (2) comparing the holdings with a bibliography *Books on Ukraine and the Ukrainians*, compiled by Andrew Gregorovich (200 entries), (3) checking some holdings in the Slavic Section of the Acquisitions Department, which are uncatalogued, (4) comparing these holdings with several selective bibliographies on outstanding Ukrainian writers and on some most important subjects, (5) comparing them with the comprehensive and excellent *Ukrainian Historiography* by Dmytro Doroshenko.

The work done is incomplete and the conclusions will be imperfect because of the following reasons: (1) in my estimate I missed to check about 10 to 20% of entries in the main catalogue, (2) I did not check about 80% of uncatalogued books in the Slavic Acquisition Section (out of appr. 17,000 entries there are about 10% on topics related to Ukraine), (3) I did not compare sufficiently the available Ukrainian bibliographies with the holdings of Columbia, of which there are about 20 books.

Politics, Ideologies, Governments, International Relations

All works published before 1800 are treated in the section on history. Many Ukrainian works are closely intertwined with literature, because despotic conditions of the occupation regimes did not allow straight expression of Ukrainian political thoughts. Of special and uppermost importance are the great political poems of Taras Shevchenko (not treated here).

Starting with the middle of the 19th century, there appeared the first more significant Ukrainian political treatise, *Knyhy bytiya ukrainskoho narodu* by M. Kostomarov. It is in CL. The next very important periodical *Zorya Halytskaya* is lacking. Most (if not all) of the antinationalist writings of Mykhaylo Drahomanov are here. Lacking are some minor works, e.g. *Moya spovid'* by V. Antonovych, *Ponevolnyuvana natsiya* by W. Podolynskyi. Also the

very important periodical *Dilo* is lacking, but another influential late-19th century autonomistic journal — *Kiyevskaya starina* (1882-1906) is here. So is the interesting work of the end of the 19th century, *Ruś-Ukraina a Moskov-shchyna-Rosiya* by L. Tsehelsky. Lacking is the series *Literaturno-Naukovyy Vistnyk* (1898-1932) as well.

At the beginning of the 20th century appeared a series of popular books and documents, published by the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, none of which is in Columbia. Also lacking is the very good evaluation of RUP given by V. Doroshenko in 1921. But the program of this party, *Samostiyna Ukraina*, written by Mykola Mikhnovsky, is here, although almost impossible to find. It is in a collection *Biblioteka Ukraïnskoho Pidpil'nyka*, v. 2. Almost all of the political writings of the greatest Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky are here, although unfortunately they cannot in any way compare with the quality of his historical works. There is not in Columbia the biography of a well-known national figure, Ivan Lypa, written by his son, Yuriy Lypa under the title *Svityl'nyk nevhasymyi* (Kalisz, 1924). It would be a long job to verify whether Columbia holds the political writings of Ivan Franko, greatest Ukrainian novelist, for they were always published together with literary works. The novel *Syn Ukraïny* by V. Zlotopolets (Kiev, 1919, 2nd ed.) is lacking, but it contains an excellent article in the form of a preface on the beginnings of the Ukrainian independence movement. Also not here is the organ of the Ukrainian People's Party, *Samostiyna Ukraina* (Lviv, 1905-).

Most of the writings of the Ukrainian Socialist anti-nationalist leader Volodymyr Vynnychenko are held by Columbia. So are the works of the national-socialist Isaak Mazepa.

Surprisingly, there is a good collection, perhaps complete, of publications of the Union for Liberation of Ukraine, an association of Ukrainian prisoners of the tsarist army on German territory. There are in CL some valuable publications that were printed in Vienna during the first two decades of the 20th century. Columbia also has many Ukrainian publications which appeared during 1920's and 1930's in Berlin. There are also some publications on diplomacy of the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, as well as informative material published in London, the United States, Vienna, Paris, on the occasion of the Paris peace conference following the end of the First World War. Also CL has several publications on the constitution and government of the Ukrainian national state. On the other side there is not even one of the big collection of analytical-critical literature on the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and its consequences for Ukraine.

Here are several publications of the Ukrainian national-conservative movement, which appeared in Vienna and in Berlin during 1920's. Of the writings of the chief Ukrainian conservative theoretician, Viacheslav Lypynsky, CL has only his main work *Lysty do brativ-khliborobiv*, but lacks some minor writings. There are also two important critical studies of him out of five at least. Very surprisingly there is nothing by the well-known Ukrainian writer Yuriy Lypa, whose 15 separate works were widely read during 1930's and still are highly regarded. Of those should be mentioned the biography of his father (1924), *Pryznachennia Ukraïny* (1938), *Rozpodil Rosii* (1941), *Chornomorska Doctryna* (1940), *Diary* (3 v., 1936-7).

The biggest unexplainable mystery of Columbia's holdings is the complete absence of works written by the greatest Ukrainian political philosopher and writer, Dmytro Donzow (except two books). Donzow began writing in 1913 and to the present day published 60 books and over 3000 articles. Some of his major works are: *Pidstavy nashoi polityky* (Vienna, 1921), *Natsionalizm* (Lviv, 1926), *Patriotyzm* (Lviv, 1935), *De shukaty nashykh tradytsiy* (Lviv, 1938), *Dukh nashoi davnyyny* (Prague 1944, München 1951), *Vid mistyky do polityky* (Toronto, 1957), *Skryzhal kobzarya* (Toronto, 1963), etc. Besides, CL does not hold any of the periodicals and serials which Donzow edited and which were the most prominent journals among Ukrainians of their time. He edited

Literaturno-naukovyy vistnyk from 1922 to 1932, *Vistnyk* from 1932 to 1938, and 20 volumes of *Kvartal'nyk Vistnyka*.

Lacking is *Natsiokratiya* by M. Stsiborsky, although 3-4 minor works of his are here. There is no publication in CL about Col. Evhen Konovalets, Head of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, of which there are several solid biographies. Similarly Konovalets's own valuable work *Prychynky do ukraïnshoi revoliutsii* is not here. There is, however, some material about Symon Petlura, President of the Ukrainian People's Republic, but only those which show his relation toward the Jewish minority in Ukraine. There are none of his own writings, neither the large collection of his articles and letters published in New York, 1956.

There is a fairly good collection of Ukrainian publications that appeared during 1930's in Warsaw. Lacking are two important studies of M. Drahomanov: *Drahomanov bez masky* (Lviv, 1934) and *Bil'she svitla* (Chernivtsi, 1936), both of the pen of Mykhailo Mukhyn.

There is a good collection of the part of Ukrainian publications appearing in Prague during 1920's and 1930's which reflect views of Ukrainian Socialists. There are almost all publications by the Socialist M. Shapoval, V. Starosolsky (except his most important — *Teoriya natsii*), the very good *Ukrain'ska emihratsiya* by S. Narizhny. But CL does not have almost any publications, including the periodicals *Ukrain'skyy student*, *Student'skyy Vistnyk*, *Natsional'na Dumka*, *Derzhavna Natsiya*, *Rozbudova natsii* — all of them published in Prague. (Some of these periodicals had larger editions than any Socialist, Communist, or Conservative periodical. Also there are none of the clandestine publications of Ukrainian nationalists that appeared during 1920's and 1930's in Western Ukraine (esp. several almanacs, organ of the Ukrainian Military Organization — *Surma*, a.o.). Lacking are the periodicals of Ukrainian nationalist leanings — *Student'skyy Prapor* (Lviv, 1920's), *Smoloskypky* (Lviv), and *Osteuropaische Korrespondenz* (Berlin) and none of the nationalist publications that were printed in Paris, Geneva, and Rome during 1930's. Columbia does not have *Do osnov nashoho natsionalizmu* by Stepan Rudnytsky, *Ukraina irredenta* by Yuriy Bachynsky (Berlin, 1924), and *Mizh dvoma imperiyalizmamy* by V. Bohust (Prague, 1931).

There is a representative-selected collection of writings by members of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which later was liquidated by the Russian Communists. But there are no critical books about the ideological leader of this group — Mykola Khvylovy. Till now there appeared perhaps as many as 20 such works. There is not even one book out of about 15 main publications by the Ukrainian right-wing nationalist Volodymyr Martynets, particularly his *Vid UVO do OUN* (Winnipeg, 1949, 450 p.). Lacking is *Ukrain'skyy natsionalizm* by A. Andriyevsky (Chernivtsi, 1935). There are 3 valuable books by Victor Andriyevsky. But the two major works of Dmytro Andriyevsky, *Polityka natsionalizmu* (Prague, 1930) and *Rosiyskyy imperializm* (Paris, 1958) are lacking. Another nationalist writer, Yuriy Artyushenko, is not represented by any of his 4 books. There are 2 insignificant works by O. I. Bochkovsky, but none of his 7 well-known political works published between 1916 and 1934 in Prague, Lviv and Vienna. There is one lesser work by P. Boyarsky, but his major book, entitled *Natsional'nyy solidaryzm* (Munich, 1946) is not found in Columbia. There is one of the 4 books by M. Bradovych, published during 1950's, as well as none by B. Halaychuk. There is not found any of the political treatises by the famous historian Dmytro Doroshenko and none of the biographies by Petro Mirchuk and his *Positions of the Ukrainian liberation movement* (London, 1955). Generally, Columbia does not have most of the political publications of the Ukrainian liberation movement, which appeared during 1940's, which run into several scores of major book-form works alone. Also there cannot be found the major Ukrainian periodicals appearing in Western Europe during 1950's and 1960's, although some of them achieved wide international appraisal, e.g. *ABN-Correspondence* (Munich), and *The*

Ukrainian Review (London). Especially, *ABN-Correspondence* which appears for 15 years, has recently published articles by 3 English generals, a Brazilian admiral, U.S. Senator K. K. Keating and 3 Congressmen, by prominent Turkish and nationalist-Chinese scholars, a research study on Siberia and conditions in Russian concentration camps, etc. This periodical is in Columbia on "discard list" however. At the same time Columbia holds some less important Ukrainian emigré periodicals. Nevertheless, there is the valuable but incomplete collection of best short writings by Ukrainian nationalist authors, called *Biblioteka Ukraïnskoho Pidpil'nyka*, the important publication, *OUN*, and some issues of the organ of the Ukrainian national liberation movement during the Second World War, entitled *Ideya i chyn*.

Columbia does not have any of the 20 worthy publications by a contemporary writer, Roman Bzhesky (nom-de-plume R. Mlynovetsky, P. Zadesniansky, P. Paklan). There is nothing by the well-known scholar Yuriy Boyko and by Z. Knysh, both of whom wrote several treatises.

A commentary is required on holdings in Columbia of works by Communist writers in Ukraine. There is here an unusually big amount of such materials. While it is proper to study developments within the "official" Soviet Ukraine, not every publication in this group can be considered scholarly or even informative. A large percentage of Communist literature in Ukraine consists either of propaganda or of polemics with Ukrainian national writers, which reflects not the attitude of Ukrainian (Communist) groups but of the Russian occupation regime. What can readily be perceived is that Columbia has an unusually high amount of Communist propaganda and of polemical literature which has insignificant value for scholars, for whom only examples of such literature would suffice.

Finally, a few words should be told about holdings on Ukraine written by foreigners and by Ukrainians who wrote in foreign languages. Columbia has many such publications, particularly in English, Russian, German, French, and lesser collections in Polish, Spanish, Rumanian, Italian, Czech, etc. In general, there is understandably a higher proportion of books on Ukraine in foreign languages than in Ukrainian if compared as to the output in both categories. Of several important works their German editions are available here rather than the existing English editions. The over-all cross-cut of contents of holdings in non-Ukrainian languages reflects basically the same composition of works as in the Ukrainian language, namely, that often the less important works are kept but not the more important. In the second place, books in English, French, and German, are better represented when having anti-Ukrainian bias than those which reflect Ukrainian views or pro-Ukrainian bias. Naturally, the Russian books are virtually all anti-Ukrainian, and this group of books is well represented.

To sum up, in comparison with historical or other categories of literature on Ukraine, (literature, bibliography, geography, archeology, anthropology, economics, culture), the group of holdings on Ukrainian politics is the least representative and least numerical. When surveying the panorama of Ukrainian politics — starting with nationalists, through conservative monarchists, proceeding to autonomists, international federalists, socialist internationalists, and ending with Communists — it can easily be perceived that the literature on and by nationalists is at Columbia Libraries the poorest collection. The literature by and of conservatives is satisfactory, but that by and of Socialists, pro-Russians and straight Communists is more complete. This is in reverse proportion to actual role of the various groups. What can easily be perceived even by persons generally educated on the subject (not necessarily professionals) is that books on Ukraine were acquired at random without any plan, or there was a tendency to over-emphasize the non-representative views of pro-Russian federalists and Communists.

(As of June 1966.)

BOOKS RECEIVED

- China Yearbook 1964-65* (formerly the *China Handbook*), China Publishing Company, P.O. Box 337, Taipei, Taiwan, China, 954 p., illustr., map, US \$5.00.
- Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State: The Church, the Decalogue and the Right of Ownership*, 4th amplified edition, Boa Imprensa Ltda, São Paulo, Brazil, 1964, 28 p.
- Shevchenko Scientific Society, Inc. *Papers — Dopovidi*, No. 21. Dr. Roman S. Holiat, "Short History of the Ukrainian Free University", New York, 1964, 32 p., \$1.00.
- Vera Rich, *Heritage of Dreams: a sketchbook in verse of Orkney*, W. R. Mackintosh, "The Kirkwall Press", 1964, 46 p., 5/6d.
- Nicholas L. Fr.-Chirovsky, *The Ukrainian Economy: Its Background, Present Status, and Potentials of Future Growth*, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Studies Vol. 16, New York—Paris—Toronto, 1965, 93 p., Bibliogr., Index, Map.
- Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (The National Library of Wales), *Annual Report 1964-65 presented by the Council to the Court of Governors 26 October 1965*, Aberystwyth, 1965, 78 p. + list of Publications.
- Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam, *Aanwinsten VI, 1964, Taal en Letterkunde*, 3^e gedeelte (including Slavic additions), pp. 335-518.
- Louis Zoul, *The Soviet Inferno*, A validation of the Soviet Manual of Materialistic Bestiality, known in communist jargon as The Manual on Psychopolitical Warfare, published by Public Opinion, New York, 1966, 144 p.
- Michael McGarvie, *Francis Joseph I*, A Study in Monarchy, Introduction by Bela Menczer, The Monarchist Press Association, London, 1966, 171 p., illustr.
- Ukrainian Museum, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio. *Volodymyr Radzykevych, Yuvileynyy zbirnyk* (Professor Volodymyr Radzykevych, A Jubilee Compendium), Cleveland, 1966, ed. Ivan Stavnychyj, 100 p., illustr.
- Olexa Woropay, *Zvychai nashoho narodu* (Customs of Our People), Essays on Ukrainian Ethnology and Folk-lore, Volume Two, in Ukrainian with English Summaries, Ukrainian Publishers, Munich, 1966, 447 p., with the portrait of the author.
- Proceedings of the Tenth Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League*, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China, November 23-27, 1964, Secretariat of the Tenth APACL Conference, 212 p.
- Soviet Foreign Trade Techniques: An Inside Guide to Soviet Foreign Trade*, Edited by Alec Flegon, Flegon Press, London, 1965, 150 p.
- Yaroslav Stetzko, *The Principles of Ukrainian Foreign Policy: International Situation and Liberation Struggle*, Ukrainian Information Service, London (1965), 31 p.

